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MODEREN REVIEW
JAN-JUNE 1908 G.K.U.

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THE MODERN REVIEW

A Monthly Review and Miscellany

Edited by Ramananda Chatterjee

JANUARY, 1908

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ALLAHABAD

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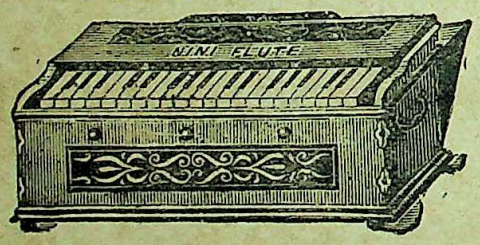

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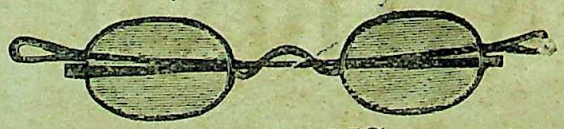

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ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE JANUARY NUMBER.

Satyendranath Tagore, I.C.S. (Retired).
Nataraja.
Dhyani Buddha.
Chanda.
St. Geneviene Watching over Paris.
Summer. By Abanindro Nath Tagore.
The Hon'ble Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, M.A., D.L.
Pandit Ram Sundar.
Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Sakarlal Desai, M.A., LL.B.
Rao Bahadur Lalshankar Umiashankar.
Tribhuvandas Narottamdas Malvi, M.A., LL.B.
A Group of unmarried Chinese Girls of ages ranging from 18 to 22 years, with their feet bound.
Foot of Chinese Girl (aged 16 years) in three positions.
Vishnu Temple, Surat.
Dutch Cemetery, Surat.
Clock Tower, Surat.
Swami Narayan Temple, Surat.
Khaje Diwan Saheb's Tomb and Tower, Surat
Old gates of the English Factory, Surat.
Castle Hope Bridge and Decca Bunder, Surat.
English Factory (*founded in* 1612), Surat.
Female Hospital, Surat.
Government High School, Surat.
The Nawab's Palace, Surat.
Castle (*built in* 1543), Surat.
Civil Hospital, Surat.
Jain Temple, Surat.
F. S. Parekh School of Art, Surat.
English Cemetery, Surat.
Map of the Province of Tsang (Tibet) and Sikkim.

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THE MODERN REVIEW.

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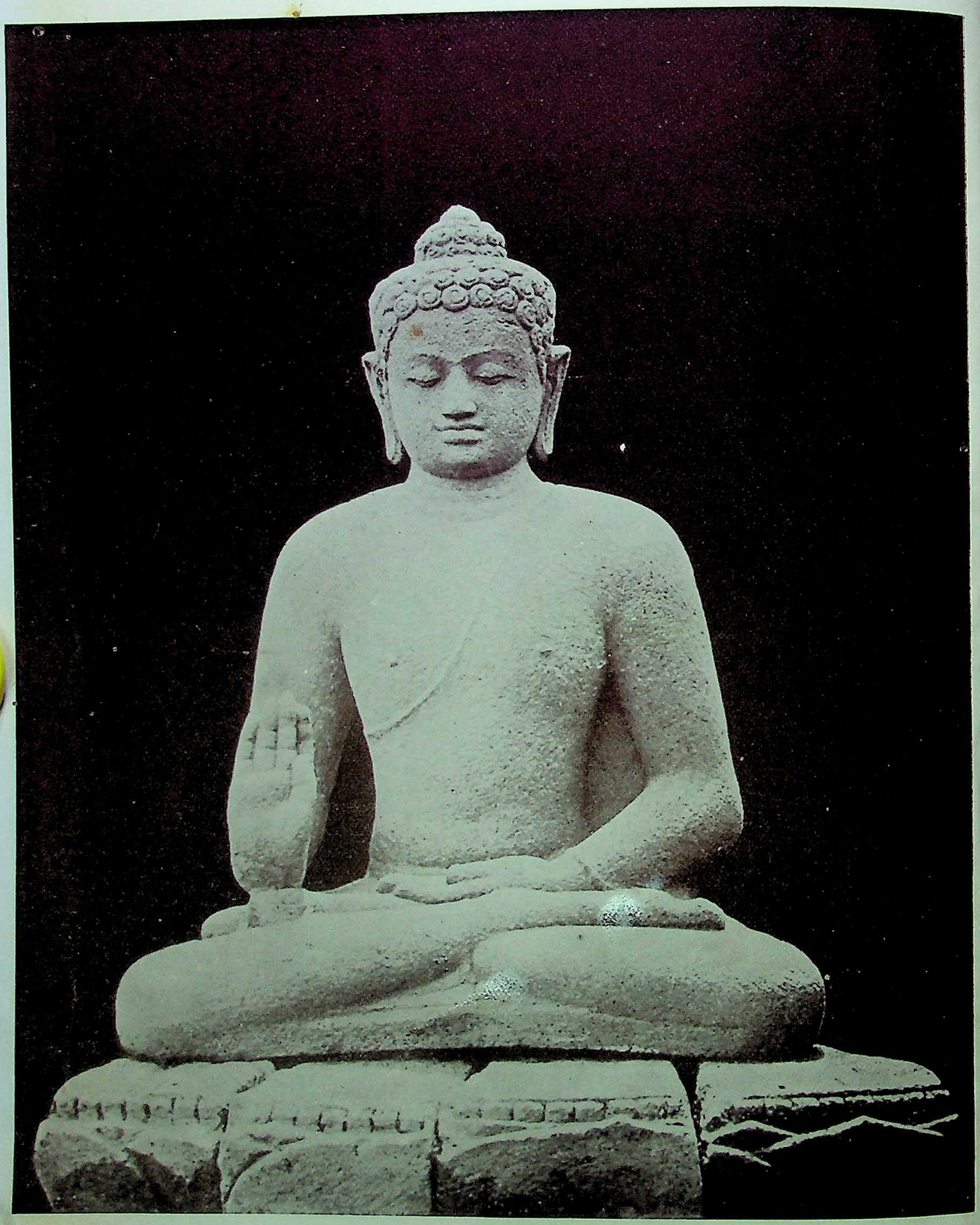

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PLATE C, "THE AIM OF INDIAN ART."

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THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. III JANUARY, 1908 No. 1

THE CIVIC IDEAL

CITIES are the schools of nationality, even as a nation is made up of all its citizens. It is in the service of the small unit that the power to become a critical factor in the larger is for the most part won; by that knighthood which is the guerdon of civic contest that souls fearless and unstained are selected for the leading of a nation's advance. In the history of no people, at any period in its development, has there ever been time to spare for one wasted life. Such a life immediately becomes parasitic upon Humanity, and thereby detracts from that energy on which there are but too many other calls. The fact that in the modern world whole classes of people fail to recognise this fact, shows only that we have not yet any adequate idea either of the demands to be made on the individual by a perfect civic life, or of the problems that await solution by the energy of such life. It would only be, indeed, by the finest possible development of every man, woman, and child in a whole country that such an ideal could be made manifest, and this is a spectacle which the world has never yet seen.

The Indian prince, idling in a motor, or following the fashions of a society which neither he nor his have initiated or can control; the American millionaire, spending outside his country the sums concentrated in it by the organisation of *sudra*-labour; and the European aristocrat, absorbing into his own interest all the privileges of all classes, in every place and society; all these appear equally unsuspicious of the fact that Humanity has a right to make any higher claim on a man than that of the fulfilment of his own selfish caprice. Yet there are in the world at any given moment so many evils that might be removed, so many sorrows that might be mitigated, so many tasks that need not be left undone, that if all of us were to respond in the highest degree to the greater exactions of the race, the progress made would only very slowly become apparent! Verily, in all eternity there is not room for one moment of viciousness, of weakness, of idleness, nor amongst all the nations of men, for one human parasite!

In India at the present moment, we are learning, however slowly, to decipher the great new laws that are to dominate and evolve our future. As a community, our task, up to the present, has been to maintain all that we could of the past. Suddenly, however, all this is at an end. We have entered upon an era of formulation of the new. 'By the past, through the present, to the future!' says Auguste Comte. That is to say, it is by the scrutiny and understanding of the past, and by taking advantage of the power it has accumulated in us, that we become able so to direct our own action as to create for ourselves and others the loftiest future. The yet-to-be is as a vast unexplored territory of which we are charged to take possession. That age which is discovering nothing new, is already an age of incipient death. That philosophy which only recapitulates the known, is in fact a philosophy of ignorance. It is because in our country to-day great thoughts are being born, because new duties

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are arising, because fresh and undreamt of applications are being made of the ancient culture, that we can believe the dawning centuries to be for us. If the Indian mind had not been giving daily promise of extended conquests, if it had not been feeling out constantly towards a new dimension, we could have hoped nothing for ourselves. But it is doing these things. The mind of our civilisation is awake once more, and we know that the long ages of theocratic development are perfected, while before us lies the task of actualising those mighty ideals of the civic and national life by which the theocratic achievments of our fathers are to be protected and conserved. We are now to go out, as it were, into the waste spaces about our life, and build there those towers and bastions of self-organisation and mutual aid, by which we are yet to become competent to deal with the modern world and all its forces of aggression. The bricks lie there, in abundance, for our work. The elements abound, in our history, our literature, our traditions, and our customs, by which we can make of ourselves a strong and coherent people. It needs only that we understand our own purpose, and the method of its accomplishment. As the architect builds to a plan, so is a nation fashioned by its own dreams. And he who knows this, knows also how to use his own power of dreaming. The very doctrine, that everything in life is the work of desire, would teach us this. For it follows as an inevitable inference that the world is changed by those who best know how and what to desire. It may even be, after all, that there is no castle in the world so formidable as a well-built 'castle in the air'!

But the elements of nationality are civic and to these civic components it is that the individual stands most directly and most permanently related. The man who would not stir a finger to help his village to the recovery of grazing-rights is not the man to bleed and die in the country's cause. The man who will not suffer some slight risk and discomfort in the *Swadeshi* cause, is not the man to whom to entrust the banner of an army. By civic duty we are tested for national responsibility. By the widening of the smaller accomplishment, we immeasurably extend the possibilities of the larger. It might be said, however, that we have at the moment but little idea of what is meant by the civic life or the civic ideal. This is true, nevertheless we have but to give the words our close attention, and undoubtedly the day will come, when, for our love and faith in them, we shall be ready to die.

Of our two great epics it may be said that while the pervading interests of the Mahabharata are heroic and national, those of the Ramayana are mainly personal and civic. It is more than likely, indeed, that Valmiki's poem sprang out of a deliberate wish to glorify the beloved city of Ayodhya, by painting the mythic history of its earliest sovereigns. The city, and everything in it, fills the poet with delight. He spends himself in descriptions of its beauty on great festivals. He loses himself in the thought of its palaces, its arches and its towers. But it is when he comes to paint Lanka, that we reap the finest fruit of that civic sense which Ayodhya has developed in him. There is nothing, in all Indian literature, of greater significance for the modern Indian mind, than the scene in which Hanuman contends in the darkness with the woman who guards the gates, saying, in muffled tones, "I am the city of Lanka."

We have here what is the fundamental need of the civic spirit, that we should think of our city as a being, a personality, sacred, beautiful, and beloved. This, to Rama and his people, was Ayodhya. This, to Ravana and his was Lanka. And Valmiki could look with both their eyes, for he, in common with all the men of his great age, was in the habit of relating himself instinctively to his home, his sovereign and his group.

Even in European languages, the power of clear statement with regard to such subjects as we are now discussing, is very unequally developed. In English, for instance, there is no single word to connote the civic community, the human equivalent of the city, that corporate life that has built for itself, on the chosen spot, in accordance with its own ideals and aspirations, the home we see. The French word *commune* bears the sense we seek to convey, but it may seem to some of us too deeply tinged with political and historical associations. It may be—who knows?—that in some Indian language will first be formed the audible symbol to express the human and social aspect of the civic unit in its purity. Certain it is, that when the thing begins to be apprehended, the word will be created. Great movements fashion their own men, and ideas make their own language.

The city as a whole is but a visible symbol of this life behind it. Nor does this mean only of the life *at present* behind it. It is determined by the sum of the energy of all its creators, past as well as present. There is even, in a sense, an ideal city, in which the labours of all future builders have to be taken into account. Why is Lucknow different from

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Calcutta, Bombay from Benares, Delhi from Ahmedabad? Looking for the answer to such a question, do we not perceive, finally and conclusively, that the seen is but the sign and symbol of the unseen, that the material is but the mask of the spiritual, that things are but the precipitate of thought? Why is Paris or Rome so different from Amritsar? The history of ages and continents lies in the answer to that question. The highest visible symbol of human aspiration may perhaps be an altar. The most perfect visible symbol of our unity is undoubtedly a city.

The city is something more than the aggregate of the homes that compose it. These homes are themselves grouped according to a certain pattern, in observance of unwritten laws of order. Houses and gardens scattered at random would promise but a short future to the space of ground on which they stood. Peoples may differ widely in the degree of their civic development, the magnificence of their public buildings and the like, but in the orderly evolution of a single street or lane, we have the tacit admission of the presence of the guardian spirit of cities, and the promise of her future benediction, should it be invoked. Beyond this, there may be beauty of design. In Paris, almost every great roadway ends in a large space of lamps and gardens which forms in itself the centre of a star; and almost every avenue, forming its ray-like vistas, leads to some prominent building or memorial. So, as we stand in the Place de la Concorde we look up the great roadway of the Champs Elysèes to the Napoleonic Arc de Triomphe, where it crowns the gentle elevation in the distance. Or so, from the gilded statue of Joan of Arc, we may look into the Place de la Concorde itself, with its obelisk and its statues, and the watching circle of cities. Scholars say that only a hunting people,—accustomed to scan many of the forest-glades for the quarry from a single centre, would express themselves naturally in so stellate a design. And certainly in the Indian Jeypore, we have the rectangular plan of the rice-fields reproduced, with their intersecting paths.

But, however this be, it is clear that as the city is more than an aggregate of private homes, so the commune represents a grouping that transcends the family in complexity and importance. The past, present and future of the family are bound up in its caste and occupation; but the commune may embrace all castes; it transcends all. It seeks amongst all alike for its sons, its lovers, its servants. It imposes no restriction of destiny or birth. The scavenger who serves well the civic ideal of cleanliness is a better citizen than a Brahman, if the latter serves only himself. Not caste alone, but also the church, is to be forgotten for the city. Hindu and Mohammedan in this relationship are on one footing. Not only differences of religion, but those also of race, of language, of age, and of sex, are to be lost in unity of citizenship. All these elements of diversity are but so much fuel for the fire of joy, amongst brethren. The reader of Scott's "Anne of Geirstein" will realize that there is no nationality in Europe stronger than that of Switzerland. Yet this tiny country is divided between three languages and two religions! The pariah-village is as precious to the southern town, as the temple close with its rows of Brahman houses. The school, the university, and the playground for the babies, are everywhere as essential as the council of the elders. The Mohammedan peasant is every whit as dear to *Bhumia Devi*, the Goddess of the Homestead, as the Hindu workman. All Humanity is necessary to the heart of Humanity, every single soul of us to the great whole; and best of all in the complexity of the civic unity, is the individual mind enabled to grasp this fact. What we call public spirit is simply the reflex in a given personality of the civic consciousness. That is to say, public spirit is the expression of that character which is born of constantly placing the ego, with the same intensity as in the family, in a more complex group. There thus come into being new duties and new responsibilities, and the ideal of civic integrity towers above all the lower and more private achievements of the kindred, or the clan.

What, then, is the fundamental bond that welds so many and such various elements into the single, communal personality? Does it not lie in the equal relation of each of these to the common home? There is no motive in life like the love of the dwelling-place. The spot on which a city stands is in truth a great hearth-place of human love, a veritable altar of spiritual fire. Guarded by a rude rock, on the slopes overlooking the sea, stood Athens. Nestling in a cup amongst her seven hills lies Rome. Nestled about her islands, they built Paris on the Seine. But of what dreams, what poetry, what prayer, what love and triumph did not each of these become the centre! The gods themselves were pictured, fighting for the chosen soil. Pallas Athene guarded Athens. Rome thought of herself as the eternal city. And in Paris, only the other day, the hand of Puvis de Chavannes has painted for us the beautiful legend of St.

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Geneviève, and we learn that deep in its own heart the most modern and worldly of cities cherishes the faith that in high heaven, amongst the saints, is one who intercedes for it!

But why travel so far afield for instances of the idealising of the abode? What of Benares, built about the Vedic hearth, that today is the golden grating of Visweshwar? What of Allahabad, with her thousands of pilgrims, bathing in the sacred waters of th Ganga-Jumna? What of Cheetore, with he cathedral-church of Kalika,—Kangra-Rar Queen of the Battlements? What of Calcutt where appears Nakuleshwar, as guardian the ghat of Kali? From end to end of tl peopled earth, we shall find, wherever we loo that man makes his home of a surpassin sanctity to himself and others, and the divin mingles with the domestic fire on every heart!

NARRATIVE OF THE INCIDENTS OF MY EARLY LIFE

IV

(First journey to Tibet.)

19th June.—At 10 A.M. we set out from Jong-ri. The sun could scarcely be seen on account of the dense mist which had enveloped the valley of the Preig-chu in the east, but the Lama succeeded in taking the bearings for the route survey. On two successive nights I tried to take observations by the sextant, but could not see a single star for the fog. The sun was too high in June to enable us to take a meridian altitude.

At 1 P.M. we crossed the Rathong by a bridge of logs and planks, and through endless groves of rhododendron made our way towards the Nepal frontier on the west. At 3 P.M. we reached the junction of the Yampung and Kang-la roads. From this place there is a road leading towards Singli-la, Phellut, and Sum-dub-phuk (Sundukfoo) on Tongloo Range. We followed the course of the river Chu-rung which rises from Kankar-teng (top of white-ice). Here our guide (Paljor), whose services we had secured at Jong-ri, killed a red-crested hen-pheasant with a stone, but failed to hit the cock. We were then overtaken by rain, and at 3 P.M. arrived at Te-gyab-la (the mule's back mountain, 14,800 feet), where we took shelter in a cave under a huge mass of rock. Here we met three Tibetans, from whom we learnt that Singbeer, the Nepalese out-post guard, would not give us trouble, and the pass was declared open. This was excellent news. The wind was very cold and snow began to fall. There was no vegetation except shoots of fresh grass just springing up, and spongy patches of lichen here and there. We passed the night in much discomfort, harassed by chill wind and sleet.

20th June.—We set out early in the mor ing, which was fair and pleasant. The valle through which we passed were covered wi freshly-springing grass. On either side of th level pasture-land arose a range of snow-cl mountains. At noon we reached Chu-k pang-zang (the plain of good pasture ar white water), the source of the princip affluent of the Rathong, where no pasture w visible, but only the rubble and boulders of moraine, probably one of the largest in tl Himalayas. We commenced our ascen through the boulder heaps, which extend about half a mile. I saw two or three ma mots under a boulder, but failed to captu them. We then arrived at the foot of the Kan la peak, which was 18,300 feet, and we fou ourselves on a height of 16,313 feet above tl level of the sea. The sun was very powerf overhead. We longed for a fog to shelter from the sun and to dim the glare of the sno which became doubly strong and unbearab under the midday sun. The Lama and I p on our blue spectacles, while our coolies a guides painted their cheek bones below tl lower eyelid with black to protect their ey from the glare. I put on my fur-lined coa but after walking some distance I found tl heat unbearable, and threw the coat to cooly. Our guide walked first, and I follow his footsteps. He cautioned me to be caref as a single false step might precipitate me in a yawning crevasse. On my right and left, a a distance of about 100 yards on each sid avalanches were falling with a thunderin noise, but we kept clear of them. After wal ing about a mile in the snow, we landed agai on *terra firma*. Here, on a heap of stones, som flags were flying. The guide told me that th

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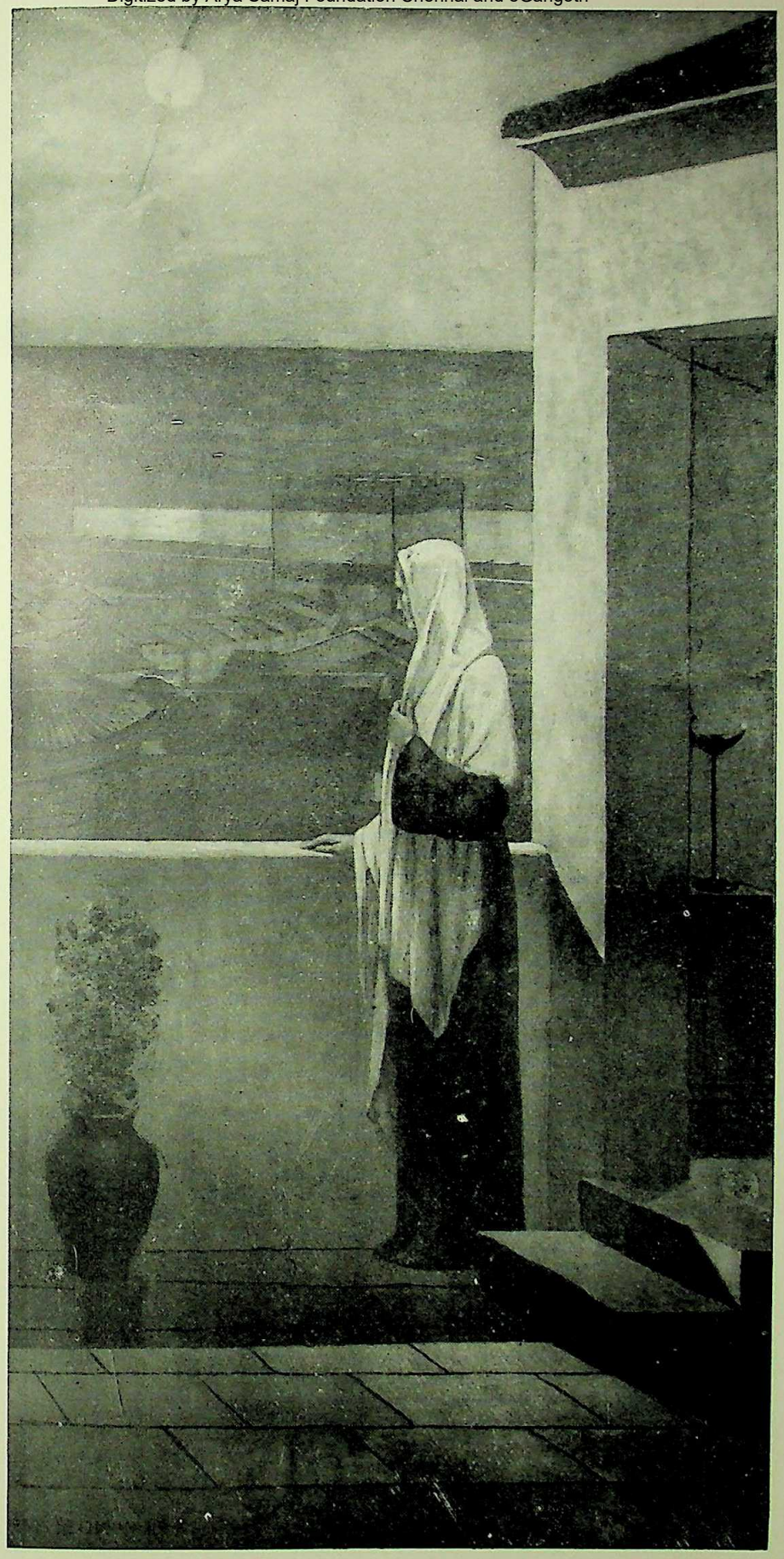

ST. GENEVIEVE WATCHING OVER PARIS.

BY PUVIS DE CHAVANNES.

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marked the boundary of Nepal and Sikkim. After resting for a few minutes we went forward. We had another field of snow to cross, about a mile in length, but not so level as the first. For a short distance we descended by an easy slope, but as we got further down the gradient became greater and greater, and the snow was slipping down in semi-fluid masses to a green gully, from which issues the Nyam-ga-chu. Our guide told us that the Nyam-ga river was a most destructive torrent, its waters suddenly increasing so as to damage bridges and kill travellers. This may be caused by the sudden melting of snow brought down into the gully. The river is worshipped by the Nepalese and the Bhutias.

I may observe in passing that the range which commences from Te-gyab-la, and extends northward to meet the lofty Kangchan peaks, with Kang-la Nangma as its culminating snow line, separates the great rivers of Eastern Nepal, such as the Tambur, the Kosi, and their feeders, from the Rathong, which flows through Sikkim.

At length we came to an inclined plane with a gradient of nearly 30°. The guide helped me, and I got down safely. Our coolies slid down with their loads on their backs; one was bruised by coming against a boulder. Below this slope is the source of the river Nyam-ga-chu, which flows into the river Tambur. All the rocks and boulders on this side of the Kang-la Nangma were of red sandstone, while in Sikkim most of the rocks are of silicious, calcareous, or granitic formation. After travelling more than five miles we arrived at a plain, where we were delighted by the sight of vegetation. This place is called Phur-pa-karpu, the white cavern. We followed the course of the river, along the banks of which were many small stone enclosures where travellers and yak-herds take rest. From Phur-pa-karpu we came to Tunga-kongma further down. Many cascades fell from the mountain slopes on our left. The valley of Tunga-kongma contains scattered bushes of rhododendron and other plants, besides a profusion of lichens. Nyam-ga-tshal (the delightful grove) lies below the place where we halted. It contains many tall firs, besides rhododendron, juniper, and larch species. The path was easy, but we were much exhausted. At dusk we reached the nearest cavern, where Ugyen Gya-tsho was attacked with bilious fever. Our guide cooked a little rice and prepared buttered tea, and we refreshed ourselves after the day's tedious journey. Next morning I gave the Lama a dose of medicine, which afforded him some relief. We halted here for one day, and on the following morning recommenced our journey.

22nd June.—We set out early towards the north-east, crossed the Yallung river, coming from the Yallung glaciers, a feeder of the Nyam-ga, by a wooden bridge of deal planks and juniper logs, about 30 feet long and six feet broad; to our right we were shown the solitary monastery of Dechan Rolpa and then began to ascend the Tsho-chung-la—the mountain with a small lake on it, also called Chunjerma (the junction of several streams). The ascent was very steep for about 2,500 feet. At noon we reached the top, where there are two small lakes, the circumference of the larger being not more than 500 feet. Between the Yallung river and the Yama-tari-chu (river) coming from the Yama-tari glaciers, there are four ridges to cross. These are the Mirgen-la, Pango-la, Senon-la, and Tama-la. The Mirgen-la and Pango-la are the steepest; their heights must be between 14,800 and 15,000 feet. We did not take any boiling-point observations, but guessed them from the comparative changes of vegetation on their summits and slopes. After passing an old moraine, at 6 P. M. we reached the beautiful village of Kamba-chan-Gyunsa (the wintering village of Kang-pa-chan), 11,378 feet, which is situated in a romantic valley on the banks of a fine river, and overhung on three sides by steep and rugged mountains, covered with thick woods of fir, rhododendron, juniper, deodar, and the weeping willow. Our guide introduced the Lama to one of his friends, a rich *Sherpa* (Nepal Bhutia) farmer who conducted us to his house. My *Lama* cap and dress, and especially my Indian features, made the natives take me for a Pa-bu (Nepalese)* Lama of Nepal; and instead of asking me who I was and to what caste I belonged, our good host made a low salutation, and respectfully conducted me to the place of honour and begged me to take my seat on a homely cushion made of yak-hair. Other people came to look at me, but none dared ask my name and nationality. Ugyen Gyatsho quickly perceived what was passing in their minds, and at once addressed me as

* In Nepal some 80 miles to the north-west of Katmandu there existed a large Buddhist Monastery (from the 7th down to the 11th century) called Pal-pa. The Tibetans used to largely resort to it for study and to call Nepal by the name Palpo. The name by which the Nepalese are now called in Tibet is Balpo, signifying the woolly ones. Bal both in Indian and Nepalese means wool or hair. The Nepalese being possessed of beards may have earned that name. Nepal is called Bal-po, which is vulgarly pronounced Pa-bu.

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"Palbu Lama," instead of calling me "Babu" Lama."

23rd June.—At Gyunsa next morning we visited the Tashi-choiding Monastery, on the right bank of the Kangchan (Kamba-chan) river joined by a bridge to the village, which contains about 80 monks, besides a dozen nuns who generally reside in the village. The monastery is one of the finest and richest in Sikkim and Eastern Nepal. It contains a complete collection of the Kah-gyur (Buddhist Scriptures) and the Tan-gyur (*Shastras* or religious works). The Lamas wear their hair in flowing locks like lay people; they also wear long ear-rings in imitation of the early Indian Buddhists. They belong to the Nying-ma-pa Dsog-chen-pa or Red-HAT sect. The great Buddhist Lama (Lha-tsun-chenpo) who introduced Buddhism into Sikkim, entered Sikkim by this route, and established the Gyunsa Monastery. The Lamas of Pema-yang-tse and Kamba-chan-Gyunsa belong to the same sect: their rites and observances are identical. Last year the head Lama of Gyunsa visited Pema-yang-tse and was well pleased with the reception that he met with. It is owing to this that they welcomed us warmly. Ugyen Gya-tsho and I made a present of a rupee each to the monastery, with due offerings to the presiding deities. In the evening we were invited to the Head Lama's house, and entertained with *murwa* and warm buttered tea: boiled potatoes were also given in large quantities. It was the first time for many days that I had seen potatoes, radishes, and turnips. The Head Lama gave us a lecture, exhorting us to have firm faith in Buddha and his teaching. Ugyen Gya-tsho begged him to favour us with his patronage, as we were strangers to the country and without experience of Himalayan travelling. He promised to give us all the assistance in his power, for which I thanked him. In my conversation with him I talked in Tibetan as well as in Nepalese. He, too, took me for a Palbu Lama. I did not go out of my way to tell them my name and residence: it was no business of mine to do so. I allowed them to think of me as they pleased.

24th June.—Next morning we were invited to a dinner given us by all the villagers. Mutton and potatoes were set in quantities before us, and that excellent thing for travellers, the *murwa* beer, was brought in large jugs. We sat in a circle with a bamboo bottle full of beer placed on a small low table in front of each. In the centre a large jug full of *murwa* was placed. We drank the refreshing draught through a reed about two feet in length. Different topics were introduced. I sat in a dignified style with my legs crossed on a thick Chinese rug. I avoided speaking much, and made short replies to the questions frequently put to me. Ugyen Gya-tsho answered for me. I only expressed my appreciation of their kindness in complimentary language: "La-la-so, thug-je-chhe" (Yes, be it so, honourable sir, great mercy). They also related to us their adventures in going to Darjeeling and the plains as far as Matigarahaut, and into Tibet as far as Tashi-lhunpo. The question of closing the Jong-ri Pass to merchants, occupied a great portion of our talk. I was much struck with the singular spectacle presented by the dinner of the Sherpa people. Even after emptying two or three *murwa* bottles our friends preserved their usual temper. No one was drunk, although there were warm discussions, every one speaking in vociferous tones, and none listening to what was said to him, all being engaged alike in haranguing their neighbours. At 2 P. M. the meeting dissolved; out of thirty guests only three remaining. Our good host, the Lama, then brought three dishes of rice and mutton neatly cooked. I took little and left the greater part for our servants and guide. We made a present of a rupee each to the Head Lama, and returned to our lodgings. At half past three we were again invited to the house of Khepa, the artist and image painter. We paid him the usual present of one rupee each but took no food at his house.

25th June.—The next morning we were invited to the house of Omzeh,* the second Lama of Kamba-chan, Gyunsa Monastery, who also received the usual present of a rupee. The villagers then formed a committee to settle the arrangements for our journey towards Tibet. They appointed one Phurchung, a *Ta-pa* (a monk) of Gyunsa, the most stalwart and powerful man in the village, to serve us as guide. They also engaged new coolies in place of those who had come up to this place. The river on the bank of which Gyunsa is situated is called the Kang-chen-chu (the river of Kang-chen) as it issues from the Kang-chen Junga glaciers, but the people told me that it was the head water of Tambi itself.

At 7 A.M. we set out and followed the course of the Kang-chen. Our way was easy and pleasant, and the morning was bright. We walked through groves of *khem-shing* (rhododendron

* The head-priests who begin service in the temple by ejaculating the mystic "Om." Om-zeh is also written as Dvu dsad, he is made "the head."

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Map of the Route of TSANG (Tibet) and Sikkim

Surveyed by Sarat Chandra Das

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References
Map Of the routes followed by Sri Sarat Chandra Das.
in the years 1879-1881 and 1882.
from Darjeeling to Shigatse and Sakya
Denotes a peak.
Denotes Gom-pa or monastery.
peak fixed by G.T. Survey.
followed by explorer Lala & in 1875-76.
Boundary of British territory.
Roads
Approximate position of tracks.
of Rivers
28 N. Latitude from Mt. Everest to the Donkhya Pass is the Southern Boundary of Tibet. The Boundary marks being at Tashirabka, Giamithoto, Giogang and Donkhya
Scale -16- Miles = 1 Inch.
87°
88°
89°
29°
28°
27°
Brahmaputra or The Great Tsangpo
Shigatse
Mount Everest 29002
Donkia Pass
Chumalari
Chumbi
Kanchenjunga
Tashirabka
Giamithoto
Giogang
Donkhya
Shekar Jong
Chali
Phung Jong
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Chaiokar
Chikep
Tinki La
Tinki Jong
Chorten Nyima
Zemu R.
Lachen
Lachung
Gia La
Nila
Nambudung La
Rhesa
Rhelei
Thamar
Lagalunga La
Keog La
Lasum La
Khurma
Yarru La
Khamba La
Khamba Jong (Gam-pa)
Tasang G.
Giri Bhomtso
Bhomtso Lake
Kangra Lama Pass
Giamsena
Chomiomo
Kanchenjau
Phalut
Pandim
Narsing
JONGRI
Tumlong
Senchal
Kurseong
Pankabri
DARJEELING
Kalimpong
Rechi La
Tonglu
Sandakphu
Gokh
Phulbanghat
Damlim
Chamurchi Fort
Siphu
Dhankuta
Jhalaria
Dharapani
Bara Chela Falls
Byapur
Phikal
Chesapan
Mani Bhanjan
Sudah
Tarewa
Tankhu
Sabla
Himar or Khawak
Hastinapur
Shikerpur
Suri La
Taplang Jong
Khabung
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Lelip
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Yangma shal
Kang La Pass
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Kabru
Pemathing
Jongri U.
Chiling
Yangma
Lhong
Jhang
Tashirak Chu R.
Sumbruno
Burun R.
Kamasari
Lamjung
Rabulamjung
Suchong G.
Halim
Togama
Lungdang
Chosima
Popte
Aukpholing
Chorembo
Korapo
Nesululan G.
Kharta
Raboo
Shao La
Nair La
Labo
Chokarmo
Pepeku
Rudalamjung
Chamba Jesa
Sakedung
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Kama or Teju chu
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Nikik
Lamadang 13070
Ranglong Chu
Singring
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Kuma Shara
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Momy Samdong 15300
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Kacheng G.
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Chola Pass 14550
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Tipta La Pass
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Tashichodung or Khambachen
Kabru
Yallung
Kang La Pass
Lungthang
Chunjerlma
Yangma shal
Tophia Thok
Mitlang
Khabung
Taplang
Taplang Jong
Sablok
Khabili R.
Phuwa
Hastinapur
Shikerpur
Suri La
Himar or Khawak
Phalibung
Sandakphu
Kamchalla
Tonglu
Mani Bhanjan
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Phikal
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Pankabri
Damlim
Phulbanghat
Chel R.
Mahanadi R.
Rilli R.
Teesta R.
Rangit R.
Rinchinpung
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Kacheng G.
Chumbi
Chumalari
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Schongdong
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Donkia Pass
Pauhunri or Donkia
Momy Samdong
Raltek ghat
Tangu
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Giri Bhomtso
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and tall junipers festooned with moss. At 2 P.M. we arrived at the base of a hill which looked at a distance like snow. As we climbed it we found that we were mistaken; the course of a torrent had been diverted, in consequence of which the top of the hill had slipped down and laid open a field of white rocks and sand. On my left were the extensive glacier of the peerless JANNU.

I looked about for fossil remains, but time failed me, as my companions were leaving me behind. At 4 P.M. we crossed the river by a wooden bridge and entered the village of Kambachen (*yar-sa* or summer place) (14,600 feet; boiling point 187°). At the entrance was a barley-mill worked by the stream, and then a long Mendang (pile of inscribed and engraved votive stones). On all sides of this beautiful valley we saw barley cultivation, each field being enclosed with a stone dyke or wall from three to four feet high, or with a wooden fence. Both at Gyunsa and Kamba-chan (yar-sa) the houses are built of wood with gable ends and roofed with long planks. No nails or ropes are used to fasten the planks to the rafters or to each other, but they are kept in their places by blocks of stone laid on them. The interior is far from uncomfortable; the windows are very small, and the houses consequently dark; but as the natives live chiefly out of doors, and always keep a fire lighted indoors, they suffer little inconvenience on this account. We here witnessed the grand offering made to the Kang-chen peak by the residents of Gyunsa and Kamba-chan (*yar-sa*). The firing of guns, athletic feats, and exercises with the bow and arrow, form the principal parts of the ceremony, which is believed to be highly acceptable to that mountain-deity. The youth of Gyunsa vied with each other in athletic exercises; the favourite amusements of their elders being quoits, back-kicking, and the shooting of arrows. We also contributed our share to these religious observances. The scene reminded one of the Olympic games; and like good Buddhists, we too paid our obeisance to Kang-chen, the Indian Olympus. In the afternoon a messenger arrived from Yang-ma, with a letter from the frontier Officer (Wallung Gopa), intimating that he had started for Kang-pa-chan, and requiring the villagers to stop all traders with yaks and sheep from entering Tibet by the closed pass, the Chathang-la (the bird-plain pass); that the Tibetan Government had forbidden ingress even through the Kangla-chenmo pass, which was an open pass, in consequence of the spread of cattle disease in Tibet. The Head Lama, our friend of Kamba-chan Gyunsa, and the Peepon (*Chipon* general chief) privately gave us this news, and requested us to start early in the morning before the officer arrived.

26th June.—We set out before the day dawned, and ascended the left bank of the right affluent of the Kang-chen chu. The way was good, with an easy rise. On our right lay Kang-chen glacier, round whose base we skirted; to the left rose the snow-clad ridge, which is a prolongation of Kang-pa-chan. At a distance of about three miles from Kang-pa-chan* we came to a waterfall far more majestic and graceful than the one we had seen on the southern slopes of Pao-hungri. Its water is said to be very sacred, and it is known by the name of Khan-dum chu,† or the *Dakini* or nymph waterfall. The eight Indian saints,, called in Tibet Rig-zin-gye (*Ashta Vidyadhara*), and the famous Tang-srung-gyapa, the Vyasa of the Buddhists, are said to have bathed in the water of this fall, and it is in consequence regarded as the holiest river in this part of the Himalayas. It precipitates itself in three unbroken sheets from the top; and, rushing finally over the rocks which project from the face of the precipice, it falls in a mass of foaming water among the dark and glistening rocks below. Just above the place at which we crossed, and where it empties itself, it is about 18 feet broad, and the height from which it falls almost perpendicularly may be estimated at not less than 1,000 feet. The stupendous scenery of the peak from which it issues, the irregular disposition of the rocks through which it cuts its way, the immense height from which it falls, combine to make it one of the most sublime spectacles in the Himalayas.

We passed through many level valleys, whose quiet beauty contrasted with the sublimity of the surrounding hills. There were no trees to be seen, but dwarf shrubs with lovely flowers of various hues graced the

* The name Kang-pa-chan in vulgarly pronounced as Kamba-chan.

† Mr. Douglas Freshfield came here in October, 1899, and describes he place in the following language :—

"At this point the scenery underwent a change. The valley no onger looked glacial. Either ice had never reached lower, or, as is ore probable, water had for a sufficient period had free scope to lter and obliterate the old shapes of hill-sides by deepening the trough and creating taluses. Our path was a terrace along the steep northern slopes, which, in the absence of timber soon became monotonous. A fine water-fall tumbled from the cliffs above us. Waterfalls are rare round Kang-chen Junga, and this one seems to have excited somewhat exaggerated admiration in the mind of Chandra Das on his 1879 journey. He saw it, however, in early summer, when its volume was doubtless far greater." *Round Kang-chen Junga.*

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slopes all round. At midday we took our breakfast at Ramthang in a yak-shed.* Setting out again in a northerly direction we came to an extensive pasture, about three miles in length and two in breadth, strewed with the bones of yaks. During the months of August and September the villagers of Kamba-chan bring their herds here to graze. The north of this tableland is bounded by lofty pinnacles of rock, and on the south and east flows a stream called Khameh-chu (glacial stream) an affluent of the Kang-chen-chu, whose course we were now following up. Another stream coming from the east for a distance of about a mile flows under-ground, and at length re-appears, it is said, opposite a cavern called *Pema-chan-ki demi*,† where the key of heaven was concealed by Padma Sambhava, the Guru Rinpoche of the Tibetans. This blessed abode was to our left where the western glacier of Joisang or Jonsang La, the mountain of hidden treasures. The stream is here very sluggish; its water carries a kind of clayey detritus of an opaque white. Close to this cavern there is a small mineral hot-spring called Men-chu, to which the people of Kamba-chan occasionally resort. It is held sacred, as Pema guru, the head of the Red-hat sect, bathed here on his way to Tibet. On either side are mounds of rubble and boulders which mark a recent moraine. There is no vegetation to fix them in compact masses. At one season they form continuous ridges, while at another they are found in detached groups, perhaps not found at all; all this being the work of snow in its semi-fluid form. At 5 P. M. we took shelter at a place called Jorgu-og in a crevice of rock scarcely 6 feet long, 4 feet broad, and 5 feet high. The occupier of the cave was a mountain fox called *Wamo or Wa*, the fur of which is highly valued. My guide told me that the musk-goat, the Nao (*Ovis ammon*), and the Himalayan antelope, abound here. The last of these being sacred to the mountain deity is not hunted, but the others are. Jorgu-og is about 18,800 feet above sea-level, water boiling at 178°. The temperature at this time was 30.° I made tea, and we satisfied our hunger with fried Indian-corn: we had no fuel to cook rice. As night advanced a chilly wind arose with a slight snow-fall. Ugyen Gya-tsho and I managed to sleep in the miserable fox den, our coolies lying on the open ground, sheltered by my water-pro cloth and two umbrellas. The floor bei uneven and stony, I awoke with pains in n back.

CHAPTER II.‡

On the Tibetan side of the Himalayas.

27th June.—We set out early after taki our breakfast, which this time consisted ill-boiled rice. Our way lay entirely throu boulders and erratic-blocks several cubic f thoms in size. We could scarcely see any tra of vegetation. Here and there were spon masses of lichen and isolated patches of mo in the midst of bogs. Avalanches resound on all sides, at distance, as we advanc towards the snows and caused us much alar We saw three or four tail-less moles runni beneath the rocks. My guide said that th subsisted on the moss growing in the ice-bo We also saw birds, like larks, flying overhea apparently on their summer emigration Tibet.

We had now arrived at the limit of pe petual snow. To the right and left ran tw parallel ranges of snow, between which w struggled on our upward way. After a tim the direction of the ranges changed fro north to north-west; and at the angle th formed, the valley was filled with heaps snow piled in a conical form, the largest which was not less than 50 feet in heig The whole scene resembled the billows the ocean. After travelling for three mil in this region of snow I fell down exhaust The difficulty of breathing, produced by t extreme tenuity of the air, and increas by the exertion of the lungs in an up journey at a height of over 19,000 feet, gether with the glare of the snow, wh terribly tired my eyes in spite of the prot tion afforded by my green spectacles, reduc me to a wretched state. Lama Ugyen G tsho, whose condition was worse than m on account of his corpulence, sat down on snow in despair. For half an hour we rem ed in this miserable plight. At length G sho promised to pay Phurchung, our guide, reward he might ask if he would take me his shoulders up to the next stage. Ph chung carried me to the nearest spur wh there was scanty snow, about half a m distant, and returned to fetch his own lo

* The name Ramthang struck me; Phurchung told me that *sram* pronounced as Hrum is otter—*thang* is "plain". Here the otter with very fine skin abounds. Ramthang is otter-plain. Mr. Douglas Freshfield visited Ramthang coming from an Eastward direction from Pang-perma keeping the Kang-chan Junga glaciers to his south.

† The place is called Lho-nag-thang. At its bend flows a little stream called Chi-tsi-chu, and to the east of our path is the famous Pema-thang-ki tsari, or the outer wall of Ne Pemathang, the fab court-yard of Kang-chan, where gods and saints dwell in great bers. Beyond it is Lhonak glacier.

‡ No European or Indian traveller has up to date visited regions beyond Ramthang nor crossed by Cha-thang La Pass.

S. C. Das, *January*,

* To th he Jonson his has la eclared by

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We again proceeded on our journey. It was six in the evening, and the cliff under which we were to rest was far off. I did not want to go on, but there was no large rock to take shelter under, no water to drink, and the excessive rigour of the frost and the biting wind made it impossible for us to lie on the bare ground. We again plodded on our way, and before we could walk a mile we were overtaken by darkness, although the glare of the snow helped us a little. At seven we reached a huge rock which rested on a solid bed of ice. The guide told us that the rock would not fall during the night as there would be no melting of snow, but it would be better to start before sunrise. We spread our blankets on the snow, which formed a capital spring bed. Although I had eaten nothing on the previous day, yet I felt no appetite for food. I was thoroughly exhausted.

28th June.—Early in the morning we set out, surrounded on all sides by an ocean of snow. The sight of stones, not to speak of vegetation, would have been welcome to our tired eyes, but even such dreary comforts were denied us. The difficulty of breathing increased. Every few steps we lay down, got up again, again advanced a short distance, and again lay down on the burning snow, which was here knee-deep on a bed of ice. Ugyen Gya-tsho walked on cheerfully, but not so with me. My knees were nearly paralyzed, and my legs refused to work. In this deplorable plight I struggled up the snowy slope of Cha-thang-la * when my good friend (Phurchung), moved with compassion, came to my assistance. He left his load on the snow, tied his long spike horizontally to his girdle to prevent his plunging into the drifts, or in yawning crevasse and took me on his back. I gave him my spectacles, and sat without sense or movement, and with closed eyes, until I reached another field of snow about a mile from the foot of Cha-thang-la. The fresh snow was here not more than nine inches deep, and I managed to walk, though with great difficulty. Phurchung went back to bring up his load, which was nearly buried by the falling of the snow. The sun, which had oppressed us at mid-day, now disapeared behind the western range as we began to climb up this terrible slope. At last we came to the principle La, on the other side of which we were to take shelter. We toiled up it with extreme difficulty; our feet slipped, and we constantly rolled down. Phurchung cut steps with his *kookrie* (Nepali knife), and dragged me up with his hands. The fall of snow increased, and we were apprehensive of being buried alive. However, at six we reached a natural cavern, the interior of which was more comfortable and spacious than that of the previous night. Our guide informed us that the most difficult and dangerous portion of the pass had now been crossed, and that the rest of the way would be comparatively easy. In this miserable fashion did I cross the famous Cha-thang-la into Tibet, the very picture of desolation, horror, and death, escaping the treacherous crevasses which abound in this dreadful region. Here culminated our adventure in the eternal snows. What terrible glissades we made in these dreadful regions of ice and snow! We spread our blankets and lay down benumbed, as our cell was carpeted with snow, and our clothes wet through with the drops that leaked through the clefts in the rock above. It was impossible to boil water to determine the altitude. There was no fuel, nor were we in a position to do any work whatever; but from the nature of the ascent from Pang-phe-kung and Jorgu-og it is probable that Cha-thang-la is 2,000 feet higher than Jorgu-og, and not less than 20,000 feet above the sea.

29th June.—Next morning we set out very early and began to descend the La. After six hours' hard travelling we descried land with patches of brownish vegetation and scattered snow. At 1 P.M. we reached the bank of a sluggish river which makes its way through erratic blocks and boulders. From this point we descried for the first time the country of the sacred Bodhisattvas, and shortly after arrived at a slope on which there was verdure. This place is known by the name of "Gyami-thotho," the Chinese boundary with Nepalese and Sikkim territories, the place where the Chinese General, it is said, during the war with the Goorkhas, erected a stockade, and on his departure swore to keep the Cha-thang-la Pass closed for ever. Having crossed Gyami-thotho,† we came to another large river, whose left bank consisted of a steep and barren ridge of sand. This was the head water of the Zemi river, which drains the northern slopes of Kangchen-junga, and falls into Lachen, the western head-water of the Teesta river. There was not a single blade of grass to be seen. For a short distance we followed

* To the east of Chathang-la there is a snowy mountain called the Jonsong-La, *lit. Mdsod-gsan La*, the Pass of hidden treasures. This has lately been crossed by Mr. Douglas Freshfield, F.R.G.S., and declared by him to be over 20,200 ft. above the sea-level. He puts down the culminating peak of Jon-sang La to be 24,340 ft. (13th November, 1899). *Round the Kang-chen Junga.*

† *Gyami* means Chinese and *thotho*, boundary mark.

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the course of this river to the south-west, and arrived at a place near which we saw herds of yak grazing. Our guide was terribly afraid of being detected by the Dok-pas,* who have charge of the Pass, and who in return for their services are authorized by that Government to rob all travellers who venture to cross it. He was aware of this all along, but said nothing to us about it. Our passport would be of no help to us, as we had taken a very imprudent and ill-judged course. The Dokpas on the south and the Tibetans on the north of Chorten Nyima-la have made common cause to keep the Pass closed to travellers of every kind. We, therefore, concealed ourselves in a rock-cavern and did not come out till dusk, when we quietly crossed the river, which, with its boulders and sandbanks, was more than a mile in breadth. The stream itself was divided into three impetuous torrents. We then climbed a steep and high hill, and reached the southern flank of Chorten Nyima-la.† This in the moonlight appeared to be an extensive tableland, on the right and left of which towered two snowy ranges. There was very little snow on it, but the peaks presented a dead white appearance without glare. We spread our blankets on the bare ground in the moonlight, and spent the night in a sound, refreshing sleep.

30th June.—In the morning we started. Our path though tedious was not steep, but we were exhausted by hunger and thirst, as we had been without food for the last three days. After travelling eight miles we reached the southern foot of the Chorten Nyima-la. It was a glorious sight. Bristling cliffs of barren rock, whose crevices were filled with snow, crowned the top of the pass; and the azure sky of Tibet peeping behind the snowcapped crests, and the green-blue lines of glacier that intersected the snowy slope, combined to give a picturesque, yet weird, aspect to this most stubborn and charming pass. The rocks appeared like gneiss and dark granite. I climbed it at its steepest part with the help of Phurchung. We suffered little from the rarefied atmosphere, and within a short time reached the summit of the Pass, from which I enjoyed the view of the lofty plateau of Tibet. To the extreme north billowy ranges of blue bounded the cloudless horizon. I laid myself down near the pile of stones which marked the top—the "Lap-tse" (the top of the Pass or mountain) or "Obo" of the Mongols. Many flags attached to stout reeds were flying from the top of the pile, and our friend Ugyen Gya-tsho added some for himself to the number. After a rest of half an hour we began our descent to the Tibetan plateau, and at 3 P.M. arrived at the bank of a beautiful glacier lake at the foot of the pass. It looked like a block of turquoisel amid the surrounding snow. The sun was descending to the Indian horizon, and mellowed the air with its rays. The glassy water of the lake reflected each mountain and peak on a back-ground of fleecy skies. The lake is of an oval shape, about a quarter of a mile in length by about 250 yards in breadth. From it issues the Chorten Nyima river, a turbid stream, whose course we were to follow. After refreshing ourselves with Indian-corn and sugar, we began our downward journey. On both sides the mountains were barren without the least trace of vegetation. The contrast between the scenery of these bleak hills and those of the Cis-Himalayas filled with luxuriant vegetation was very striking. In our descent we were in constant danger of being seen by the guards stationed at the Chorten Nyima Monastery. At times we hid ourselves under boulders, and at others fell flat on the ground, terrified by the sight of stones which we took for yaks or ponies. After travelling more than 5 miles from the lake, we came to the place called Chorten Nyima or "Chaitya of the Sun," where there are a few flat-roofed stone cells for pilgrims and monks, and long mounds of inscribed stones. This *chaitya* is one of the ancient monuments erected by the early Indian Buddhists. Pilgrims from the whole of Tibet, and even from Mongolia and China annually resort to this sacred spot. Here we found a number of small shrubs with sweet-scented flowers of a violet colour. Phurchung crept quietly towards the monastery to see if there were any persons in it. He saw nobody outside, and returned with a bag full of cowdung for fuel. At six we cooked our rice for the first time at a height of 17,000 feet, the water boiling at 181°; and took a hearty meal after our fatigue. At dusk we recommenced our journey, our object being to reach the main track that connects Tengri Jong with Kamba Jong. We abandoned the direct and shorter road, so as to conceal the route we had come by. Had we been detected we should have been sent to Kamba

* The pastoral Tibetans who live by tending yaks and sheep and goats and bring their cattle thus far in the Cisneavian Himalayas.

† Mr. Douglas Freshfields, F. R. G. S., formerly Secretary to the Royal Geographical Society, in his admirable book of travel *Round Kanchen Junga* writes: "There is, however, I think, no doubt that the 'Chortenima La' crossed by Chandra Das was the pass known by that name in the country. The sketch he gives of the strange cairn on the top corresponds very fairly with Mr. Claude White's photograph taken in 1892."

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Jong as prisoners. The weather was fine and the sky clear; and the flowers of a thorny shrub that abounds here emitted a delicious scent. The river with its sandbanks on either side was many hundreds of yard in breadth. The main channel was about 40 feet broad where we crossed. In the North Himalayan range we had seen many varieties of stone, but no slates. Chorten Nyima and the ranges subordinate to it, abound in slates of different sorts, of which I picked up many specimens as I went along. I noticed one whose dull black colour, compact quality, and schistose nature at once distinguished it from ordinary black clay-slates. Clay-slates were abundant, and among them I observed the kind called whet-slate, known by its greenish white colour; and also the talc-slate of a pure green colour and greasy feel, about which I had read in books. I saw some specimens washed down by the feeders of the river, whence I conjectured that the beds lay higher up. I saw many other kinds of clay—slates of a variety of colours. On both sides of the river the hills are filled with slaty beds. I imagined that the green turquoise, so much prized by the Tibetans, was to be found in these beds, but I did not meet with any. At midnight, after crossing many hill-streams, we reached the grand track near the village of The-kong (also called Thebong.*) Here we halted and enjoyed a sound sleep wrapped in our blankets under the open sky. To the south towered in the moonlight numberless snowy crests of the Himalayas, forming a background to these romantic steppes. On our left rose the hills above Thekong; and in front the subordinate ridges of the Central Tibetan Himalayan range.

CHAPTER III

On the lofty plateau of Tibet.

1st *July.*—We got up early and took bearings of the adjacent villages of Sar and Tinki Jong, which were at a distance of about eight miles to the north-west. Recommencing our journey, we crossed the Chorten Nyima river for the second time. Before advancing a mile we heard the tinkling of bells, from which we inferred the presence of travellers. They were four in number, and were proceeding to Sar. We were asked many questions—who we were, where we came from, and whither we were going. Phurchung answered for all of us. They took me for a Nepalese pilgrim or Sherpa Lama, as they had met me on the Nepal road. The village of The-kong lies on the right bank of the Chorten Nyima river, on the lower slope of a range of treeless hills stretching eastward. The village is surrounded by an irregular stone wall about eight feet high. The houses have all flat terrace roofs, with a flag at each corner, the corner posts being joined by strings carrying pieces of rag and paper inscribed with *mantras.* A few shrubs and flowering plants grew near the houses, and beyond lay the barley cultivation, irrigated by canals cut from the main stream. At our back, to the furthest west, we saw the group of villages known as Sar and Tinki Jong; and to the north-west lay Dobta, the Sikkim Raja's Tibetan estate.

Dobta is the name of the country around the well-known Tsho-mote-thung, the lake of mule's drink. It is a fresh water lake, drained by a stream issuing from its south-western corner, which passes Tinki Jong, and effects its junction with the Arun a few miles below Sar. On the north is situated the little village of Tashi-tse-pa, which contains a lofty castle of four storeys and sixty windows, the property of a rich Tibetan, who one day discovered a hidden treasure as he was tending his flocks on the banks of the lake. A curious legend is connected with this lake. On the spot now covered by it there was once a small spring owned by a serpent-fairy of the nether world. Situated as it was in the middle of a wide and barren tract, it was the frequent resort of travellers. Once on a time a rich merchant with hundreds of mules halted near it. After drawing water from the spring he forgot to cover it with the slab of slate. Meanwhile the thirsty mules drank it nearly dry, and the little that remained was fouled by their hoofs. The serpent-nymph was deeply offended, and swore to turn the spring into a sea. Her human husband, the great Indian Acharya Pha-dam-pai Sange, tried to dissuade her from her resolve on the ground that it would destroy many living beings; but she remained firm. In a short time she connected the spring with the ocean, in consequence of which it became a very great lake, and would have submerged the whole of Tibet had not the Acharya cut subterraneous drains and left off the water to the four quarters. The eastern drain opens at the source of the Arun.

This great Acharya was the founder of Tengri-Jong. There is a temple dedicated to him at Dobta which contains his statue and

* The name The-Kong when written in Tibetan becomes Thal-Kong, *thal* signifying dust, *kong* or *pung* signifying "overhead" or 'heap.' In this village and region the wind blows very strongly raising heaps of dust. Dust storms blew while we entered the village in 1879 and 1881 in such a manner that we had to cover our eyes and face for an hour with cloth till their fury abated.

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that of his serpent wife. A fee of one tanka (six annas) is demanded for admission to see the idols. Of the villages on the north-east of the lake, Taling, Waitse, and Koloma are the most important. The Arun flows towards Nepal between our route and the great lake. The rivers which we passed do not flow into it. They all join the Arun with the exception of the Rhechu, which is a tributary of another Tsang-po. A good walker can march round the lake in three days.

We could not get ponies at The-kong, and had to go on to the nearest village (Tang-lung). The large village of Tang-lung ("cold valley") is situated on both banks of a small stream which rises in the eastern part of the Chorten Nyima range. It contains about 300 houses. Barley is extensively cultivated on both sides of the river. The villagers possess a very fine breed of yaks, but numbers of them have lately died of a murrain imported from Nepal. Many flocks of sheep and goats were grazing in the field. At the entrance of the road there are many piles of mendangs and two lofty chaityas. The village contains a small shrine dedicated to Buddha. Phurchung took us to the house of an acquaintance of his, where the old matron brought us barley-beer and tea, and a wooden pot full of barley-meal. We were accommodated in a little cottage ten feet by eight, built of stone cemented with mud, with a small opening in the slated roof. It had been used as a stall, and the floor was thick with dust and soot. At one corner of the room was the fire-place, and a bellows made of entire goat skin was used to blow the fire. The dust raised by the bellows filled the air and I had to leave the house to avoid being choked. As soon as we settled down, a host of beggars made their appearance. We dismissed them with presents of barley-meal and tobacco leaves, which we had brought with us. Tobacco is greatly prized by women in Tibet. Many spectators also came and peeped in at us from the door. Although the smoke and dust were a great nuisance, yet we were not without amusements. A pedlar with his wife came in front of our cottage and began to play the fiddle, the woman dancing with her husband. They sang three songs wishing us an auspicious journey. The music entertained me much, as I understood what they were singing. I dismissed them with the present of a four-anna piece and a few leaves of tobacco. Next came the chanku. The chanku or Tibetan wild dog is not so large as the Tibetan mastiff, and is of a light chestnut colour. This descendant of the wolf was very tame and made us many salaams. The chanku-man to show that his beast was as tame as a dog, allowed him to enter our house. This gave offence to our landlord, who, considering his house defiled by the entrance of so sinful an animal as a chanku, at once turned the beggar out of the courtyard.

2nd July.—In the morning I purchased a few eggs, and the Lama bought a dried carcass of a sheep for eight annas. He looked on this as a luxury; distributing pieces of meat to our guide and coolies; taking a large piece to his own share. We engaged three ponies, and after making a present of a rupee to our good landlord, we set on our journey. We had a pleasant ride along the bank of a beautiful river, the Kha-na donki-chu, according to some the headwater of the Dudu-Kosi of the Nepalese. In the distance, to right and left of us, ran two parallel ranges of bleak hills stretching to the south-west. These are a continuation of the range of Kamba-Jong, the right hand range ending at Tang-lung. Patches of barley grew here and there, and herds of yak and a flock of sheep and goats were grazing in the meadows. From numberless holes in the ground hundreds of marmots ran to and fro. On the road we passed the ruins of two villages, marked by irregular heaps of stone and mud. At 11 A.M. we reached the pretty village of Mende situated in the midst of this fertile strip. Facing the village lies a flower garden containing dwarf willows, stunted birch, dwarf juniper trees, the leaves of which are used as incense, and a few other plants of which I did not know the names. As soon as we arrived, about 20 of the villagers surrounded us and enquired what we had brought to sell. They admired my revolver and the Lama's pistol, and wanted to buy them. The headman of the village gave us a thick rug made of yak's hair to sit on. He sat with the rest on the ground, and his wife brought us barley-beer and buttered tea and flour. After refreshing ourselves with this wholesome food, we recommenced our journey; and crossing many small streams at last arrived at (Dar-ge) Targay, a pretty village on the Yaru-tsang-po near Kamba-Jong. Opposite to this stands a monastery called Serding Gonpa, built on a fine eminence. We passed the night in the travellers' shed, which was more spacious than our Tang-lung cottage. The number of cattle here was greater than at Tang-lung. On our right, to the south-east, we had a distant view of the castle of Kamba-Jong situated on the top of a hill.

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3rd July.—In the morning we crossed the Yaru-la, which is a prolongation of the Kamba-Jong range to the north-west. After meeting a caravan of assess and a few traders, we cooked our food on the bank of the Great Arun—the Che-chu of the Tibetans. At noon we recommenced our journey, and at half-past two reached Gurmé or Kurma, a Dokpa town containing about 600 families. They belong to a pastoral tribe, most of whom live in felt tents in the neighbouring hills, where their cattle find abundance of pasture. The houses are built of stone and large sundried bricks, and each is surrounded by a mud or stone wall, built according to the means or taste of the owner. There was no barley or other cultivation near the village, the people subsisting on supplies brought in from the neighbourhood and from Shiga-tse. Sheep and goats can be had here at a very cheap rate, the usual price being a rupee for the fattest animal, weighing a maund and a half. The people possess large flocks of sheep, which are kept near the village in folds, many of which occupy about an acre of ground, enclosed by stone walls. Each fold contains about 500 sheep and goats. The dried dung is sold at a tanka or six annas a maund, and is universally used for fuel. At Kurma we took a short rest in the shade of the *mendang*, and tethered our ponies in the adjacent pasture. Phurchung alighted from his pony, and arming himself with the Lama's long stick, entered the village in search of mutton and beer. Two or three fierce mastiffs rushed towards him, barking furiously, but he kept them off with his stick. His stalwart appearence and formidable looks, as well as the sword hanging from his waist, terrified the villagers who took him for a bandit. He was refused admission to their houses, and returned to us with a dismal face. In the meantime some villagers and a number of beggars surrounded us. After making enquiries about us, they brought us a jar of beer, holding about a gallon, and a few seers of barley flour. I paid a four-anna piece for the barley and beer, which satisfied the seller, who scampered off well pleased. In these places a gallon of beer can be bought for two annas. The Lama and Phurchung, as well as our syces, were quite satisfied with the beer, which they drank heartily, but it did not suit my taste, and I was satisfied with a single cup. We distributed the remainder among the beggars. Meanwhile, a caravan consisting of laden yaks and asses, and two men on horseback, approached us; and from these we learnt that there was a party of robbers near the Kyago-la, from whose hands they had narrowly escaped. One of the inhabitants told us that the robbers belonged to this very village of Kurma, which they had left about two months before, being destitute of the means of subsistance. The headmen of the village and their relations were then in search of them.

After resting, we prepared for our journey. I loaded my revolver, and the Lama armed himself with his sword, Bhutan knife, and pistol. At 3 P.M. we descended to a plain of sand and gravel, with stunted, prickly shrubs growing here and there. At the entrance of the plain was a range of *mendangs*, indicating the neighbourhood of the Shari monastery, which stood on a gloomy hill to our right. The plain was many miles long and about three in breadth. A line of snowy mountains, presided over by Sang-ra-la, stretched away north-eastward on our right. Before we had got half-way across this barren plain, we were overtaken by a storm of wind followed by heavy rain, thunder, and lightning. My clothes were wet through; but we galloped on through the mist and rain till we reached the foot of the Kyago-la. Here, at a place called Luk-re, we took shelter in a shepherd's cell. The shepherd was away with his sheep, but it was time for him to return. The ground outside was white with snow, but we spread our blankets on a heap of cowdung, with which the cell was filled, cooked our rice and meat, and enjoyed a hearty meal. At 5 P.M. the shepherd returned with his flock, which numbered not less than 500. Our coolies explained that we were great Lamas and merchants, and that he would do well to let us alone. The shepherd told them that on the previous night a band of robbers had entered his fold and taken away several of his fattest sheep. He was glad to learn that we were not robbers. Soon after our arrival a few Tibetans with six asses arrived and pitched their tent of black yak-hair at a distance of about 40 yards from our cell. We welcomed their arrival, as our fear of robbers was somewhat abated by their presence.

4th July.—In the morning we rose early, breakfasted at 8 A.M. and started our coolies. The Lama took bearings of the adjacent hills and the station of Mende. After crossing several inferior streams we began to ascend the La. At 2 P.M. we crossed it, and arrived at the bank of the river Rhe (Sri), a smooth but rapid stream. Our way now lay along the ravines of the Kyago-la. We had travelled so long on level plains that I could have imagined myself again in Sikkim, but missed

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its grandeur and luxuriant vegetation. The peaks beneath which we now journeyed were bleak and barren. Beginning the descent we shortly arrived at the bank of the Rhe. Here several flocks of sheep were grazing. On our approach two huge mastiffs flew towards us howling furiously. The shepherd was not near, and Phurchung could not succeed in driving them off with stones. At each attempt they grew more furious, until at last the Lama fired his pistol and shot one of them. The other made off towards the shepherd's cot. In the evening we halted at a grassy bank about a mile above the town of Eago (u-go), the boundary between the provinces of U and Tsang. Eago belongs to Lhasa, and contains about a hundred houses. There is a flour-mill at the north entrance of the town worked by the stream. In the plains around herds of yaks were grazing. The rain had now ceased, the clouds had disappeared, and we were in high spirits, although some rock in the distance, which seemed a likely hiding place for robbers, caused us some uneasiness. We refreshed ourselves with warm buttered tea, barley-flour and eggs; and spreading our blankets on a carpet of grass, soon got over our fatigue. A little way off a party of Tibetans were encamped; they had their tents, and we had the heaven for our canopy. The evening was delightful, and one of our fellow-travellers, named Sangaling-pa, a fine, jolly fellow, full of jokes, proved himself a most amusing companion.

5th July.—We got up early, and mounting our ponies galloped through the Padong valley. Passing by the village of Chuta-phurpa, which contains about 20 houses, we came to a bridge on a little stream, a feeder of the Rhe. A slab of stone, about ten feet long, placed over the main channel, rests on piles of large boulders on either side, the approaches to the bridge being formed by pine branches. Near the bridge there are two moderate sized *mendangs*, from the summits of which two ropes of yak-tail, adorned with inscribed flags of different colours, are made fast to the crest of the over-hanging hill. At midday we were overtaken by a shower of rain and wind; we galloped on and soon arrived at the village of Reh-se. This village has now lost its importance, the inhabitants have fallen into poverty, and the neighbouring temple at Thamar Tag-mar or red-cliff, on the left side of the river, is falling into ruin. The Rhe here divides into two branches, inclosing between them a wide and verdant plain, on which many hundred sheep and goats, besides a number of yaks, were grazing. We alighted from our ponies in the middle of the plain and took the bearings of the nearest station. Here we enjoyed an excellent view of the Rhe monastery (Sri gyud-pai Gon-pa), a novel sight to me, which showed me for the first time what a Tibetan monastery, was like. After a respite of an hour we started off, crossed the river, there 50 yards broad, but about three to four feet deep. The Rhe *gonpa* or monastery lies on the lower declivity of a rocky hill which runs north-eastward for a distance of about half a mile. It has a picturesque appearance, and though old, it has not lost its splendour. There are some 300 monks residing in it who follow the *Tantrik* cult. The Lama is a man of great renown, believed to be able to control the fall of hail and snow. In the neighbourhood of the village is a large town called Tamar, and containing about two hundred houses and several *chaits*. The northern avenues of the town are long and spacious, and when viewed from a distance, add considerably to the effect. At four we began the ascent of the Nambu-dong-La. In the plains below hundreds of yaks were grazing; but snow was falling heavily in the pass, and we were driven to take shelter in a shepherd's house, where we found three women and two men. They provided us with beer, milk, and curds, and I took my seat near the spinning-wheel. The shepherd's wife wore on a splendid head-gear studded with pearls, agate, and turquoises.

The snow had not ceased to fall; but after a short rest, as there was still daylight, we started off. Our clothes and hats were soon covered with snow, but we did not get wet. At six we reached the summit of the pass. After crossing several torrents swollen by the rains, we looked out for a halting-place. First we tried a sheep-fold, but found it full of water and mud. We then spread our blankets on the boulders in the bed of the stream. The rain had ceased to fall, and we refreshed ourselves with copious draughts of buttered tea. Water boiled at 187°, indicating a height of 13,500 feet. The night was excessively cold, chill blasts blowing and a biting frost all night. I was half frozen, my legs and hands getting thoroughly numbed.

6th July.—Got up early in the morning and started without breakfast. The descent from the La was very steep, and we had to dismount from our ponies. We then passed through a rich extensive plain, watered by two winding streams on whose banks were patches of young barley. And now for the first time, after our long journey through barren plains, we found groves of trees growing

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in every village. The country through which we were passing was fertile, well watered, and of an admirable climate. Bright and sparkling streams replaced the muddy torrents which we had had to cross; and their banks, adorned with grass, flowers, and leafy trees, quite delightfully reminded me of Jong-ri. We passed through the villages of Luguri-jong and Rabden-ling. At the former place a hospitable Tibetan lady, called Lobdenputi, gave us excellent tea, beer, and barley flour. We met many caravans of yaks and donkeys, and at last reached the village of Lhajung, on a little stream called Targe-chu, or chutha-chu, 'the stream which works the flourmills.' Here we put up for the night with other travellers.

7th July.—Rose early, mounted our ponies, and started off. We passed through a succession of fields of barley, and met many Lamas and Gelongs (religious mendicants) who were going home for a holiday, dressed in their richest vestments. Many of them were riding. We avoided them for fear of being asked questions. At seven we reached the brow of the hill Gya-la, overlooking the plain at the extremity of which Tashi-lhunpo stands. The summit of this hill commands a beautiful view, said to be the finest in Central Tibet. To the west was the Narthang monastery, whose white walls and towers gleamed out from the dark blue hills amid which it stood. Below us flowed the silvery Penam-nyang-chu, and far to the front rose the snow-capped crests of the Northern Himalayas. After crossing a short bend of the hill we descended to the plains. We now caught sight of the grand monastery of Tashi-lhunpo, the residence of Tsang Panchen Rinpo-che, the sovereign Maha Pandit Guru of Tsang. Tashi-lhunpo (*mangala kuta* or the 'Mountain of glory') presented a most superb view. It looked from a distance with gold-gilt roofs of it several mausoleums like a dazzling hill of polished gold. We rode on, and presently arrived at Dele, the nearest village to Tashi-lhunpo. Dele contains over 300 houses, and its inhabitants are well-to-do. We breakfasted in the house of a lady named Yangchan puti, who, with her husband, a fine, jolly fellow, entertained us hospitably with capital barley and beer. We then exchanged polite expressions with our host and hostess, and after a cup of tea set off on our journey. On the road we met many Lamas and merchants riding on their ponies, and numerous yaks and fine donkeys. Riding fast we at length reached the gate of the Golden Monastery. Near the gate were gathered hundreds of yaks with supplies for the city; while pilgrims, Lamas, Gelongs, and men and women of every degree, formed an endless procession around the chaityas and shrines. We had at last reached the goal of our long and perilous journey.

THE AIM OF INDIAN ART

THE aims of art have been very various at different times and in different places. The aims of Indian art, as of Indian culture in general, have changed less than the aims of art elsewhere, a fact not so much due to the supposed conservatism of India, as to the fact that Indian civilization and culture are founded upon a rock. As in two previous papers I have discussed the present state of Indian art, it seems to me important now to enquire what has been this consistent aim of Indian art in the past, and of what importance it is that the same aim should still be before the Indian artist, and of what value art of any kind is to India to-day.

Some-one, it may have been Sir George Birdwood, has said that,—

"Antiquity from its being nearer than we are to the divine origin of things, was ever mindful to symbolize in its sublime art the truth of the conviction that the green circle of the earth and the shining frame of the out-stretched heavens are but the marvellous intertexture of the veil dividing between the world we see, and the unseen and unseeable world beyond. This is the reason of the vitality, the dignity, and the power of giving contentment possessed by the arts of the world of antiquity, with which the arts of the modern world of the West will never be indued until they also become animated by the spirit of the pristine faith of every historical race in the old world."

This is a statement of the truth of which every student of Indian art must be convinced. We nowhere find art for art's sake, but everywhere art for the sake of men and of gods. Indian art like every other aspect of Indian

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culture is informed with religious ideas; it has sought always first the kingdom of God and His righteousness,—and in my view, all else has been added to it. The study of Asiatic art is yet in its infancy; in the meanwhile it is necessary for us to speak with the courage of our convictions and say without hesitation what we really believe, that the artistic achievement of India at various times, has been as great as any that the world has seen. The most unprofitable use of art which we can make is to quarrel over the relative superiority of its several achievements; and yet we must hold some view as to their value and perhaps we shall not be altogether wrong in making public what we think, at a time when, in India at least, the deeper significance of art is almost forgotten. It is always easy to point out deficiencies, and to discover what a man or a nation has not accomplished; but it is not a profitable pursuit, and we shall find ourselves doing better by considering what *has* been the accomplishment of Indian art, and what were its aims. These aims were often enough quite contrary in their trend, to the criticisms levelled against the resulting productions. What it is important to see, then, is that Indian art, just as much as Greek or Gothic, must be considered for its own sake, as an end in itself, and not merely as a foil or set off to these.

When we first meet with Indian art in permanent form, in the buildings of Asoka, and particularly at Bharhut, its special characteristic is already well-marked. This characteristic is its Idealism. This it shared, of course, with the early Asiatic and Egyptian art that preceded it; but it alone has remained true to one ideal since, and carried that ideal further than any others. Before the building of the Bharhut rails, the aims of Greek art had already sunk from idealism to naturalism: and with the exception of 13th century Western European sculpture and 14th and early 15th century Italian painting, there has been no great idealistic school in the West at any later time. How long ago the idealism of Indian art was self-conscious we do not know; so little have Indians valued or studied the wonderful collection of works on art known collectively as the *Silpa Sastra*, that we do not even know when the canons of proportion and design were formulated. It must have been long ago, before the Muhammadan invasions, and before the growth of a feeling of antagonism between Hinduism and Southern Buddhism; the canon may have been transmitted orally before it was committed to writing; and idealism must have been a conscious aim long before the canon, in which its methods are defined and established, was laid down at all.

We shall understand the idealism of Indian art as well from a study of the Bharhut sculptures as in any other way. Consider the trees particularly [see plate A]. There are two ways of seeing a tree; at a first glance, or in a photograph, or an impressionist sketch, it strikes us as an irregular growth of branches and leaves, producing a confused effect of light and shade. We soon learn to distinguish one kind of tree from another. But as we consider more deeply a number of trees of different kinds, we realise that each has, as it were, a law of its being; its leaves have a certain form, with a certain range of variation, its branches a certain manner of growth, its flowers a particular symmetry; each actual tree seems to be an incarnation or embodiment of some more perfect and rhythmical *idea* of the tree. This idea it is the artist's business as the prophet and seer to reveal to others. In this way the work of the artist and of the scientist are reconciled in a common aim: each is endeavouring to recognize the one in the many, to formulate natural laws, always a master passion of the Indian mind. All lotus flowers are resumed in the eight or sixteen petaled forms of Indian art. Just so in Western mediæval art all roses are resumed in the Tudor rose; the 'Tudor rose' is as much a 'natural law' as the 'law of gravity.' It 'explains' all roses just as much (and just as little) as the law of gravity explains the fall of an apple and the flow of a river. Such laws once discovered, are discovered for good, and this explains the permanence of so many of the decorative motifs of Indian art; they could only change in the direction of naturalism, and that would be again to clothe them in the accidental and unessential, from which art has separated them in its ideal world.

The ideal treatment of the human figure is a greater thing. The human ideal is infinitely complex, whether we regard man as made in the image of God, or as an incarnation of part of God himself. The ideal form, say of a lotus, is a thought in the mind of Isvara; the ideal man is part of Isvara himself. Indian figure sculpture, while, of course, unable to cope with the expression of the infinite in finite terms, has yet endeavoured to express more than the mere human idea; in other words, since it could not express the whole, it has depicted neither God (the Unconditioned) nor man (the very limited), but gods, who to finite man represent comprehensible aspects of an infinite whole. Brahma is not represented; but the person

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Figure sculpture in low relief, from Bharhut, showing idealistic treatment.
[*Drawn from a photograph, slightly altered, and the position of left hand altered.*]

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gods, even the highest, may be symbolized in art, according to the capacity of those that worship them. For simple men a god not too far away was meet, one 'easy to reach,' such as Ganesha; others can make the effort requisite to reach even Nataraja; and there are some who set the heart upon the unconditioned only, who cannot in any wise be represented. In one sense it may be said that the ideal of Indian sculpture was thus the representation of the 'superman,' in the Indian view nothing else than God. It is natural that such ideals should have reacted on work of less exalted aim and that we should find the same great qualities in the early statues even when mere kings and men were the subjects.

Thus whether in decorative or substantive art, the consistent Indian aim has been to represent the Ideal, to express in the language of form and colour the *logos* or Idea underlying phenomenal appearance.

The aim of the trained scientific or artistic imagination is to conceive (*con-cipio* to take hold of) or invent (*in-venio* to light upon) some unifying truth otherwise unsuspected. The fact already exists; the creative genius discovers it. The theory of evolution, or of electrons, or atoms;* the rapid discovery by a mathematical genius of the answer to an abstruse calculation; the conception that flashes into the artist's mind, all these represent some true vision of the Idea underlying phenomenal experiences. Ideal art is thus rather a spiritual discovery, than a creation.

The mere imitation of nature is not attempted, because not desired. The revelation of the idea underlying each sensuous appearance has more concerned the Indian artist, than has the appearance itself. He embodies the vision arrived at by inward contemplation, in the language of art, which is based on natural forms. It is from natural form that he must learn the grammar of his speech; the thing which he has to say must come from within. How long ago this point of view was consciously assumed by Indian art, we can hardly say; perhaps when the whole idealistic philosophy grew into shape, or it may be as old as Egypt. In later times, it is clearly expressed in the words of Shukracharya, quoted by A.N. Tagore on p. 392 of the first volume of this journal:—

"The artist should attain to the images of gods by means of spiritual contemplation only. This spiritual vision is the best and truest standard for him.† He should depend upon it, and not, indeed, upon the visible objects perceived by external senses.

"It is always commendable for the artist to draw the images of gods. To make human figures is bad, and even unholy.‡ It is far better to present the figure of a god though it is not beautiful, than to reproduce a remarkably handsome human figure." §

The doctrine of idealism is here stated with uncompromising sternness by the great sage, in relation to the kind of art which is generally called 'fine' or 'high.' It would not be reasonable to expect that all art should be produced at this high tension. The simple expression of man's joy in handicraft, of his humour, his fear, or his desire, are motifs sufficient to inspire the lesser art which should be a part of, and should humanize, every aspect of daily life. What does matter, is the aim of the *highest* art, for all art is really one whole, and the less conscious aim of the lesser sort of art will be the same as that of the greater. And we find that in India this is so; the same idealism pervades it all, is as conspicuous in 18th century Sinhalese art, (representing Indian art reduced to the level of a great and beautiful scheme of peasant decoration), as it is in Early Indian, Ajantayan, or 16th century Dravidian. It is this fact which gives so much dignity and value to the lesser arts of India, and separates them so entirely in spirit from the 'pagan' art of the Western renaissance, or the merely imitative decorative art of modern Europe.

We have seen one religious view of art. The relation between art and religion is a matter of eternal interest. The whole of Indian life is so based on theocratic ideals that it is not surprising that art should also be. India is wont to express the eternal and inexpressible in terms of sensuous beauty. The love of man for woman and for nature, symbolize the love of man for God. The recognition of the unity of all life leads the

* The atomic or any other theory need not represent *objective* fact; but may nevertheless stand for a fact, incarnate in words, more real than any particular example of a reaction between two elements, because it represents a part of what is not accidental or transitory in any particular relation of elements.

† Sometimes the canon itself is meant more to stimulate this vision, than to define the manner of its presentation. "The image (of Buddha) must exemplify a person with an unfettered, quiescent, and absolutely pure mind" (Sariputra); or again "The neigh of a horse is like the sound of a storm, his eyes like the lotus, he is swift as the wind, as stately as a lion, and his gait is the gait of a dancer" (Rupavaliya).

‡ Meaning that portraiture is a lesser aim than the representation of ideal forms. In terms of European art, it would have been a sin for Giotto or Botticelli, who could give to the world an ideal conception of the Madonna, to have been content to portray obviously earthly persons posing as the Madonna, as was done generally in the sixteenth century, when art had passed from spirituality to naturalism. So also, Millais' later work, has a lower aim than his earlier. In the same way, the work of Ravi Varma, representing mere men, posing as gods and heroes, transcripts of living models, is 'unholy' compared with the ideal pictures of Tagore.

§ The very antithesis of the Puritan attitude, which is opposed to all art but especially to that of the imager who attempts to represent divinity.

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artist to depict the beauty and the wonder of it; the knowledge that all diversity is a manifestation of but one reality, leads him ever to seek the ideal and avoid the transitory and accidental. Indian religion as a whole has accepted art as it has accepted life in its entirety, yet with open eyes.

"Any Indian man or woman will worship at the feet of some inspired wayfarer who tells them that there can be no image of God, that the world itself is a limitation and go straightway, as the natural consequence, to pour water on the head of the Siva-lingam" (Okakura, *Ideals of the East*).

There is another religious attitude towards art, that of the ascetic or sannyasi. It is illustrated by the Buddhist monk Chitta Guta who dwelt as a recluse in a certain cave for 60 years without ever raising his eyes so far as to observe that the roof was beautifully painted, nor was he aware of the yearly flowering of a great na-tree before his cave, except by seeing the pollen fallen on the ground. He was following the instruction of the Dhammika Sutta, "Form, sound, taste, smell, touch, these intoxicate beings; cut off the yearning which is inherent in them."

It is thought by many Hindus and Buddhists as it has been by many Christians, that *rapid* spiritual progress is compatible only with an ascetic life. The goal is salvation from the round of repeated individual existence and the realisation of man's one-ness with the unconditioned. Before such a goal is reached even the highest intellectual attachments must be relinquished; art, like all else in time and space, must go. This attitude is quite logical in the case of one who believes that rapid spiritual progress can thus only be made, and who is in haste. But it is admitted that spiritual progress can be made in other ways, and perhaps not much less quickly, for example, by the performance of right action without attachment to the fruit. And for those who tread such paths, art is a means and an aid to spiritual progress; but it is important that it should be so used, and not as a hindrance. And so like everything else, it has been made a part of religion; the 'pagan' sense of all life as a sacrament survives still, and explains how the Indian is able to regard all things as a part of his religion, including the love of woman.

The ascetic path has never been intended for all men, and all occasions. The citizen or 'householder' is first, as without him the race would not continue and the purpose of the cosmos would fail. Art is of the first importance, as the form of culture which most easily humanises his toil and spiritualizes his ideas. There is a third religious attitude to a however, based on a confusion of the two ready mentioned; that is puritanism. T wish to impose the ascetic ideal of renunc tion upon the citizen appears to be found on a confusion of ideas. The citizen sho indeed be restrained; but the very essen of his method is that he should learn restra or temperance by life, not by the rejection life. The ascetic ideal is right for those whom it appeals, (except when it is reall form of selfishness); the citizen's ideal is the many, and it is important that the t paths should not be confused.

So long as man is related to the world phenomenal appearance, whether real or n art of some kind is the necessary means spiritualizing that relation. This applies much to the ornament of utilitarian objec and to architecture, as to the purely substa tive and ideal art which definitely aims the revelation of the divine. I have mo than once heard it said by 'practical' m that art, as it used to be practised in Indi was a waste of time. The organized guil of royal craftsmen were disbanded when Western ruler came; and too often the rul of a native state to-day, guided by a mistak notion of the practical, has also dismissed t royal craftsmen and musicians. How *un*-pra tical such an attitude can be, I have suggest in an earlier article. It is based on a mi taken view of the purpose and power of art.

There is a view of art, which if true, wou go far to justify the statement that art is waste of time. This is the modern weste view, now much accepted in India, that t only purpose of art is to please, its only go the representation of beauty. The subje is immaterial, and need not even be compr hensible, much less edifying, if only it considered beautiful. Well, if art be o such a tickling of the senses, a pastime li billiards or horse-racing, then it is true th we in India, upon whom lies so heavy a bu den of work to-day, ought not to waste o time on art. But remember that all art one; if pure pleasure be the aim of any a it is of all; if any be waste of time, all a the same. If you will not allow the carpent to ornament the door-jambs of your hou neither should you allow the poet to wr for you or the singer to sing. Not so did m so practical and so devout as Akbar and As regard the matter; not so shall we, if w are wise. The imagination in man, scienti and artistic, is the quality which most i cates his real evolution from a lower state. we banish from our house the carven tim

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and from our bodies beautiful adornment, save it be from the strictly ascetic point of view, we become no better than the beasts who live in dens. * All art is a very essential part of culture, an integral and inseparable part of any noble 'civilization.' The ornament added lightly by the craftsman to an everyday utensil, is at once the humanization of his labour, and the witness that man does not live by bread alone. These are the great meaning that art has for all of us, and fools we are if any ideal of 'utility' should blind us to it.

Let us pass to a consideration of tradition and convention in Indian art. Some would have it that in them we see the foes of art, and the time has come for Indian art to free itself. But was any noble art free from the help, as I call it, of tradition and convention? Says Prof. Gardner,—

"At all times, in the history of Greek art, scluptor and painter succeed in nothing better than slight variations on a given theme, by which they manage, *without once breaking with tradition*, (to cast) it in ever fresh forms of beauty."†

Moris calls it

"That wonderful, almost miraculous accumulation of the skill of ages, which men find themselves partakers in without effort on their part."

Take in illustration of tradition, the images, Hindu or Buddhist. Strict rules are laid down in the Silpa Sastras as to the proportion of the figures, the attributes to be associated with them, and the pose of body and limbs. Here is a specimen from the canon—

"These are the marks of Siva, a glorious visage, three-eyed, a bow and arrow, a garland of serpents, ear-rings, a rosary, four hands, a trisula, a noose, a deer, hands pointed up and down, a garment of tiger skin, his vehicle a Bull of the hue of the chank" (Rupavaliya).

The written tradition, perhaps at one time only orally transmitted, is thus only a mnemonic or memory verse, exactly corresponding to the mnemonic verses of early Indian literature.‡ In both cases the artist had also a living and fuller tradition, handed down in the schools from generation to generation, enabling him to fill out the meagre details of the written canon. There was room also for the expression of his individual genius.

Another example will explain the position better still. In figure 1, I have reproduced

Fig. 1. Nataraja; from an old sketch-book from Tanjore (reduced).

from a Tamil artist's note-book, about a century old, a sketch of Nataraja, § another form assumed by Siva. This sketch embodies the bare details given in the canon (which in this case I am unable to quote) together with the traditional interpretation; it represents

* "If we are to be excused for rejecting the arts, it must be not because we are contented to be less than men, but because we long to be more than men" (William Morris). My experience has been that those who regard art as superfluous, are not often of those who long to be more than men, but are of those whose ideal is one of purely material prosperity. "Industry without art is brutality."

† Grammar of Greek Art, 1905, p. 191.

‡ For example, the *satsatiya*, or seven great weeks in the life of Buddha are thus summarised in the 'Dipavamsa,' I, 29,—"The throne, the *Animisa* (sanctuary), the cloisters, the gem-court, the *Ajapala* (tree), and the *Mucalinda* (tree) together with the *Khirapala* (grove) as the seventh." The reciter had to fill in the details of the story and make it live, from the traditional knowledge outside this mere mnemonic.

§ Nataraja, the 'Dancing Lord' is a great and wonderful conception. The legend is given in the Koyil Puranam. It is briefly as follows:—Ten thousand rishis endeavoured to destroy Siva, who appeared amongst them in disguise. A fierce tiger was created in sacrificial fires, and rushed upon Him, but smiling gently He seized it with His sacred hands, and with the nail of His little finger ripped off its skin, and wrapped it round Himself as a soft silken garment... Undiscouraged by failure they renewed their offerings, from out of which came a monstrous serpent, which He seized and wreathed about His neck, where it ever hangs; and then began His mystic dance. And now came forth the last monster in the shape of a black dwarf, hideous and malignant.....Upon him the God pressed the tip of His sacred foot, and broke the creature's back, so that he writhed on the ground; and thus, with His last foe prostrate, Siva resumed the dance of which all the gods were witnesses" (Pope, 'Tiruvacagam', p. lxiii). An interpretation of the legend says that He subdues and wraps about Him as a garment, the tiger fury of human passion; the guile and malice of mankind He wears as a necklace, and beneath His feet is for ever crushed the embodiment of evil. The figure also symbolizes in terms of the marvellous control and rhythm of Indian dancing, the effortless ease with which the God in His grace supports the cosmos. It is but play to Him. The five acts of creation, destruction, preservation, embodiment and gracious release, are His ceaseless mystic dance. Around His head appears a glory, He dances within a ring of flames of light. In sacred Tillai shall the dance be finally revealed; and Tillai is the very centre of the Universe; that is, His dance is within the cosmos and the soul.

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very fairly just that amount of guidance which tradition hands on for the behoof of each succeeding generation of imagers. Contrast with this the picture shown in the plate B, which is from a bronze of the same subject to be seen in the Madras museum;* it may be of the sixteenth or seventeenth century, or earlier. To praise this magnificent work would be superfluous. It shows what a tradition can mean when interpreted by genius.

I take another case. The traditional representation of the seated Buddha is too well known to need description or a reference to the canon. It is quite typical of the cases in which tradition and cenvention are supposed to fetter artistic imagination. But in the plate C, I reproduce a Javanese figure of a Dhyani Buddha, † which shows that this simple conception can be made the vehicle of all the beauty and emotion and repose that can be expressed at all, in the language of art. This One, with "an unfettered, quiescent, and absolutely pure mind," is a conception belonging to all time, a vessel into which the genius of the greatest artist we can imagine can be poured without fear of overflowing. The tradition is the means of expression of each succeeding generation of artists.

We have seen the tradition as enabling the greatest artist to say, in a language understanded of the people, all that art can say. This element in the power of traditional art must not be forgotten,—it enables the artist to speak directly to the heart without the necessity for explanation, which reduces the value of more individualistic art; at the same time the tradition does not hinder, but rather helps, the artist to express the deepest that is in him individually.

What was the relation of the tradition to inferior workmen, the majority for whom art is but a craft? It gave them a conception so defined, as to avoid all danger of the great and sacred subjects being treated absurdly or irreverently. How well this aim was attained, is shown by the vulgarity and stupidity that do appear in Indian art, whenever the tradition is rudely and contemptuously broken with. But the tradition while it existed, saved the vulgar or stupid man from his own folly, and made it possible for him to work acceptably, within its limits.

So much for the meaning of the tradition as it is, perhaps I should say, as it was, for it is scarcely alive to-day. I hear it said that it is dead, and that even were it not, there are new things to say, new hopes and fears and loves to be expressed; all art is not *un fait accompli*, there is more to be done than merely to copy and copy; the future is infinite and cannot be limited by the conventions of the past. And this is nothing but the truth. But the fault lies not in the inherent nature of the tradition, much rather in the very fact that it is no longer alive and developing, no longer enriched by the continual addition of new motifs and new synthesis of feeling. Art is a language, and will be a dead language if no change in it be permitted, if it is not to be the medium of expression of new ideas and new thoughts, it will lose relativity to national life. But like the spoken language it can only change nobly, in response to an impulse from within, the irresistible demand for words in which to communicate the new conceptions. I think no one will claim that the recent change in the aims and methods of Indian art, or the rejection of tradition are an expression of any new thing which the heart of India is endeavouring to express at this very time. Much rather are they the parrot repetition of much that has elsewhere been repeated unto weariness already.‡ When a living Indian culture arises out of the wreck of the past and the struggle of the present, a new tradition will be born, and the new thoughts will find expression in the language of form and colour no less than in the language of words and rhythm. The people to whom the great conceptions came long ago are still the Indian people, and when life is strong in them again, strong also will be their art. It may well be that the fruit of a deeper national life, a wider culture, a greater knowledge and a profounder love, will be an art greater than any of the past. It may be that tradition as known to us will pale before the greatness of

* The photograph was taken for me, in Madras, by the kindness of Mr. Edgar Thurston, Director of the Museum. For the other photograph I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. E. B. Havell, Principal of the Calcutta School of Art.

† Dhyani Buddha. The earthly mortal Buddha is sometimes regarded as merely a projection or partial incarnation of a pure and glorious being existent on a finer, ideal plain. A statue of Dhyani Buddha stands for this pure being, not merely for the man as he appeared on earth.

The idea corresponds to the Hindu conception of partial incarnation. We are also reminded of Myers' theory of personality, with its 'threshold of consciousness', dividing the greater part not functioning on the material plane, from the lesser which does so function.

‡ "That virtue of originality that men so strain after is not *ness* (as they vainly think), it is only genuineness; it all depends on this single glorious faculty of getting to the spring of things and working out from that; it is the coolness, and clearness and delicious ness of water fresh from the fountain-head, opposed to the thick, ... unrefreshing drainage from other men's meadows" (Ruskin, 'Modern Painters').

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NATARAJA.

From bronze in Madras Museum.

PLATE B, "THE AIM OF INDIAN ART."

THE INDIAN PRESS, ALLAHABAD.

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the new expression, as the moon pales before a rising sun. But this can only happen as a growth and a development, not by a sudden rejection of the past. The aims of the Indian art are not for one time only, the synthesis of Indian thought is one whole composed equally of present, past and future. We stand in relation to both; the past has made us what we are, the future we ourselves are moulding; our duty to the future is to enrich, not to destroy the past. The aim and the method are eternal, the formula and the vision must change and widen. The future is to be greater than the past, not contemptuous of it, but its inevitable product, an integral part of it. The message of the old tradition to the new, may be given in the words of a great idealist of the present:—

"Singing not our songs, sing thou newer, better.
Thinking not our thoughts, think thou bolder, truer.
Dream thou not our dreams, but dream thou as we dreamt.

Let not our dreams die."

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

Broad Campden.

SHIVAJI LETTERS

(From the Persian.)

I.—Religious Toleration.

Shivaji to Aurangzib.

(Written by Nil Prabhu Munshi.)

The firm and constant well-wisher Shivaji, after rendering thanks for the favours of God and the graces of the Emperor, which are clearer than the Sun, begs to inform your Majesty that, although this well-wisher was led by Fate to come away from your august presence without taking leave, yet he is ready to perform, as far as is proper and possible, all that service and gratitude demand (of him).

My excellent services and devotion to the good of the state are well-known to the princes, *khans*, *amirs*, Rajahs, and Rais of India, to the rulers of Persia, Central Asia, Turkey, and Syria, to the dwellers of the seven climes (of the world), and to travellers by land and sea; and probably their light has flashed even on your Majesty's spacious mind. So, with a view to rendering good service and (earning) the favours of your Majesty, I beg to submit the following few words in a spirit of devotion to the public welfare:—

It has recently come to my ears that on the ground of the war with me having exhausted your wealth and emptied the Imperial treasury, your Majesty has ordered that money in the form of *jazia* (poll-tax) should be collected from the Hindus and your Imperial needs supplied (with it). May it please your Majesty,—that architect of the edifice of empire, the Emperor Akbar, reigned in full power for 52 years; he adopted the fair policy of perfect peace (*sulh-i-kul*) with all the diverse sects, such as* Christians and Jews, Muslims and Daud's sect, spiritualists and orthodox believers, materialists and atheists, Brahmans and Jains; the desire of his liberal heart was to cherish and protect all the people; so he became famous under the title of "the world's preceptor" (*Jagat-guru*). Then his Majesty the Emperor Nuruddin Jahangir for 22 years spread his gracious shadow on the head of the world and its people, set his heart on his friends and his hand to his work, and so prospered. Next, the Emperor Shah Jahan for 32 years cast his blessed shadow on the head of the world and gathered the fruit of eternal life,—which means goodness and fair fame,—as the result of his happy time.

Verses:

He who lives with a good name gains everlasting wealth,
Because, after his death, the mention of his good deeds keeps his name alive.

Through the blessedness of this noble spirit, wherever he bent the eye of his august wish Victory and Success advanced to welcome him on the way. In his reign many kingdoms and forts were conquered. The splendour and power of these emperors can be (easily) guessed from the fact that the Emperor Alamgir (=Aurangzib) fails in (merely) following their system. They, too, had the power

*The Calcutta MS. reads, '*Isawi, Musawi, Muhammadi, Daudi, Haikia (?Khalaqia), Malakia, Daharia, 'Ansaria, &c.* The London MS. has, '*Isawi, Daudi, Mahmudi, Falakia, Malakia, &c.* '*Ansaria* has been wrongly read by Rouse and others as *Nasran*, i.e., Christian.

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of levying *jazia*, but they did not admit bigotry into their hearts, as they considered all the men, high and low, created by God as examples of all creeds and temperaments. Their kindness and benevolence remain as their memorial on the page of time, so that prayer for and praise of these pure-hearted ones will be seated for ever in the hearts and tongues of all men, great and small. Prosperity is the fruit of one's intentions; therefore their wealth and fortune continued to increase, as God's creatures lay in the cradle of peace and safety, and the works they took in hand went on (smoothly).

But in *your* Majesty's reign many of the forts and provinces have gone out of your possession, and the rest will soon do so, because there will be no slackness on my part in ruining and devastating them. The peasantry are downtrodden, the produce of every *mahál* has declined: in the place of one *lakh*, only one thousand and in the place of a thousand only ten (rupees) can be collected, and that too with difficulty. When Poverty and Beggary have made their homes in the palaces of the Emperor and the princes, the condition of the *amirs* and *mansabdars* (=grandees and officers) can be easily guessed. It is a reign in which the army is in tumult, the merchants complain, the Muslims cry, the Hindus are being grilled; most men lack bread for supper and every day inflame their own cheeks by slapping them (in anguish). How can royal generosity permit you to add the hardship of *jazia* to this grievous state of things? It will be proclaimed from east to west and recorded in history that the Emperor of India, envying the bowl of beggars, takes *jazia* from Brahmans, Jain monks, *Yogis*, *Sanyasis*, *Bairagis*, paupers, beggars, ruined wretches, and the famished (*kangals*),—that his valour is shown against the wallets of beggars,—that he dashes down the name and honour of the Timuris!

Well, your Majesty! if you believe in the true Heavenly Book and Word of God (*i.e.*, the Quran), you will find there *Rabb-ul-alamin* (=the God of all men) and not *Rabb-ul-musalmin* (=the God of the Muhammadans only). Verily Islam and Hinduism are contrasted terms (*lafz-i-muqabil*), used by the Divine Painter to blend his colours and produce harmony (of effect through variety). Where there is a mosque they sound the call (to prayer) in his remembrance; where there is a temple the bell is rung in love of Him (only). To show bigotry to the creed and practice of any one is (like) altering a word in the Holy Book; to draw lines on a picture is to find fault with the Painter.

Verses:

Lay not thy hand in disapproval on anything that you see, be it good, be it bad
To call the handiwork faulty is to find fault with the Craftsman

In (strict) justice *jazia* is not at all lawful. In policy, too, * it can be right if only a beautiful woman wearing gold ornaments can pass from one country to another without fear or danger. (But) in these days even the cities are being plundered, what of the country? Not to speak of justice, this imposition of *jazia* is an innovation in India and unsuitable.

If you imagine piety to consist in oppressing men and terrorising the Hindus, you ought (first) to levy *jazia* from Rajah Raj Singh † (of Udaipur), who is the chief of the Hindus. It will not then be so very difficult to collect it from me, as I am ready at your service. But to do hurt to ants and flies is far from valour and heroism.

I wonder at the (strange) fidelity of your officers that they neglect to tell you the true state of things, but cover a blazing fire with straw! May the Sun of your royalty continue to shine above the horizon of greatness!

[*Jazia*.—A poll-tax was imposed on Non-Muhammadans, according to a passage of the *Quran*, in which Muhammad ordered his followers to convert all other sects (*zimmi*) to Islam, and "in case of their refusal, to strike them with awe till they paid compensation (*jazia*) from the hand." Akbar abolished it in India. But a century afterwards Aurangzib, "wishing to spread the law of Islam and to overthrow the practices of the infidels, issued orders to the chief revenue officers that *jazia* should be collected from the non-Muslims (*zimmis*) of the capital and the provinces, with effect from 2nd April, 1679." (*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 174.) European historians have regarded 1671 as the year of the re-imposition of *jazia*, through a wrong interpretation of Khafi Khan's history. Khafi Khan says that as he could not get accurate dates, he has lumped together in one chapter all the incidents that happened from the 12th to the 21st year of Aurangzib's reign (1669-1679), without any chronological order. His account of *jazia* occurs after some events of 1671

Verses:

The blazing fire does not do such havoc to the rye
As the sighs of the oppressed do (to the oppressor).

From every point of view it is most advisable and politic to purge your heart of the filth of bigotry and to look graciously on the unhappy men who are your subjects.

† Calcutta MS. reads *Rajah Ram Singh*, (*i.e.*, of Jaipur); London MS. gives *Rah Rajah Singh*.

* The above follows the Culcutta MS. The London MS. gives a variant here:—In policy, too, it is wrong and objectionable. In respect of justice and equity the levying of *jazia* is a practice showing ingratitude (to God). In the past Sultan Ahmad of Guzerat left the highway of truth, cast his soul into the jungle of such a foolish plan, and was extirpated and cut to pieces at Barudha.

In these modern times (too) it is not becoming and noble to be involved in this (sinful act).

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(*Muntakhab-ul-Labab, ii.* 255), but this fact is no indication of its date.

Who wrote the above letter? The London MS. ascribes its authorship to Shivaji, the Calcutta MS. to Sambhaji and [illegible]d to Maharana Raj Singh. Now as the tax is spoken of as recently imposed and the Emperor's war with the writer as a thing of some duration, we can safely leave out Sambhaji. Then, at the end of it the writer defies Aurangzib to levy the tax from "the chief of the Hindus"; this person could not have been Rajah Ram Singh of Jaipur, first because the Hindus know of no prince of nobler birth than the Maharana of Udaipur, descendant of Rama, and secondly because the House of Jaipur has ever been loyal to the paramount power and would not have disobeyed an Imperial mandate to pay *jazia*. On the other hand, Aurangzib in making peace with the Maharana tacitly agreed to exempt his country from *jazia* (Tod's *Fragments*, p. 165). Hence the conclusion of the letter is really a taunt flung at Aurangzib. The writer was, therefore, somebody *other than* Raj Singh, i.e., he must have been Shivaji.

The internal evidence, too, is very strong in favour of a dreaded ravager of Mughal territory and a ruler of universal toleration, such as Shivaji undoubtedly was.

Very incorrect renderings of this letter having been hitherto issued, I have considered it necessary to place before the reader a literal translation after settling the Persian text by a collation of two MSS., one belonging to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta and the other to the Royal Asiatic Society of London. The style could have been greatly improved if I had taken liberties with the original. The date of the letter was evidently the close of the year 1679 A. D.]

II.—Chauth from Surat.

Letter of Pratap Rao Gujar, *Senapati* of Shivaji.

Know all ye officers, *qanungoes, desais*, merchants, *mahajans*, brokers, captains of the English, French and Dutch, and the general public of the port of Surat, living between fear and hope,——

That at this time the Maharajah (Shivaji) has ordered a true estimate to be made of the annual custom duties on goods and merchandise in Surat and one-fourth (*chauth*) of this revenue to be levied as tribute to the lion-like swordsmen (of his army). For the performance of this work he has appointed me, the humblest of his slaves. Therefore, in accordance with his royal order I write to you that if you under the guidance of good fortune, deem obedience and submission to this order as politic and tending to your own good, obey the agent (*gumashta*) sent by me, and correctly show the records of collection, it will be the cause of your good and the prosperity of the kingdom. Otherwise, soon expect the heroes of my army to come to this country for a tour and hunt, and to raze all the houses of the place to the ground, so that no vestige of habitation will be visible; all the inhabitants of the place will be seized in the grasp of our wrath and fury, and not a man of them all will find the path of escape from the claws of the lion-hunting soldiers. If you fondly hope for help from your Emperor, you will be utterly ruined, as we have already trampled on this realm twice, and what remedy has he done? Should the smoke of [your] artillery and muskets perchance befog your brains, and make you consider your city-wall as an impregnable fortress, then, God willing, very soon will our splendid army arrive (here), scatter to the winds every stone of your fortress as cotton is scattered by the cotton-dresser, and with those very guns and muskets will they demolish the houses of your city.

Although the forts of Salhair and Mahuli rival Alexander's rampart [in strength] and none (else) has grasped their battlements even with the noose of his imagination, we captured them, through our King's luck, in as short a time as it takes to speak a word. Your fort of Surat is no better than a wall. How long can it bar the path of our hill-climbing heroes? You may have heard in what misery and disgrace your Emperor's generals, Bahadur Khan and Dilir Khan bit the back of their hands, struck the ground with their arms (in despair), and were glad to flee from Salhair to Puna.

It is simply out of graciousness to the humble that I have shown you pity and refrained from despatching our army before the arrival of your answer. If Providence befriends you and you pull the plug of negligence out of your ear of discretion, and listen to the words of advice and good plan,——then it will in every way result in your profit and your heart's content, Otherwise, there will be no other consequence than your humiliation.

III.—Reply of the Surat Officers.

After giving sacred praise to the creator of the world and of men,—who hurls in the dust oppressors like Shaddad and Nimrod, by entangling them in the meshes of fate and striking them with the stone of negligence,

(*Verses*).

O God, you created the high and the low,
You created the oppressor and the oppressed, too,—

Be it known to the quick mind (*rái*) of Pratap Rai (=Rao) and the Maratha Brahmans, Naikwars, and *bargirs* (ordinary troopers) of the army of the fugitive Rai, that the letter of this unlucky-faced man has just now come to the knowledge of the officers and clerks [of Surat.]

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Don't slay your prisoner, when you have vanquished your enemy,
You yourself will be captured [by misfortune] if you slay your captive.

O you wicked scoundrel (*paji*) and cruel oppressor, the Mirza Rajah (Jai Singh) was a mere servant of our Emperor, and yet he with very slight and slack effort succeeded in putting the rope of humility round the neck of your Shiva and in forcing him to gain the honour of kissing the Emperor's feet. And [the Kings of] Bijapur and Haidarabad,—of whom Shahji was a mere servant,—consider it an honour to show welcome to and kiss the ground before those [Imperial officers] who have rubbed their foreheads [on the carpet] in front of our Emperor; and year after year they pay a fixed tribute and thereby secure their own repose and honour.

What power have you and your servants that you can know his Majesty, with all your indecent language,—which will lead to your tongue being cut off and yourself being stoned to death?

The cat plays the tiger in seizing a mouse,
But turns into a mouse, when facing leopards.

O, you cruel fool, you faithless man! Surat has now got another aspect (*surat*). [The path of] these mouse-like hole-seekers having been stopped*, it has now become the roaming-place of lions and elephant-conquerors (*i.e.*, the Mughal troops).

You should give up your impossible project, and quickly seek refuge in some other quarter. Don't spare to do whatever your wicked and foolish self can do in the next two or three days, because the victorious Prince† is coming to this region with 70,000 troopers clad in armour. God willing, he will make you the food of the kites of his army. Or, if you desire your own good, reflect within yourself: restore to Nawab Bahadur Khan and Dilir Khan, whatever in cash and kind you have collected from the Imperial *parganahs*, villages, and highways of Surat and other provinces, make them your intercessors, and go to wait on the Prince,—which will in every way be the means of your life being spared.

Verses.

It is better that he should be gentle to me,
Should weep and make excuses (for his past conduct).

[Kartoji Gujar was made by Shivaji his *senapati* (Commander-in-Chief) with the titles of Pratap Rao, and *sar-nobat* of horse. In 1672 when the Mughals were besieging Sulhair, a relieving army under Pratap Rao, routed the Mughals under Ikhlas Khan "with prodigious slaughter" and forced them to raise the siege. (*Grant Duff*, i. 252). To this exploit a vaunting reference is made in Pratap Rao's letter. Bahadur Khan afterwards surnamed Khan Jahan Bahadur was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan after 1672. Pratap Rao's meteoric career was cut short in a rash charge on the Bijapuri army under Abdul Karim, near Panhala, February 1674. (*Duff*, i. 262.)

Surat was first plundered by Shivaji, with 4000 cavalry, in January, 1664 (*Duff*, i. 198). Its mud walls were soon afterwards replaced by a brick rampart by order of Aurangzib. But in October 1670 Shivaji sacked the town again. (*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 106.) These are the two raids referred to in Pratap Rao's letter which must have been written at the close of 1669 or in 1673.]

* By building a brick wall round the city, after its first plunder by Shivaji in 1664.

† The text reads *Sultan Mahmud*, but Aurangzib had no son or grandson of that name. Evidently Sultan Muhammad Muazzam (Shah Alam), his second son and Viceroy of the Deccan, is meant.

IV.—Aurangzib to Parsuram Trimbak

Trimbak, commandant of the fort of Panhala be hopeful and know that my army is now marching to conquer the forts in the possession of the miserable [Rajah] Ram, and to extirpate him. In a few days the Imperial camp will be pitched at Murtazabad (Merich) and, through God's power, all the forts and places belonging to that wretch will be conquered and annexed to the Imperial dominions. The luckless Raja Ram, like his brother now in hell (*i.e.*, the deceased Sambhaji) will be captured by the holy warriors of Islam and quickly put to death.

As the men of some [Maratha] forts are inclined to the Imperial side, if you, according to my former letter, be led by good fortune to yield the fort to my servants, you will, God willing, be exalted with the gift of a high rank and other kindly favours. Otherwise, through the power of the All-powerful, the fort will be quickly conquered, and you will see what you will see: you will be imprisoned and executed along with all your women and children and all members of your family, old and young. Written on the 17th Jamadul awal, in the 43rd year of the reign (=3 October, 1699 A.D.)

V.—Aurangzib to Ramchandra Pant Baurikar.

Ramchandra, hope and know that the letter which at this auspicious time you have been guided by foresight and good fortune to write to my general Tarbiyat Khan, has been placed before me, and all your demands have been accepted. I, (therefore), now issue the order that you should be firm and constant in the straight path of good faith and fidelity, quickly perform what you have written, and abandon

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that wretched vagabond [Rajah Ram, the second son of Shivaji.] If a few moments of the evanescent life of that doomed man be yet left over, and that slaughter-worthy man should desire to flee anywhere (else) in fear of the Imperial troops, it is fitting that you should present all his forts to the Imperial Court as your tribute. After you have, under the guidance of your good star, done either of these two acts, you will (God willing) be honoured with excellent favours and many splendid gifts, and be exalted high above your peers, and raise your head in trust and glory. If (however) through ill-luck you do not distinguish between benefit and harm, and your letter be [a mere collection of] words, void of truth, then the vanquished infidel [Rajah Ram],—who knows that he has given (me) great offence and done improper acts,—will (God willing) be soon captured in the claws of the holy warriors of Islam and executed like his brother in hell [*i.e.*, the deceased Sambhaji]. And, through God's power, you, too will see [what you will see]; losing your house and life, you will be imprisoned and slain with your women and children and all members of your family, great and small. Dated the 17th Jamdul-awal, 43rd year of the reign (=31 Oct., 1699 A.D.)

[In the Persian MS. both letters are dated in the 46th year, which would amount to the 28th September, 1702. This is clearly wrong, because in September 1702 Aurangzib was painfully toiling through muddy roads and flooded rivers to effect his retreat to Bahadurgarh, and not, as the letters represent him, setting out on a victorious compaign. (*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 467.) I have, therefore, emended the passage into *the 43rd year*.

After a four year's stay at Barampuri (=Islampuri), the Emperor Aurangzib set out in person, 19th October, 1699, to ravage the Maratha country and capture the Maratha forts. After 20 days' March he reached Merich (*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 408). At this time the above two letters were written inviting two Maratha commanders to submit.

Ramchandra Panth Baurikar, was appointed commander of the Maratha forts with the title of *Hukmat-Panah*, 1690, (*Duff*, i. 367). Parsuram Trimbak, a Brahman, rose from the humble rank of hereditary *Kulkarni* of Kinneye, acted very ably as the assistant of Ramchandra, surprised Panhala from the Mughals in 1692, was appointed *Pratinidhi* about 1704, and died in 1720 (*Duff*, i. 367, 396, 471). Rajah Ram, the second son of Shivaji, and Sambhaji's successor on the throne, died in March, 1699, according to Grant Duff. (i. 395.) But the *Masir-i-Alamgiri* states that the news of his death reached Aurangzib in Maharashtra on the 5th March, 1700. (p. 419). Tarbiyat Khan was the *Mir Atish* or Head of the Artillery in Aurangzib's army. Grant Duff says that during the siege of Satara (8 December, 1699—21 April, 1700) Aurangzib wrote a letter to Ramchandra which fell into the hands of P. Trimbak. (i. 392.) Was it No. V?]

VI. Aurangzib to Parsuram Trimbak.

Parsuram, submissive to Islam, hope and know that, although your great offences do not deserve pardon, yet,—— inasmuch as the beloved Prince Muhammad Bidar Bakht Bahadur has reported to the Emperor that you have repented of your past sins and offered with all humility and submission to surrender the fort of Khelna (Vishalgarh) to the Imperialists on condition that (1) the Imperial army does not march to the conquest of your forts, but returns to the former [Mughal] territory, (2) you are assured of the pardon of your faults and the sparing of your own and your companions' lives, by the issue of an Imperial *farman* (order), and (3) you are honoured by the acceptance of your requests stated in writing to the Prince,—

Therefore, at the request of the Prince, the gracious Emperor issues this order that when you wait [on the Prince] and surrender the fort of Khelna, your offences will be pardoned, you and your comrades will be spared your lives, and the Imperial army will not march towards you to conquer your forts and country, but will (God willing) march back to the old Imperial dominion after taking possession of Khelna. You should soon deliver Khelna to the Imperial officers and leave the fort with your comrades in peace of mind, remain firm and true to your promises, and regard it as very necessary to avoid doing the contrary. Written on the 11th Muharram, 46th year of the reign, [=27th May, 1702 A. D.]

[On 7th November, 1701, Aurangzib started from Wardhan to besiege Khelna (=Vishalgarh), which he reached on 6th December. After a long siege, the fort was surrendered by Parsuram Trimbak, whose terms were accepted by the Emperor at the intercession of Prince Bidar Bakht, the eldest son of Azam (the 3rd son of the Emperor), on 7th June, 1702. (*Masir-i Alamgiri*, 448-457).

JADUNATH SARKAR.

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THE FORCING OF BRITISH FREE TRADE ON INDIA

THE natives of England are a nation of shopkeepers. All the world over, shopkeepers are reputed to be selfish and greedy persons. They understand their own interests and do not care for others' well-being. These characteristics the English exhibited in a remarkable degree on the occasion of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter in 1813. Witness after witness swore before the Select Committees of both Houses of Parliament that there was no need for English manufactures in India, and that the people of that country did not require any English-made goods; yet the avaricious Englishmen invented schemes and proposed measures calculated to put money into their own pockets. Of course they did not say openly that Indian industries should be crushed to make room for English manufactures in India, but the steps which they proposed to adopt were calculated to bring about that end.

To increase the sale of English goods in India, they advocated free trade. But this free trade was not to be reciprocal. English goods were to be forced on India, but Indian manufactures were not to be allowed to be imported into England without paying duties and taxes. Had free trade been reciprocal, English industries would have been crushed by fair competition.

But the witnesses examined before the Select Committees of the Houses of Lords and Commons were not of opinion that free trade would lead to an increased demand for European articles among Indians. We reproduce below the evidence of some of the witnesses examined before the Select Committee of the Lords. Mr. Warren Hastings was the first witness examined before that Committee.

"Are you of opinion that in the event of a free trade between this country and British India, the demand for British manufactures would be increased in any material degree in that country?—I believe not, I do not know why it should; it may cause a greater influx of British goods into that country, but it cannot increase the wants of the people to possess them."

Mr. William Cowper appeared also as a witness before the Committee.

"In the event, therefore, of a free trade betw the ports of this country and the ports of Br India, do you conceive there is much prospect o extended use of British manufactures or commodi in that country?—I certainly do not think the any probability of such an extension."

Sir John Malcolm was also asked the sa question.

"From your knowledge of India, can you form opinion, if a free trade were opened, whether demand for European manufactures in British In would be likely to be increased?—Having alw seen, not only in the principal British settlemen but in every town where there were British resider and in every station where there was a milita cantonment, an abundance of European articles every description that were exposed for sale various prices, from articles of the best quality a in the highest preservation, down to those of infer quality and damaged, and which market of articles w accessible to all natives as well as Europeans, should certainly not conclude that there would b any immediate increase of sale from any measure the kind, because consumption must depend upon t purchasers, not the sellers."

He was again asked by the Lords' Commi tee :—

"Do you apprehend that in the event of a free tra there will be any extension of demand for Britis manufactures?—Having stated that at present ther is * * an abundance of European articles in ever settlement, town, and cantonment in India, I do no conceive there could be any immediate increase o the sale of those articles from any alteration in the system."

To Lord Teignmouth the same question was put.

"Is your Lordship of opinion, in the event of a free trade between this country and India, a considerably increased demand for European articles among the natives would be likely to take place?—I think not.

"Will your Lordship state what are your reasons for that opinion?—That I am not aware of any manufactures in this country that the natives would be likely to purchase in any considerable degree; this opinion is formed from my knowledge of their modes of living in India."

Mr. Thomas Graham was also examined on the subject of free trade to India.

"Looking to the general habits of the natives, as well as to the degree of export that has for many years past existed, and now exists, do you think that thus opening the trade to India would increase the consumption of European articles among the natives

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India ?—I have no idea that it would ; their habits are so different from the use of any articles of that description, that I think it almost impossible that it should."

Sir Thomas Munro being questioned,

" From your knowledge of the natives of Hindostan, are you of opinion, that if a free trade were sanctioned by law between this country and India, there would be any considerable increase among those natives of the demand for British commodities or manufactures ?"—

Said,

" I do not think there would be any material increase of the demand now existing for European manufactures and commodities ; I think that some small increase would arise from the gradual increase of population, but I think none from a change in the customs or the taste of the natives themselves."

Mr. John Stracey was also a witness.

" Are you of opinion that if a free trade were opened between this country and India, there would be any materially increased demand among the natives of the Bengal provinces for English manufactures ?—I really should think not."

Mr. Graeme Mercer was also asked to give his opinion on the effects of free trade.

" Are you of opinion that if a free trade were opened between this country and India, there would be any materially increased demand among the natives of India for English manufactures or commodities ?—I think no sudden increased demand for the manufactures of this country would arise from such a free trade ; the habits and manners of the natives are of such a nature as may be said to be nearly unchangeable ; their wants from other countries are few or none ; and from the period in which I have resided in India, I could perceive little or no alteration with regard to their demands for any European commodities."

Mr. Thomas Sydenham was also a witness.

" From your knowledge of the habits and wants of the natives of that country, do you think that in the event of a free trade there would be any materially increased demand, among the natives of India, for European manufactures or articles ?—I do not think that there would be any material increase of demand, whether trade remained in its present situation or were thrown open.

" Are you of opinion, that in the event of a free trade, there would be any great increased demand for European commodities ?—Certainly not ; I do not see how the demand is to be at all increased by the opening of the trade : the demands of course take place from the wants of the natives there."

Mr. Charles Buller was asked questions almost of the same import as the above-mentioned witness.

"Are you of opinion, that if a free trade were opened with India, there would be any increased demand among the natives of that country for European articles and manufactures ?—Very little, if any, I should suppose so.

" What are your reasons for that opinion ?—From the general poverty of the people, and from their not having any wish, as I have seen, to hav our articles, generally speaking."

It is needless to quote the opinions of other witnesses as to the improbability of free trade leading to an increased demand among Indians for British manufactures. Yet the English people were determined to deprive the East India Company of its monopoly and have free trade with India.

But they did not act on that precept of Christ whom they professed to worship as their Saviour—that precept which taught " Do unto others as you would be done by." They did not wish to give India that advantage which they were trying to possess themselves. There was not to be any reciprocity. No Indian manufactures were to be admitted duty-free into England. What would have been the fate of English industries had the Indian manufactures been accorded the same privileges which those who were natives of England were clamouring for ? Why, the English industries would have been all crushed in no time. This is quite clear from the evidence of the witnesses who appeared before the Parliamentary Committees. Take the evidence of Mr. William Davies before the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the 12th April, 1813. He was asked :—

" Are you of opinion that if a considerably increased capital were applied to the encouragement of the manufactures of India, and they were brought to Europe, they would not probably materially injure the manufactures of this country ?—I think that if the exports from India of coarse cloths were greatly increased, that they might interfere with the manufactures of this country. A proof, I had cloths consigned to me from Madras which did pay the duty in England, and were sold in England, a part of which I have now in use in my own house after having been bought from a trader in London ; I am speaking of coarse cotton cloths."

Cotton piece-goods from India were not imported into England without duty being imposed on them. And this duty was a very heavy one. Mr. Robert Brown who appeared as a witness before the Lords' Committee having been sworn, was examined as follows :

" Have you had extensive dealings in cotton piece-goods from India ?—I have.

" Do you know what is the *ad valorem* duty imposed on piece-goods sold at the sales of the Company ?—They are divided into three classes, the first is the article of muslins, which pay on importation 10 per cent., and £27. 6s. 8d. per cent. for home consumption ; the second is the article of calicoes, which pays, £3. 6s. 8d. per cent. on importation, and £68. 6s. 8d. per cent. for home consumption ; the third comes under the denomination of prohibited goods, which pays merely a duty of £3. 6s. 8d. per cent. on importation, and are not allowed to be used in this country."

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No Christian native of England ever proposed to remove this *ad valorem* duty on cotton piece-goods imported from India. Almost every one of the Christian islanders (except the interested merchants constituting the East India Company who enjoyed the monopoly), was clamouring for free trade to India, but no one showed sufficient large-heartedness or magnanimity to advocate the importation of Indian goods into England on the principle of free trade. Had this been done, English manufacturers would have been ruined. Mr. Robert Brown was examined on this subject before the Lords' Committee.

"From your general experience, can you state whether the cotton goods manufactured in this country have attained to the perfection of the India fabrics?—In many cases I conceive that they very much surpass them.

"Do you mean that the fine piece-goods of India are surpassed by the British piece-goods?——No, I do not; certainly I mean the common and the middling qualities.

"Are there any species of Indian piece-goods with which, in your apprehension, British cottons of apparently the same quality could not sustain a competition?—Is it meant by that to ask me in point of price, or in point of quality?

"Are there any species of Indian piece-goods with which, in your apprehension, British cottons of apparently the same quality could not sustain a competition?—They have certainly been very successfully imitated; and, as I stated before, the British goods have in some cases surpassed the others.

"Supposing that India piece-goods were to attain a considerable degree of home consumption, would the finer sorts of them prevail over any British fabrics of the same kind that could be brought to contend with them in the market?—If you mean the finer description of piece-goods to be imported without the payment of duty, they would certainly interfere very much with British goods; but it would be with the coarser goods, if the duty was evaded, with which the interference would be by far the greatest in my opinion, in consequence of the low price at which those common piece-goods are sold at the Company's sales; and the greater price of the same description of goods of British manufacture. At present the duty is so heavy, amounting to £68. 6s. 8d. per cent. for home consumption, that very few, if any, sold for the home market.

"Supposing that India piece-goods in any great quantity were fradulently introduced into the home consumption, do you conceive that they might interfere with the cotton fabrics of this country, in spite of the expense with which the fraudulent introduction of commodities must necessarily be attended?—I think they would interfere very greatly and that the saving in the point of duty would amply compensate for the expense of smuggling them.

"Can you state the difference between the price which British white calicoes from the manufacturers fetch per yard, and that at which Indian white calicoes of nearly the same dimensions and quality sold at the March sales of the Company?—From a calculation I have recently made, I find that the difference is from 30 to 60 per cent., that is to say, that goods at the last March sale sold by the East India Company at from 30 to 60 per cent. less than the same qaulities, widths and descriptions could be bought from the manufacturers."

While they were demanding free trade to India, they were having a very strict protection against the importation of India goods in England. Mr. Glocester Wilson was examined before the Lords' Committee:—

"Do you think that, in the event of the import trade from India being extended to the out ports of this kingdom, there would be danger to the manufactures of this country, by the introduction of illicit and prohibited articles that might supplant those manufactures?—I am not competent to form a further opinion upon that, but that there might be an increased opportunity of smuggling, and of course of bringing in prohibited articles, or articles that might interfere with the manufactures."

They were afraid of applying the principle of free trade to the import of Indian goods into England, because there would be smuggling and thus ruining of the English manufacturers. Mr. John Vivian was sworn and examined by the Lords' Committee as follows:—

"Do you think that if there was from India a free open trade to the port of London, that that would greatly increase the smuggling to this island?—I should think it might; my reason for so thinking is, that a great Company is not so fit an instrument for smuggling as an individual, or any association of a few individuals, inasmuch as the Company has not the same motive that an individual has * * * ."

We have thus far seen that from the Indian economic point of view no case could be made out for British free trade in India. India did not stand in need of British goods. Dr. Johnson, referring to a certain class of his countrymen, spoke of patriotism as the last refuge of scoundrels. Similarly, philanthropy is the last resource of British exploiters. Economic considerations failing, they pressed philanthropy into their service to prove the need of British free trade in India. The Select Committee of the House of Commons assumed that free trade was a philanthrophic measure calculated to raise the natives of India in the scale of nations and to civilize them! So Sir Thomas Munro was sworn and examined by the Commons' Committee from this point of view.

"Have you ever contemplated the effects of commerce in the western world, the share it has had in oversetting or softening the despotisms, and changing the established manners of Europe, and in improving and enlightening the state of European society generally?—I have seen and observed that the effect of commerce has been that of very greatly tending to the enlightening of most of the nations of Europe. * * *

"If the same causes were to be allowed to have free operation in India, and to receive a just and

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prudent support from government instead of opposition, what in your opinion would be the gradual effect on the manners and prejudices of the Indians?—If the manners and customs of the Indians are to be changed, I think it likely that they will be changed by commerce; but commerce does not seem to have produced much effect upon them."

We may imagine what questions an advocate of India would have asked in cross-examining the witness. He would have asked whether the civilising effects of commerce in Europe were due to the exploitation of Europe by foreigners, whether on the contrary the Europeans were not both manufacturers and sellers as well as purchasers, and whether it was proposed to make the Indians also manufacturers and sellers as well as purchasers. But no measure was proposed to infuse the spirit of commercial enterprise in the natives of India. On the contrary, free trade was meant to crush the commercial pursuits of Indians. Sir Thomas Munro was further examined by the Committee.

"Are not the natural habits and dispositions of the people of India such as would lead them to engage with great zeal and ardour as well in commercial as in other pursuits, were the means of gain or advantage open to them?—The people of India are as much a nation of shopkeepers as we are ourselves, they never lose sight of the shop, they carry it into all their concerns, religious and civil; all their holy places and resorts for pilgrims, are so many fairs for the sale of goods of every kind; religion and trade are in India sister arts, the one is seldom found in any large assembly without the society of the other. It is this trading disposition of the natives, which induces me to think it impossible that any European traders can long remain in the interior of India, and that they must sooner or later all be driven to the coast; what the European trader eats and drinks in one month, would make a very decent mercantile profit for the Hindoo for twelve; they do not therefore meet upon equal terms, it is like two persons purchasing in the same market, the one paying a high duty, the other paying none; the extra duty paid by the European is all the difference between his own mode of living and that of the Hindoo, it is impossible therefore that he can long carry on the competition upon such an unequal footing; he may for a time with a large capital carry on some new manufacture or improve some old one, such as indigo or sugar; the Hindoo will wait till he sees the success which follows the undertaking; if it is likely to be successful and to be permanent, he will engage in it, and the European must quit the field. There can be no doubt, I think, that this cause will in time operate so as to force all Europeans to the sea coast, and I can have little doubt but that hereafter, when the Hindoos come to correspond directly with the merchants in England, that many of the agents now settled upon the coast will from the same cause, the superior economy and diligence of the Hindoo, be obliged to leave India."

Yet in the face of these facts the Christian natives of England were very anxious to elevate, out of purely philanthropic or altruistic motives, the condition of the heathens of India, by forcing their goods on them by means of free trade!

A PLEA FOR UNITY

THE most distressing sign of the times in India is the acute differences that have manifested themselves in the public life of the country. The cleavage between pubic men of varying shades of opinion has become so great that in several cases civilised methods of controversy have given place to mutual recrimination and abuse, and, at Nagpur, to blows. In the most eventful year of recent times, when the rulers of the land have been engaged in forging new fetters for the people, it is the spectacle of a house divided against itself that we present to the world. And we have been compelled to change the *venue* of the Congress, which is an unprecedented step, and a disastrous and humiliating confession of our inability to manage our domestic affairs without calling upon the world to witness all our weaknesses of character. At the same time that we are engaged in the patriotic task of trying to obtain political reforms which will pave the way for complete self-government, we have by the conduct of some of us almost forced to the front the question of our fitness to have even our National Congress. Certain of our own elders have regretfully come to the conclusion that there is not enough patriotism or good sense in the country to sustain a national organization, that the rank and file of Congressmen have yet to understand the value of discipline and unity, that rather than go before the world year after year with unseemly squabbles such as disgraced Nagpur, it will be more in the interest of the country to abandon the Congress altogether for a time. Six months ago this very idea would have met with derision and scorn; to-day it is a suggestion entitled to serious consideration; such

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is the character of our much vaunted progress towards nationalism. Various disruptive forces are at work, and he will be a bold man who can confidently say that the Congress will emerge from its next session at Surat a stronger body than it is.

It is sometimes said that as there are parties in England, so there may be in India without detriment to the public weal. A moment's reflection suffices to expose the falseness of the analogy. They rule themselves in England, and a party which is in opposition to-day will be in power to-morrow. But even there the parties become one when confronted by a national danger or in dealing with situations which require the nation as a whole to be behind the government of the day. The pro-Boers of the Liberal party followed Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in assenting to the annexation of the Transvaal and the Orange River Republics. In India we are differently situated. Here there ought to be only the party of the bureaucracy on the one side and the Indian national party on the other. There is ample room for men of divergent opinions who will all sympathise with every good cause making for progress, but who will work in different fields in their own way. The National Congress itself is not, however, big enough to comfortably accommodate two parties bent on war to the knife. The wild scenes enacted at the Calcutta Congress are convincing proof of this. The events that compelled the shifting of the Congress from Nagpur are further proof of the same fact. Only moral sanction attaches to the resolutions of the Congress, but this is gone the moment Congressmen become unable to agree in respect of the character and functions of that body. Those in whose power alone it lies to give effect to the wishes and opinions of the Congress on account of the character of the subjects with which it deals, will only be too glad to say that as the Congress itself is divided in its opinions on particular subjects they cannot very well take any action on them. It is no argument in reply that even when all the resolutions of the Congress have been passed unanimously they were ignored by the government. We have to realise our true position in the economy of the state and work patiently and persistently for results. Nowhere in the world were reforms effected and privileges won the moment they were asked, and in India the difficulties are greater if anything. But because the difficulties are greater, it will not do to break the bonds of restraint, to throw discretion to the winds, and to run amuck as it were among untrained and inexperienced youths who can easily be made to dance to your tune. On the contrary the greater complexity and difficulty of the problems to be solved is a strong reason for the cultivation of the qualities which alone will make for success in the long run.

The supreme necessity for closing our ranks and being united in the endeavours we shall make for obtaining political emancipation is the text from which the Grand Old Man preached in his message to the Benares and his Presidential address to the Calcutta Congress. I do not apprehend that there will be differences of opinion on this point. It is so self-evident that I take it as accepted by all. I proceed to enquire whether there is real need for those divisions which have grown up among Indian public men of late. I thoroughly understand the causes of these divisions and am of opinion that they need not continue. My mission is one of peace, and I have taken up my pen to-day amid much pressure of urgent work to preach a gospel of unity. It is, therefore, foreign to my purpose, now and here, to say one word that will cause offence to any one. I will, therefore, leave the past alone and concern myself with the present and the future; not a distant shadowy future but the near future. I am as little troubled by Mr. John Morley's academic dissertation on the form of Indian Government in a future as distant as his imagination can descry, as inspired by the glorious visions of absolute Swarajya, which according to the advanced radicals among my own countrymen will be India's political destiny at the same time. It is the part of wisdom not to let one's hold slip from one's hands on the solid, concrete, eternal fact that politics is eminently a practical art. Politicians who are ambitious to be useful must make up their minds to be practical. They must distinguish between statesmanship and speculation. They must leave vain imaginings, howsoever pleasant and howsoever inspiring, to the poet, and must concern themselves with the problems of the day as they present themselves to them. It was Gladstone who said that many a statesman ruined his career by not realising that not all questions were for all times. In India these truths hold as much as elsewhere. We have made so much progress in one generation that reforms which are in the region of practical politics to-day would have been dismissed as utterly unthinkable by our fathers, not to go to our forefathers' time. Who knows but that methods of agitation which are rejected to-day as unsuitable to the country will be

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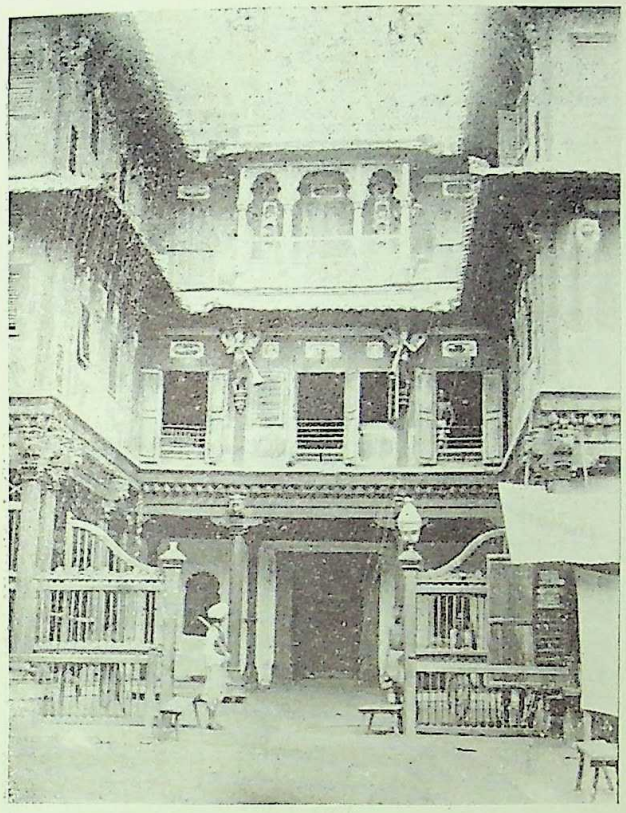

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DUTCH CEMETERY, SURAT.

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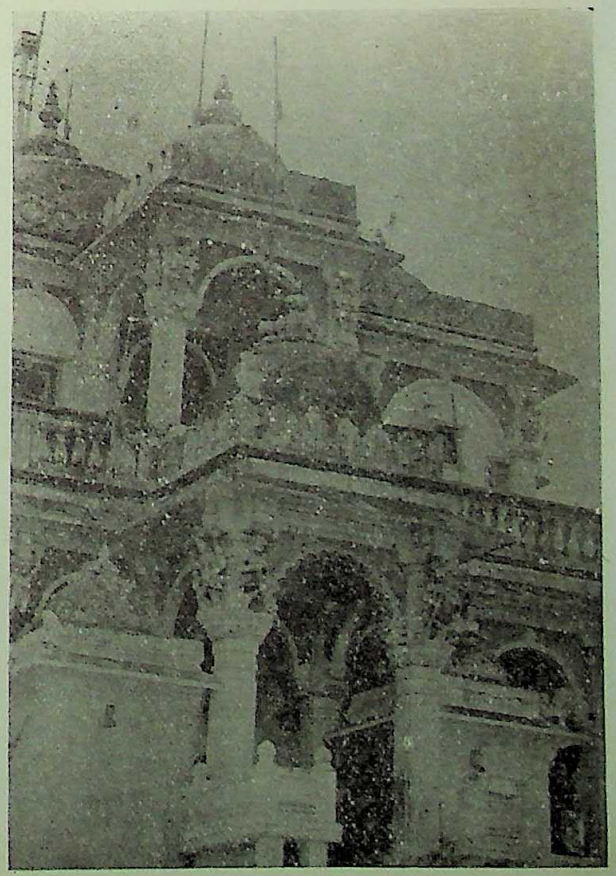

SWAMI NARAYAN TEMPLE, SURAT.

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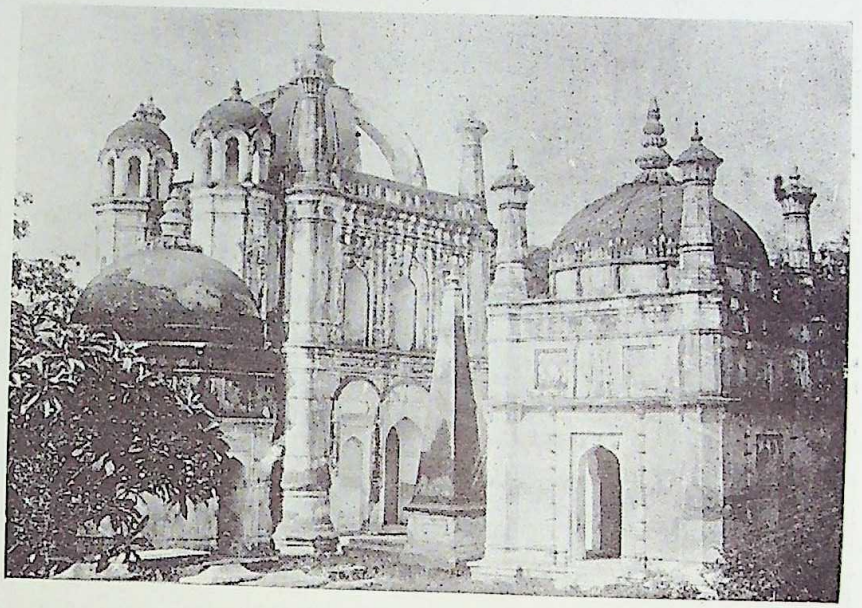

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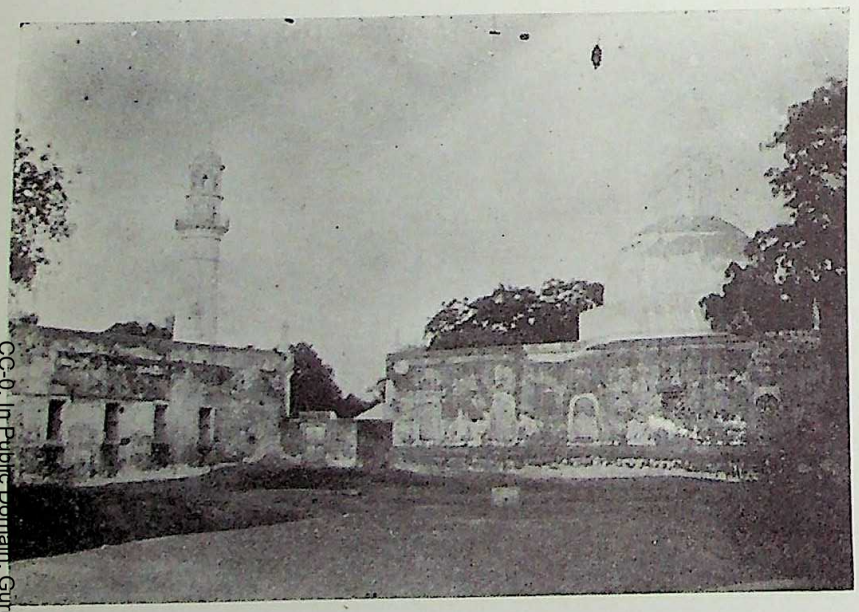
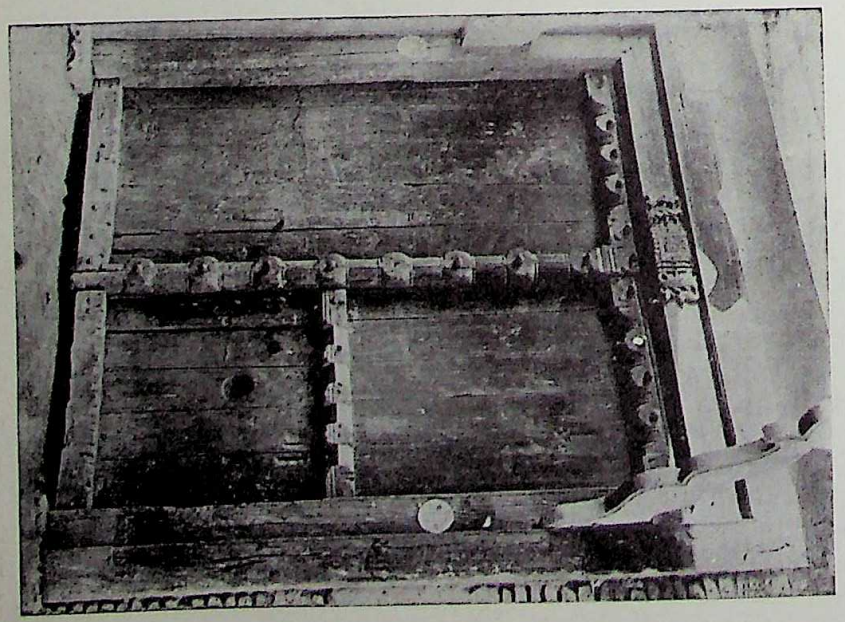


KHAJE DIVAN SAHEB'S TOMB AND TOWER, SURAT.

CASTLE, HOPE BRIDGE AND DECCA BUNDER, SURAT.



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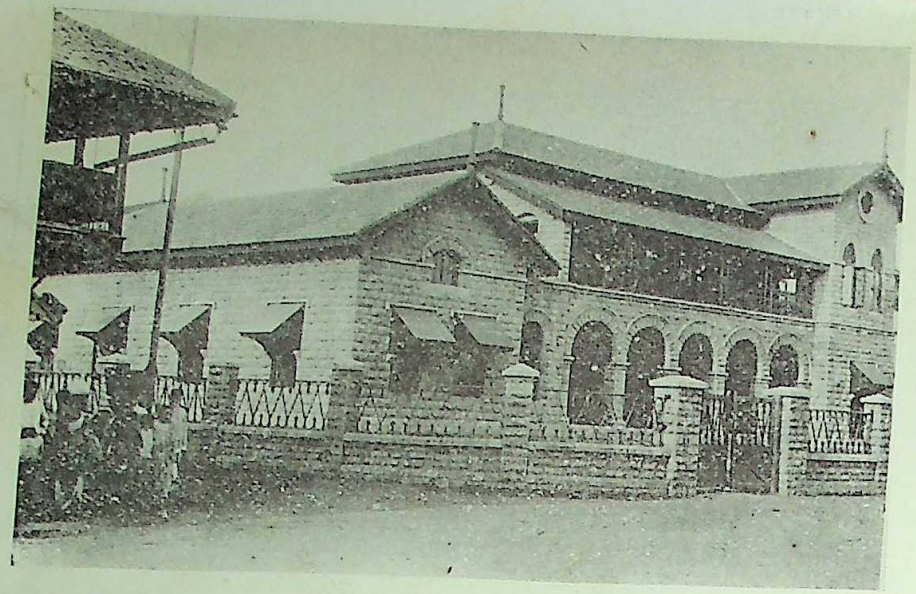
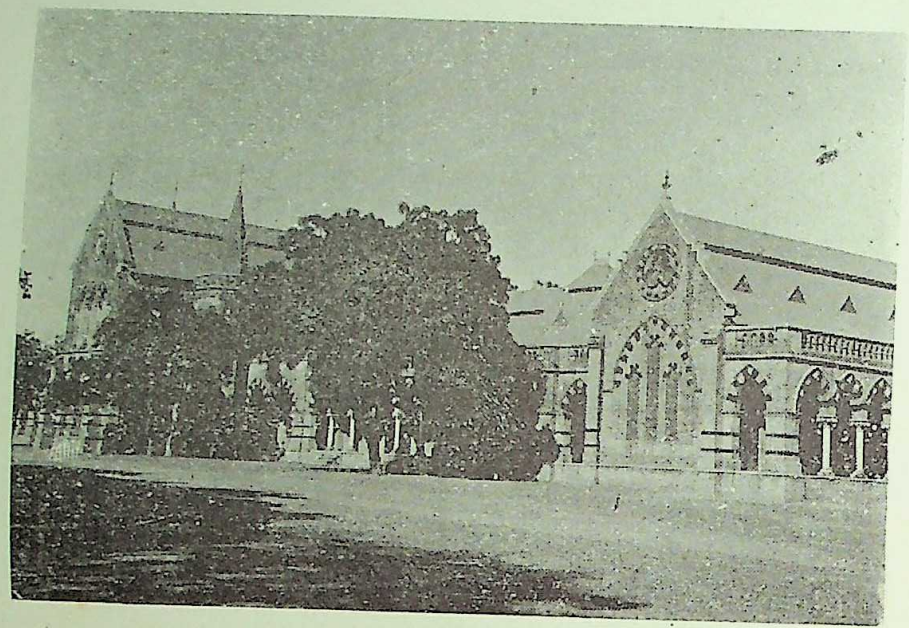
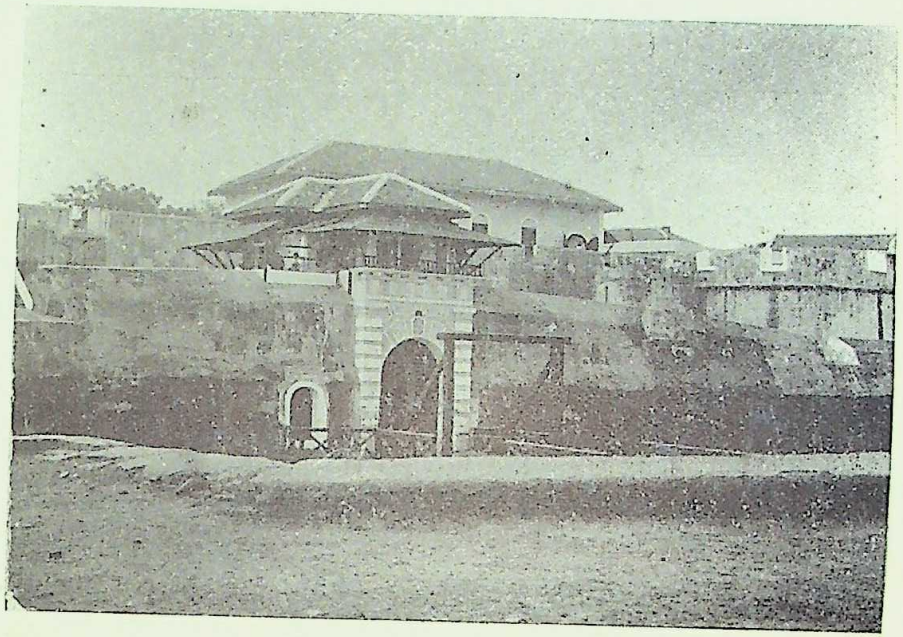


FEMALE HOSPITAL, SURAT.

THE NAWAB'S PALACE, SURAT.



GOVERNMENT HIGH SCHOOL, SURAT.



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hailed as heaven-sent weapons by our sons, not to wait till the time of our grandsons? Our fathers were wise in understanding their limitations, our sons will be wise in going farther than we are prepared to do to-day. It is a question of adjusting the means to the end immediately in view, the methods employed to the capacity of the people who have to work. A position once taken must be sustained, or it were folly to clutch at it. The arm must be strong and skilled to wield a weapon, or the handling it will injure and maim the man. If the force of circumstances, if the course of history, compels the adoption of methods for which one is not fit, the employment of weapons one cannot skilfully handle, wisdom consists in acquiring the requisite strength and skill, and duty requires it, too. Acquire this needed strength and skill, and then by all means go forward to work and strike if need be. But in the name of all that is sensible and right, do not mistake the infant or the boy for the well-trained muscular gymnast soldier.

If there is force in the opinions expressed thus far it becomes very easy indeed to convince all who have not made up their minds not to be dislodged from the position they have taken up rightly or wrongly, deliberately or hastily, consciously or unwittingly. One great point of quarrel among Indian public men is, what is the proper political ideal. There are those who are dissatisfied with the united aspiration for self-government within the Empire, there are others who think it dangerous and even not permissible to cherish the ideal of absolute Swarajya free of British control. I sympathise with those of either way of thinking, and so I believe do most Indians. But what I cannot sympathise with is the picking of a quarrel because of the cherishing of two ideals and not one. Not even Macaulay's schoolboy is so foolish as to imagine that either the one or the other can be attained in our day. We must build up the strength of the nation, and gradually work up to that final stage of political progress. And neither the comparatively farther nor the slightly nearer goal can be reached unless all Indians work together and in union. No body of men endowed with average common-sense will think of destroying the unity of a much prized national organisation because of this very natural difference on a point which concerns posterity and not the present, nor perhaps the next generation of Indian reformers. And in point of fact I do not believe that this would have actually led to differences were it not for the divergent views that have become prevalent in regard to methods of agitation. Let us see what these are.

Whether petitioning or passive resistance is the proper method, or the more useful method to adopt, is the question. Those who are designated mendicants or petitionists do not say that petitioning alone or principally is the work we should do and is the panacea for all our political ailments. Nor have the advocates of the latter entirely abandoned petitioning. The latter who have been called by one of them self-exertionists, say that the people must help themselves. The former entirely concur in the view that we must do all that we can to help ourselves. The Swadeshi movement, national education, resort to arbitration in preference to litigation for the settlement of disputes,—these are vehemently advocated by the 'self-exertionists' and warmly applauded by the 'mendicants.' The latter have enthusiastically passed resolutions that they must abstain from the use of foreign goods as far as practicable. They condemn the officialisation of the universities and institutions affiliated to them, and are seeking for means to establish colleges and schools independent of them. For years they have been working for the revival of village *panchayets* and the constitution of arbitration courts for settlement of petty disputes which are far the commonest. His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar and Mr. R. C. Dutt are not less enthusiastic than Mr. Tilak or Lala Lajpat Rai in their adherence to the Swadeshi movement. Sir Gooroo Das Banerjee and the Hon'ble Dr. Rash Behary Ghose are at the head of the National Council of Education in Bengal and they are not classed among the 'extremists' or the 'self-exertionists.' Sir William Wedderburn and the late Dewan Bahadur S. Srinivasa Raghava Iyengar were advocates of the more peaceful way of settling disputes before Mr. Khaparde and Babu Bipin Chunder Pal were known to fame. As regards petitioning, it was only the other day that Mr. Tilak's association, the Poona Sarvajanick Sabha, 'prayed' the Government of India to postpone the consideration of the Public Meetings Bill till the Calcutta Session of the Legislative Council. I am not aware that the 'self-exertionists' have withdrawn their sons from the ordinary schools and colleges, or that the lawyers among them have ceased to plead before British courts of justice (of course for consideration received). I am the last man in the world to quarrel with them for doing what they do, for I recognise the necessity for the same.

The question arises, why then such tension if the points of agreement are so many? The

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real and for all practical purposes the only cause of difference is the boycott movement. I need not say anything of strikes and trade unions, as even those who warmly championed them last year have ceased to talk of them now. And even as regards boycott it does not seem to be necessary to discuss the suggestions concerning boycott of offices under Government, paid or honorary, as there is nothing more than an occasional and academic talk about this. There are I believe more 'extremists' among Indians in Government employ than among the 'agitators,' but their extreme opinions have not stood in the way of their retaining their offices and drawing the emoluments which these carry. In regard to honorary positions, too, their bark is worse than their bite, if I may be permitted to say so, without offence. Mr. Khaparde is still a (nominated) Fellow of Allahabad University and I believe a member of the Amraoti District Board. The editor of the *Mahratta*, Mr. Tilak's paper, is a candidate for election to the Bombay Legislative Council. The serious trouble is only about the movement for the boycott of foreign—or British?—it is not clear which—goods. If the boycott-ers, or the boycott preachers to be accurate—for they do not do all that they say, nor perhaps mean it all—mean simply that preference should be given to Indian over foreign goods even at a sacrifice, there is really no difference of opinion between them, and those whom they choose to treat as their opponents. Even if exclusion of foreign things and not the mere preference of Indian to imported goods is what is meant or intended, there is agreement to a certain extent. There does not seem to be any quarrel over the advocacy of abstention from the use of foreign goods as far as may be practicable, even at a sacrifice, I will not omit to add. A proposition to this effect was carried with absolute unanimity at the last Madras Provincial Conference. Is it that the difference arises over the limitation, *as far as may be practicable?* I cannot think so, as even Babu Bipin Chunder Pal urges the boycott of only four classes of articles—cotton goods, sugar, salt and enamelled ware. So, he too recognises the limitations of his boycott movement. Nor is it apparent that he tells people to go about naked if *even at a sacrifice* they cannot get an adequate supply of indigenous cloth, or go without sugar or salt if these commodities are not procurable at whatever price. There is no body of Indian opinion worth taking notice of which is not enthusiastically in favour of using Indian and discarding foreign things when this can be done, and in so far as there may be individuals or sections of the population here and there who cling to a contrary opinion, by all means spread the new ideas among them and convert them to the more acceptable creed. But where the occasion comes for dissensions among public men on account of slight differences I cannot for the life of me imagine.

Perhaps the differences have become acute owing to the form in which each side prefers to put its case. But no body of sensible and practical men who mean business ought to do the great public disservice of displaying their differences before a critical world merely because they do not agree as to the form in which their opinions should be expressed. The new party say, Proclaim a boycott of British—or foreign, as the case may be—goods. The old party say, Express your determination to support indigenous goods and abstain from the use of foreign things as far as possible, even if such preference involves some saerifice. Both mean substantially the same thing, but by stating your case in the former way you at once expose yourselves to odium and ridicule, if you do not succeed in really, that is, completely boycotting all foreign or British goods; an impossible thing to do in the present industrial situation of the country, and with so much ignorance and disunion among the people. Not only that, but a deal of strife, of angry passions as between Indians and Englishmen as well as between Hindus and Mahomedans has been produced—necessarily or not, rightly or wrongly, it does not matter—and this has already injured the best interests of the country as every dispassionate observer of the course of events must admit in his moments of candour. By, however, stating the case as the old party wish it to be put, you will do the same amount of work, achieve the same results, and at the same time carry with you all the people of the country as well as all who are genuine, high-minded and sympathetic among Englishmen. Every inch gained, every yard of imported cloth done without, every new factory started or company formed, will be to your credit as tangible achievement, which is an encouragement to make re-doubled exertions. You may fail, as you are bound in the nature of things to fail, immediately to make an impression on imports of manufactured articles or exports of raw produce, but instead of being discouraged by and laughed at for such failure as you are bound to be if you proclaim a boycott, you will be given credit for whatever you have actually achieved and moral support in your further endeavour in the same cause.

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Take again the question of national education. You may say, Boycott the universities and the Colleges and Schools affiliated to them or you may say, establish educational institutions which will be independent of all manner of official control, and which will frame their courses of instruction as may best suit the circumstances and requirements of the country. In the former case, you will be sneered at so long as parents continue to send their children to the existing colleges and schools. And not the most recklessly sanguine man can say with any degree of confidence that this will not be so. Express your idea and intention in the latter manner, and you at once, change the whole aspect of the problem. The point of view is not the same as in the other case and many who will have no patience to listen to you for a moment if you advocate a boycott will warmly appreciate your efforts at starting national schools and colleges. At the Madras Provincial Conference held in June, a resolution was unanimously passed urging the establishment of national schools and colleges, and the President, a gentleman who is not claimed as their own by the new party, devoted the best part of his able address to an exposure of the defects of the present educational system and the explanation of the paramount necessity for founding national schools and colleges.

Nor is it very different in the matter of paid offices under Government. Every one, be he a 'Moderate' or an 'Extremist,' is convinced of the inadvisability of young men flocking to Government offices, and the exhortation goes forth from a hundred platforms that they should prefer independent careers, particularly such as will enable them to develop the material resources of the country. A total 'boycott' of paid offices is neither practicable nor desirable and I cannot bring myself to believe that even the 'whole hoggers' among the boycotters mean all that they say without considerable reservations. When honrary positions cannot be retained without compromise of one's self-respect, of course they must be given up. The 28 Municipal Commissioners of Calcutta who went out of the Corporation in the year 1899 did not wait for a proclamation of boycott. The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was not treated properly by the Magistrate President, and he instantaneously resigned his membership of the Allahabad Municipal Board, before the proclamation of a boycott. I have thought it useful to mention his case as he is not in favour among the new party.

Under the circumstances explained in the above at some length, and with, I hope, strict impartiality, does it stand to reason that Congressmen must divide themselves into two parties and wrangle with each other as if there were no common ground at all between them and as if they were two warring camps? As Mr. Keir Hardie, whom the leaders of the new party joined with the old in honouring, said, any question that may not be ripe for the Congress to pass resolutions on, should stand over till the ground is prepared, and meanwhile all Congressmen should work as brothers to advance their cause. It is not beyond the resources of Congress statesmanship to frame a programme to which all can give cordial assent and for the fruition of which every Congressman can work with equal fervour and zeal. If I may venture to suggest one myself, I will say that the following may form the planks of the Congress platform for the present:—

1. Appointment of Indians as members of the Executive Councils, expansion and reform of the Legislative Councils, and extension of local self-government by enlargement of the powers of Municipal and Local bodies and the creation of District Advisory Councils, as first steps in the direction of self-government.

2. Holding of Examinations for the Civil Services simultaneously in England and in India, creation of a separate Judicial Service which should be recruited mostly from among Indian lawyers (this suggestion involves the separation of judicial from executive functions) and generally equality of treatment of Indians and Europeans in the matter of appointments in the public service.

3. Reduction of Home Charges and Military expenditure and increase of expenditure on education in all its branches, sanitation of urban and rural areas, medical relief and irrigation.

4. Reduction of land revenue and other taxes which press unduly on the mass of the population.

5. Status of Indian settlers in British colonies.

6. The Swadeshi Movement, comprising the production as well as consumption of indigenous wares.

7. National Education.

8. Popularising Arbitration Courts for settlement of disputes instead of resort to litigation.

The above cover almost the entire field, and the old and the new party ought to shake hands as comrades in a common cause, regard

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themselves as one, and work in honourable rivalry to produce the greatest results.

If the new party are not satisfied with this much, there is nothing to prevent them from cordially co-operating with the old party to this extent and working independently of them in other matters, where they may not see eye to eye with each other. This is the principle of co-operation for public purposes everywhere in the world, and India can be no exception to the rule. Said Gladstone:—'Rational co-operation in politics would be at an end if no two men might act together until they had satisfied themselves that in no possible circumstances could they be divided.' I am prepared to go farther and recognise the legitimacy of the desire to convert the congress to one's own view of a matter by all constitutional methods. Thus the new party may move all their propositions, set out their case in full, listen respectfully to what is said on the other side, and in the end loyally abide by the decision of the majority. If they are in a minority this year, they may try by every means of persuasion open to a gentleman and citizen to convert it into a majority next year. If any section of Congressmen are not content with this time-honoured custom, and must make themselves unpleasant and even obnoxious to their compatriots, who may have the misfortune of differing from them, if they seek to bring the institution itself into disrepute by organised rowdyism, then indeed will the end have come of the Congress. I am not willing to be forced to the conclusion that there are Congressmen who do not mind wrecking this national assemly, the one instrument of the national will which we have and of which we can be reasonably proud. I gladly assume the contrary, and on the basis of such assumption, make an earnest, a fraternal appeal to my fellow-congressmen, to commune with themselves as to the right course to pursue on the present occasion, with the single-minded resolve to come to a decision, which will be in the highest interests of the congress and through it of the country. Let them bear in mind that as Mr. Balfour has said, the members of an organisation should 'always feel singly and severally that it (the membership) carries with it the duty to each man in his own sphere of doing his best to further the common cause.' And it is that public spirit, that determination that each individual has, that he is not merely forming correct ideas upon political subjects, but has to do his best to communicate those ideas to his neighbours within the sphere of his influence, to keep the community to which he belongs in the right path—it is to efforts like this that the success of a cause is largely due.

One thing is universally admitted—that the country is passing through a crisis and that every son of the soil who can think for himself, and understands that he has a public duty to perform, must devote himself whole-heartedly and disinterestedly to the promotion of the public weal. Is it pretended that this is best done by dividing ourselves into two hostile camps and by giving occasion to the enemy to blaspheme? Nothing is easier for the Government than to crush one section and ignore the other for two different reasons. The moral sanction that attaches to the resolutions of the Congress will be gone if they do not represent the opinions of a united India. It was only when it could be said with truth that 'Japan is one' that Japanese ascendancy became possible. It is only when we cease to allow the disruptive forces at work to get the better of us and make genuine and ceaseless efforts at unity that India's star will begin to rise. Not otherwise, and not till then. Worst of all we shall not even remain where we are but inevitably march backward if we do not labourstrenuously and unitedly to make progress onwards and upwards. Those whose duty it is to preserve order must realise that progress is essential for order; those who are impatient of the conditions and circumstances under which they have to live and work, must understand no less, that there can only be ordered progress and that there can be no complete breaking with the past. I implore my countrymen of all shades of opinion to ponder deeply over the considerations presented to them in these few lines. I beseech them to read, mark, and inwardly digest the wholesome parting advice of our good friend Mr. Kier Hardie—'Magnify your points of agreement and minimise your points of difference.' More, including its own continued existence, will perhaps turn on the issue of the next session of the Congress than many can bring themselves to believe, and a convinced Congressman and devout worshipper in the shrine of the holy Motherland can but pray that the Giver of all Good may vouchsafe clear vision to the assembled delegates, and direct their steps by the lamp of his own benignity in the path of Right and Wisdom.

AN INDIAN NATIONALIST.

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LORD ROBERTS ON THE EFFICIENCY OF THE NATIVE ARMY

"FROM the time I became Commander-in-Chief in Madras until I left India, the question of how to render the army in that country as perfect a fighting machine as it was possible to make it, was the one which caused me the most anxious thought, and to its solution my most earnest efforts had been at all times directed.

"The first step to be taken towards this end was, it seemed to me, to substitute men of the more warlike and hardy races for the Hindustani sepoys of Bengal, the Tamils and Telegus of Madras, and the so-called Mahrattas of Bombay; but I found it difficult to get my views accepted, because of the theory which prevailed that it was necessary to maintain an equilibrium between the armies of the three Presidencies, and because of the ignorance that was only too universal with respect to the characteristics of the different races, which encouraged the erroneous belief that one Native was as good as another for purposes of war.

"In former days, when the Native Army in India was so much stronger in point of numbers than the British Army, and there existed no means of rapid communication, it was only prudent to guard against a predominance of soldiers of any one creed or nationality; but with British troops nearly doubled and the Native Army reduced by more than one-third, with all the forts and arsenals protected, and nearly the whole of the Artillery manned by British soldiers, with railway and telegraph communication from one end of India to the other, with the risk of internal trouble greatly diminished, and the possibility of external complications becoming daily more apparent, circumstances and our requirements were completely altered, and it had become essential to have in the ranks of our Native Army men who might confidently be trusted to take their share of fighting against a European foe.

"In the British Army the superiority of one regiment over another is mainly a matter of training; the same courage and military instinct are inherent in English, Scotch and Irish alike, but no comparison can be made between the martial value of a regiment recruited amongst the Gurkhas of Nepal or the warlike races of northern India, and of one recruited from the effiminate peoples of the south. * * *

"The one thing left undone, and which I should like to have been able to accomplish before leaving India, was to induce the Government to arrange for more British officers to be given to the Native regiments in time of war.

"* * Indian soldiers, like soldiers of every nationality, require to be led; and history and experience teach us that eastern races (fortunately for us), however brave and accustomed to war, do not possess the qualities that go to make leaders of men, and that Native officers in this respect can never take the place of British officers. I have known many Natives whose gallantry and devotion could not be surpassed, but I have never known one who would not have looked to the youngest British officer for support in time of difficulty and danger. It is, therefore, most unwise to allow Native regiments to enter upon a war with so much smaller a proportion of British officers than is considered necessary for European regiments. I have no doubt whatever of the fighting powers of our best Indian troops. I have a thorough belief in, and admiration for, Gurkhas, Sikhs, Dogras, Rajputs, Jats, and selected Mahomedans; I thoroughly appreciate their soldierly qualities; brigaded with British troops, I would be proud to lead them against any European enemy; but we cannot expect them to do with less leading than our own soldiers require, and it is, I maintain, trying them too highly to send them into action with the present establishment of British officers."*

It should be remembered that Lord Roberts never laid any pretension to wide culture or even very high education—a fact which his Lordship has himself admitted in the preface to his work from which an extract has been made above. Again, his scrupulous regard for veracity was exhibited in the despatches he wrote in 1900 from the Transvaal. In his *Forty-one Years in India*, he should have mentioned the arrangement of which he was the author for gratifying the lust of those soldiers who are his co-religionists and compatriots. He appointed procuresses whose duty it was to procure good-looking women as prostitutes for the Christian white soldiers in India. He at first denied the existence of such an arrangement. But his denial was proved to be a lie by some American ladies. He has also omitted to state in his work that he opposed the establishment of an institution in this country on the model of Sandhurst for the training of native officers. These remarks of ours are neither irrelevant nor spiteful, but are meant to show that he is not a truthful and unbiassed judge and critic.

His Lordship has cast unmerited slur on the races of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies who furnished soldiers to the East India Company's Army and with whose help the English were enabled for at least one century to fight all their battles in India. Regarding the Madras sepoys, a writer in the *Statesman* for August 1, 1881, said:—

"The exigencies of Lord Lytton's Afghan War sent Madras sepoys across the 'scientific frontier' among

* Lord Roberts' *Forty-one Years in India*, vol. II, pp. 441-445.

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the snows of Afghanistan, where they are not understood to have suffered more than other native troops, * *.

"There has, in short, never been any good reason for suspecting the Madras sepoys of physical softness or weakness, or of any lack of martial spirit. No trace can be found of any admission or suspicion of their inferiority in the days when the heaviest demands were made on their prowess. Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras, himself a tried soldier, who had seen the troops of all three Presidencies in action, wrote as follows, when a proposal was reported for relieving the subsidiary force at Hyderabad with Bengal troops :—

'Where troops are in all respects equal, there is still an advantage in having those who are to act together drawn from one, and not from different establishments ; *but the Coast troops are perhaps in some respects superior to those of Bengal.* They are more regular, more tractable, more patient under privations, and they have been more accustomed to military operations. If this is true, the argument against employing Bengal sepoys in the Deccan becomes so much the stronger, for why bring them here when we have better on the spot ?' *

"Sir Thomas Munro knew the Madras Army well, he knew also the distinguishing qualities of the Dravidian races, from which, * * its battalions were and are still recruited."†

Regarding the Marathas, the same writer says :—

"Aurangzebe found out his mistake of despising 'those mountain rats,' as he called them, the Mahrattas." ‡

The concluding paragraph of the article from which extracts have been given above, should be carefully read by all those who hold the same opinion as Lord Roberts.

"Above all, we would add in conclusion, let there neither be misgivings with regard to the martial spirit of any section of the Indian Army, nor undue reliance on the submissiveness of the population in any part of India, based on Sir Henry Norman's very unsound speculation as to the enervating and mollifying influence of one or more 'generations of peace.' The cankers of such a calm world as that do not betoken content, or promise quiet. *Peace, of the description that exists in India, neither deadens the human intellect, nor extinguishes human passions. But it creates* ennui, *which, as Auguste Comte points out, is the great cause of political convulsion and change. A Hindu Statesman once observed that when a man had been lying for a long while on one side, the time always came when he wanted to turn over on the other. Possibly he might at last wish to sit up and look about him, or even to stand upright.*"§

* Life of Sir Thomas Munro, by Gleig (1830), Vol. III, p. 195.

† "The infantry sepoy of Madras is rather a small man, but he is of an active make, and capable of undergoing great fatigue, upon a very slender diet. We find no man arrive at greater precision in all his military exercises ; his moderation, his sobriety, his patience, give him a steadiness that is almost unknown to Europeans : but though there exists in this body of men a fitness to attain mechanical perfection as soldiers, there are no men whose mind it is of more consequence to study. The most marked general feature of the character of the natives of India is a proneness to obedience, accompanied by a great susceptibility of good or bad usage ; and there are few in that country who are more imbued with these feelings than the class of which we are now treating. The sepoys of Madras, when kindly treated, have invariably shown great attachment to the service ; and when we know that this class of men can be brought, without harshness or punishment, to the highest discipline, we neither can nor ought to have any toleration for those who pursue a different system ; and the Commander-in-Chief is unfit for his station who grants his applause to the mere martinet, and forgets, in his intemperate zeal, that no perfection in appearance and discipline can make amends for the loss of the temper and attachment of the native soldiers under his command." Sir John Malcolm.

‡ Sir John Malcolm in his letter to Lord Wm. Bentinck, dated Bombay, 27th November, 1830, truly observed :—

"Each of the three Presidencies of India has succeeded in attaining, though by different means, the object of having an affective Native army. I have served with and commanded Native troops of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, and I declare to your Lordship I have hardly a choice. They have different qualities, but with good officers, they are all excellent troops. Their respective characters have been elsewhere described ; and I confess I should dislike to see any serious change in their composition further than was dictated by a gradual change of circumstances. Independent of other reasons which render the change far from desirable, there is no empire in which more attention may be eventually required than that of India to the well-known maxim of the Romans, [is it *Divide et impera* ?] in regard to their distant conquests, which was to preserve, or restore, if disturbed, the peace of one province by troops drawn from another. * * *

"On the consequence that attaches to the Native Army all are agreed. * * * * It cannot be too often repeated, this army is our safety and our danger. Every information should be sought and obtained to aid the judgment of those who have to decide upon points by which the temper, zeal and fidelity of that class of troops can be affected. But not even what appears to be the least important of these measures should be adopted without the most serious deliberation. Every branch of this subject requires the mind of a statesman. We have, through the efforts of our Native army, triumphed in wars and rebellions. Plots and conspiracies may be formed, but they will never succeed while we maintain the good spirit and fidelity of this branch of our force. This our enemies, avowed and secret, well know ; and all their efforts have been and will hereafter be directed to its corruption. This object has never been but very partially effected, but it is one which we must beware of aiding by any measure that impairs the confidence, that undervalues the merits, or slights the pretensions of men, who are every day becoming more sensible of their own importance. and naturally seek for participation in the benefits of a power they have so largely contributed to establish, and of which they cannot be ignorant they must continue the principal support.

"The men of the Native infantry of Bombay are of a standard very near that of Madras. The lowest size taken is five feet three inches, and the average is five feet five, but they are robust and hardy, and capable of enduring great fatigue upon very slender diet.

"* * * They are, in fact, familiar to the sea, and only a small proportion of them are incommoded in a voyage by those privations to which others are subject from prejudices of caste. But this is only one of the merits of the Bombay native soldier : he is patient, faithful, and brave, and attached in a remarkable degree to his European officers. There cannot be a class of men more cheerful under privation and difficulties ; * * there are no men, after they become soldiers, more attached to their colors. I question, indeed, if any army can produce more extraordinary examples of attachment to the government it served and to its officers than that of Bombay."

"* * * The Konkanees and Deccanees they account more patient under privation and fatigue, more easily subsisted and managed, and in bravery to be fully their (Hindustanees') equals. They are the descendants of Sewajee's 'Mountain Rats,' whom neither the stature or military bearing of the Hindustanee could debar from advancing to the gates of Delhi ; and the early history of the Bombay army (nowhere better related than in Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas) shows them to be in no way degenerated from the spirit of their ancestors." Sir John Malcolm.

§ Perhaps the explanation of the genesis of the unrest at present visible in India may be found in the sentences italicised.

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Lord Roberts, as said above, is not a man of wide culture or high education. Had he been so, he would not have questioned the fact of one race being as good as another. His Lordship has not perhaps read Henry George's well-known work on Progress and Poverty. That gifted American writer says:—

"There are among men infinite diversities of aptitude and inclination, as there are such infinite diversities in physical structure that among a million there will not be two that can not be told apart. But, both from observation and reflection, I am inclined to think that the differences of natural power are no greater than the differences of stature or of physical strength. * * So widely has the sower scattered the seed, so strong is the germinative force that bids it bud and blossom. But, alas, for the stony ground, and the birds and the tares! For one who attains his full stature, how many are stunted and deformed."

Why those races of India who not more than a century ago were credited with the possession of martial spirit, have now become effiminate, has been explained in the article on the Fighting Castes and Tribes of India published in the *Modern Review* for July, 1907.

To increase the number of British officers in India at the expense of the children of the soil, Lord Roberts has not scrupled to write that

"History and experience teach us that Eastern races (fortunately for us), however brave and accustomed to war, do not possess the qualities that go to make leaders of men, and that Native officers in this respect can never take the place of British officers."

Need one take the trouble to expose the utter absurdity of Lord Roberts' dogmatic assertion of the Eastern races never possessing the qualities that go to make leaders of men? What about the Japanese who beat the Russians, of whom Lord Roberts and men of his class are always afraid? Did those Japanese officers who led their men against the Russians belong to the Eastern race or Western? Were not Shivaji and Hyder Ali Asiatics?* Is it not a fact that not quite 150 years ago, the English in India were defeated by Hyder Ali, who dictated to them terms which were not very flattering to their national pride and prestige? The Sikh Forces at Chilianwallah pitted against the English were not led by Christian European officers. Attila, who led those Asiatics, the Huns, in the 5th century to invade and conquer a great part of Europe, was an Asiatic. The leaders of the Arabs, Turks, &c., who conquered parts of Europe were Asiatics. In the face of these historical facts how did Lord Roberts venture to libel Asiatics as not possessing "the qualities that go to make leaders of men"?† Why did he oppose the scheme of establishing an institution on the model of Sandhurst in India? That was meant for the training of native officers and it would then have been seen whether the native officers "can never take the place of British officers," or not. At present the native officers rise from the ranks and they are men of no education and social position. Even of these native officers, another distinguished Indian military authority was greatly afraid. Lieutenant General Sir Sydney Cotton in his work on Nine Years on the North-West-

* Sir Charles Napier in his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to enquire into the affairs of the East India Company in 1852, said:—

"We have got into the habit of exalting the Europeans so far above the natives, that it now becomes almost a matter of necessity to have them. I think that, had I remained in India, I could have so raised the Sepoys' spirit to a just confidence in themselves, that I would not have objected to go into action with Sepoys alone. When men are run down, and hear it daily said that they cannot meet an enemy without they are supported by Europeans, they begin to believe it; but it is a palpable fallacy. If well drilled, the Sepoy is a brave and staunch soldier in action. If you want to make our officers and native officers mix, there is now but one way of doing that: it is by giving the native officers the same rank with our own; but I should say that it would require a great deal of consideration before that is done. You are bringing them in in the Civil Service, I believe, and it is just; but how far that can be extended with safety to the Indian Army I will not say; it is a question of policy, not of discipline."

Being questioned by Lord Elphinstone,

"In the last century, were there not instances of very distinguished native officers in the Indian Army?"

Sir Charles Napier said:—

"There were men of immense intellect and knowledge of their work among the natives; Hyder Ali Khan, and many others; they are exceedingly clever and exceedingly courageous."—First Report. Indian Territories (Session 1852-53). Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 16th June, 1853. p. 80.

† Sir John Malcolm who knew Asiatics and particularly Natives of India much better than Lord Roberts or any other Anglo-Indian, cites instances of several natives who were possessed of "'the qualities that go to make leaders of men." Speaking of the Madras Army, he writes:—

"The general history of the Native army of Fort St. George is short. Sepoys were first disciplined, * * on that Establishment in 1748; they were at that period, and for sometime afterwards, in independent companies, under Subadars or native captains. Mahomed Esof, one of the most distinguished of those officers, rose by his talents and courage to the general command of the whole; and the name of this hero, for such he was, occurs almost as often in the page of the English historian (Orme) of India as that of Lawrence and Clive." * * *

"Cawder Beg, late subadar of the fourth regiment, may be deemed throughout his life as one of the most distinguished officers of the native Cavalry at Madras. In 1790, he was attached to Colonel Floyd as an orderly subadar, when that officer who had been reconnoitring with a small detachment, was attacked by a considerable body of the enemy's horse. Nothing but the greatest exertions of every individual could have saved the party from being cut off. Those of Cawder Beg were the most conspicuous, and they received a reward, of which he was proud to the last hour of his life; an English sabre was sent to him, with the name of Colonel Floyd upon it, and an inscription, stating that it was the reward of valour. But personal courage was the least quality of Cawder Beg; his talents eminently fitted him for the exercise of Military command. During the compaign of 1799, it was essential to prevent the evening looties, a species of Cossak horse, from penetrating between the columns

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ern Frontier of India from 1854 to 1863, published in 1868, wrote :—

"The present native army of Bengal has in its ranks much more energetic and intelligent races than were to be found in the ranks of the old army ; *the native officers, in Bengal, of the latter had risen, by seniority, from the ranks; they were generally worn out, and without any special qualifications,* whilst the native officers *of the new army are men full of vigour, and have risen by their superior merits and qualifications, and, in many instances, by hereditary distinctions. In cases of future rebellion, then, leaders may spring up much more dangerous in character than those who have appeared on the stage before.*" (pp. 305,306).

While Lord Roberts is of opinion that the present class of Native officers is good for nothing, Sir Sydney Cotton is quite afraid of them for their being "much more dangerous in character" than their predecessors. But it would seem that on the ground of political expediency, the authorities do not consider it necessary to encourage native offiers of the Indian Army. Under these circumstances, it is no wonder that the native officers are such as they have been represented by Lord Roberts. But the defect is not due to any innate race inferiority. The noble Lord should be told of the following narrative mentioned by the author of "Progress and Poverty."

"A gentleman who had taught a coloured school once told me that he thought the coloured children, up to the age of ten or twelve, were really brighter and learned more readily than white children, but that after that age they seemed to get dull and careless. He thought this proof of innate race inferiority, and so did I at the time. But I afterwards heard a highly intelligent negro gentleman (Bishop Hillery) incidentally make a remark which to my mind seems a sufficient explanation. He said, 'our children, when they are young, are fully as bright as white children, and learn as readily. But as soon as they get old enough to appreciate their status—to realize that they are looked upon as belonging to an inferior race, and can never hope to be anything more than cooks, waiters or something of that sort, they lose their ambition and cease to keep up.' * * *

"The same thing may be seen later in life."

What ambition has the Native officer in the Military Service of the Government of India to show his ability when he knows that he has ever to be subordinate to the youngest ensign who is perhaps yet in his teens ? Lieut. Colonel R. D. Osborn, writing in the *Statesman* for April 1, 1881, said :—

"Hitherto we have selected them (native officers), as it were, under protest. Whenever one of the fallen race has been permitted to enter the paradise of officialism, we have carefully explained to him that he was an inferior creature, who, if things were only as they ought to be, would never have found himself in such an exalted sphere. The ladder of promotion has been grudgingly uncovered for him, step by step. His privileges as a vertebrate animal have been meted out to him inch by inch, commencing with the first grand concession of allowing him a chair when basking in the sunshine of our august presence. This mode ef selection has been productive of evil in a variety of ways. It has condemned the aristocracy of India to a most unjust and impolitic exclusion from any participation in the administration of the empire. It attracted to our service only the lowest classes, deadened their sense of responsibility, as well as any feelings of gratitude, * * * * It has fostered the very soul of Junkerism in ourselves, and inflicted a never-ceasing wound on the self-respect of our fellow-subjects. Yet, even under all these disadvantages, it is pleasant to think of the increasing stability which our Government gathers from every fresh influx into its ranks of Native officers. If a mutiny broke out to-morrow, or an army of Russians was reported to have appeared upon the Indus, whom should we suspect of being our ill-

and the rear guard, and plundering any part of that immense train of provisions and luggage, which it was necessary to carry to Seringapatam. Cawder Beg, with two or three of his relations from the Native cavalry and a select body of infantry were placed under my orders. I was then political representative with the army of the Subah of the Deckan, and commanded a considerable body of the troops of that prince. I had applied for Cawder Beg on account of his reputation, and prevailed upon Mir Allum, the leader of the Subah's forces to place corps of 2000 of his best regular horse under the Subahdar's orders. Two days after the corps was formed, an orderly trooper came to tell me that Cawder Beg was engaged with some of the enemy's horsemen. I hastened to the spot with some alarm for the result, determined if Cawder Beg was victor to reprove him most severely for a conduct so unsuited to the station in which he had been placed. The fears I entertained for his safety were soon dispelled, as I saw him advancing on foot with two swords in his hand, which he bestowed to present to me, begging at the same time I would restrain my indignation at his present rashness till I heard his reasons ; then speaking to me aside, he said, "Though the General of the Nizam's army was convinced by your statement of my competence to the command you have entrusted me with, I observed that the high-born and high-titled leaders of the horse he placed under my orders looked at my close jacket, straight pantaloons and European boots, with contempt, and thought themselves disgraced by being told to obey me. I was therefore tempted on seeing a well-mounted horseman of Tippoo's challenge their whole line, to accept a combat, which they declined. I promised not to use fire-arms, and succeeded in cutting him down ; a relation came to avenge his death ; I wounded him, and have brought him prisoner. You will" (he added smiling) hear a great report of me at the durbar (court) of Meer Allam this evening, and the service will go on better for what has passed, and I promise most sacredly to fight no more single combats."

When I went in the evening to visit the Meer Allam, I found at his tent a number of the principal chiefs, and among others those that had been with Cawder Beg, with whose praises I was assailed from every quarter. "He was" they said, "a perfect hero, a Rustum, it was an honor to be commanded by so great a leader." The consequence was, as the subadar anticipated, that the different chiefs who were placed under him vied in respect and obedience ; and so well were the incessant efforts of this body directed, that scarcely a load of grain was lost ; hardly a day passed that the activity and stratagem of Cawder Beg did not delude some of the enemy's plunderers to their destruction.

It would fill a volume to give a minute account of this gallant officer : he was the Native Aide-de-camp of General Dugald Campbell when that officer reduced the Ceded Districts, he attended Sir Arthur Wellesly (the present Duke of Wellington) in the campaign of 1833, and was employed by that officer in the most confidential manner. At the end of this campaign, during which he had several opportunities of distinguishing himself, Cawder Beg, who had received a pension from the English Government, and whose pride was flattered by being created an Omrah of the Deckan by the Nizam, retired, but he did not long enjoy the distinction he had obtained ; he died in 1806 worn out by the excessive fatigue to which he had for many years exposed himself.

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wishers? The Native judge of the High Court? The young men who have competed successfully for the Civil Service? The crowd of munsiffs and other civil officials, who have a career before them in the public service? Assuredly none of these. We should look for them in the high-born and ambitious men our *regime* has excluded alike from occupation in the present, or the hope of any in the future. What, then, my proposal amounts to is to extend to the Native Army that same policy of *Trust* which is rapidly effecting a complete transformation in the constitution of the Civil Service. Granted (which I do not) that the fidelity of the Native officer is of extremely brittle quality, you strengthen, and not weaken it, when you improve his position and give a wider field to his legitimate ambition. You make it worth his while to be faithful."

In our opinion the Government of India committed a great mistake in increasing the number of British officers without at the same time doing anything to improve the position and prospects of the Native officers. All that can be said in defence of the Indian Government is that they had to yield to the demand of Lord Roberts, who as Commander-in-Chief of the British Isles after his return from the Boer War tried his best to accomplish that thing which as he said was 'left undone, and which he should like to have been able to accomplish before leaving India.'

Lord Roberts says that he has no doubt whatever of the fighting powers of the best Indian troops and that brigaded with British troops, he would be proud to lead them against any European enemy. This is in marked contrast to the evidence which Viscount Wolsley gave before the Welby commission. Whom are we to believe? There was an opportunityfor Lord Roberts to do what he wrote in 'Forty-one years in India' published in 1896. He held the supreme command over the British Forces in the Boer War. Why did he not indent upon India for the best Indian troops and lead them against the Boers? Had he done so then every one of us would have discredited Lord Wolsley's statement and believed in the efficiency of the Native army. But as Lord Roberts did not lead Indian troops against the Boers, we know what inference to draw about the efficiency of the Indian Army.

WANTED—A REAL NATIONAL CONGRESS

THE term National Congress can only convey to an Englishman's mind, not familiar with the nature and doings of the institution known as the Indian National Congress, the idea of a body of duly elected representative men administering the affairs and protecting the interests of a nation. If a citizen of the United States of America, to whom the Congress at Washington is a vivid reality, hears of a Christmas gathering of men from different parts of India, making speeches and passing resolutions in a foreign tongue for three days and then returning to their homes and avocations without appointing any one to carry out the resolutions passed, and if he is informed that this holiday gathering is styled the "Indian National Congress," he must find it difficult to suppress a smile at so egregious a misnomer.

The most ardent champions of the Congress cannot give a much better account of its utility than that it affords opportunities for educated men from different parts of the country to meet together, once a year, to give expression to the needs and wishes of their countrymen, and to call the attention of Government to their grievances, and that it is an institution of great educational value, inasmuch as it enables the delegates and visitors to its annual meetings to know each other and exchange thoughts and form friendships. It is too well known to need mention what importance the Government attaches to its deliberations and representations. Most of the resolutions which were passed during the days when the Congress was in its infancy continue to be moved, supported, passed and forwarded to Government now, when the Congress claims to have attained majority; but the Government continues to act in direct opposition to its long list of time-honoured resolutions. The most vehement protests of the Congress against obnoxious measures have remained unheeded by Government. So far, therefore, as its influence over the Government is concerned, it may be regarded as next to a nonentity. As a resort of professional men making holiday excursions from different parts of the country and seeking social intercourse and exchange of thought with their countrymen from other parts, it undoubtedly serves a useful purpose; but it can fulfil this purpose

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without assuming so high-sounding a name as it bears.

If the so-called Indian National Congress is ever to deserve its name, it must take into its hands the guidance and control of some of the really important concerns of the country. No reasonable man expects the Congress to justify its existence by wresting the military or civil government of the country from the hands of the existing authorities. There are other concerns of vital importance to the country which stand sorely in need of careful thought and combined action on the part of intelligent and educated Indians. One of such concerns is the training and employment of the intelligence of the country for the production of wealth from its vast natural resources. In point of intelligence the educated classes of India are acknowledged by all impartial observers to be next to none in the whole world. In point of industry, aptitude, patience, sobriety and thrift, the artisans and other working classes of India stand unsurpassed. These qualities make an Indian working-man dreaded by such of his Western compeers as have to compete with him on equal terms. It is no less on account of these qualities than of their race and colour that Asiatics are treated as undesirables in other continents, and laws are enacted to prevent their immigration. The materials for almost every human need are available is abundance in some part or other of this country. Given the necessary education and training, there is hardly a manufatured article of human use that cannot be produced in India. The great rivers in Nothern India can not only be utilised as fertilizing agents, but can supply many times more mechanical power than is generated by steam-engines working in any country, and at rates with which it is simply impossible for coal-consuming engines to compete. Surely, with her fertile soil, her rich mines, her extensive forests, her mighty rivers, and, above all, with her highlyintelligent and industrious sons, India should be above poverty. Yet she is now one of the poorest countries in the world, and her sons and daughters are dying by millions, of famine, plague, and other equally unquestionable effects of poverty. These untimely deaths and the famishing, ill-clad, ill-housed, and helpless millions would not have marred this country which is, potentially, one of the richest in the world, if there were an adequate organization of intelligent and trained minds bent upon making her people prosperous and happy.

It is true that the Civil Service of India which controls the affairs of the country is composed, for the most part, of highly intelligent and well-trained men and that they form an admirably organised body. It is also true that they have hitherto been eminently successful in maintaining order and thus discharging one of the primary duties of a government. But no one, except a Pharisee, can assert that the sole, or even the chief, object with which they preserve order and towards which they devote their thought and energies is to save the people of India from conflicts of race and creed, and to make them prosperous and happy. No candid man can deny that their chief aim and endeavour are to secure lucrative fields for the intelligence and enterprise of their countrymen, to find safe investments for the surplus capital of their country, and to have the command of a profitable and unfailing market for their country's manufactures. It is equally undeniable that in accomplishing this threefold purpose they have inflicted serious injuries upon the people of this country. By excluding Indians from almost all positions which call for the exercise of powers of initiative, organisation and control, they have rendered them so helpless that, after less than a century's disuse of these powers they are unable even to initiate and organise a campaign against plague which is carrying away more victims every year than the most destructive war that was ever waged. By disarming the people they have made the bravest and most warlike races of India strangers to the art of self-defence, and powerless to protect themselves, not only against armed enemies but against the very wild beasts which may be prowling in the vicinity of their villages. By breaking the system of village communities they have deprived the people of the power of self-help and self-government which they exercised from time immemorial. By systematically killing the numerous thriving industries which maintained a large proportion of the population in prosperity before the British became the paramount power in India, as they have done in order to find a market for British wares, they have reduced millions of skilled artisans into husbandmen and labourers. These are not unforeseen results but the fruits of a policy deliberately pursued for over a century, a policy which was pithily enunciated by Mr. Thackeray, a member of the Board of Revenue in Madras, during the regime of Lord William Bentinck, in the following words:—

"It is very proper that in Engand a good share of the produce of the earth should be appropriated

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RAO BAHADUR LALSHANKAR UMIASHANKAR,

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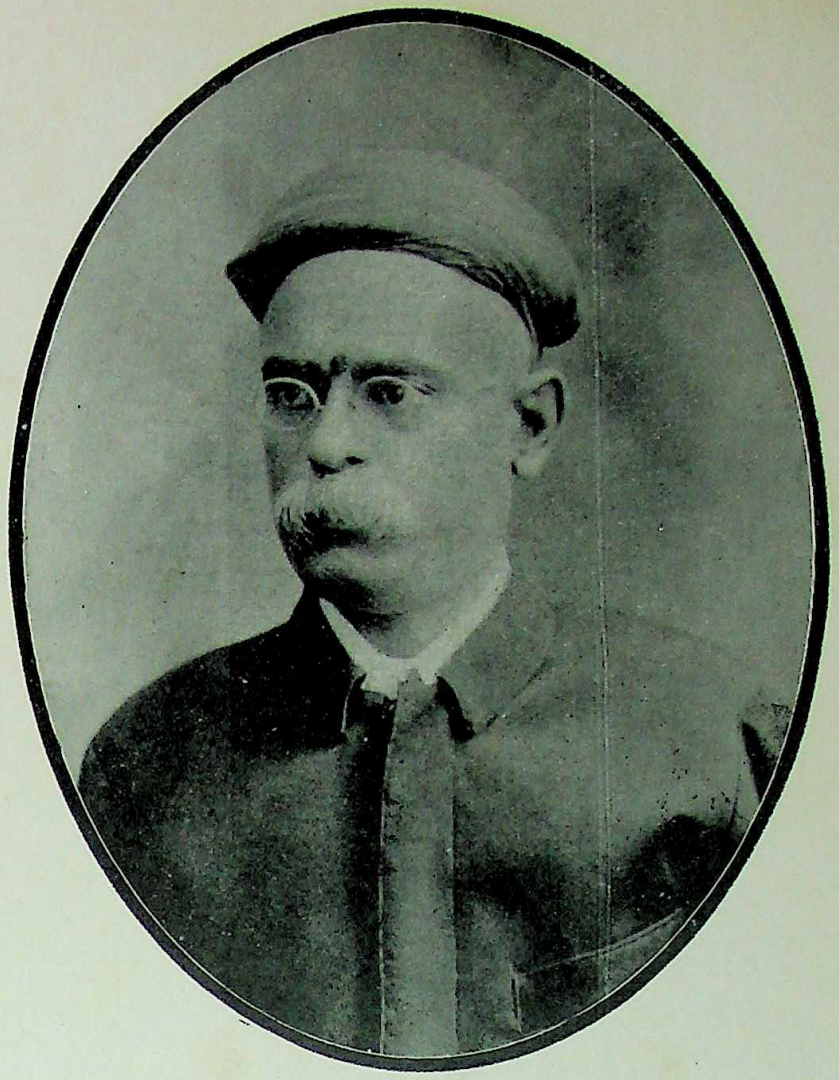

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to support certain families in affluence, to produce senators, sages and heroes for the service and defence of the state, or in other words, that a great part of the rent should go to an opulent nobility and gentry, who are to serve the country in Parliament, in the army and navy, in the department of science and liberal professions. The leisure, independence and high ideas, which enjoyment of this rent affords, have enabled them to raise Britain to the pinnacle of glory. Long may they enjoy it; but in India that haughty spirit, independence and deep thought which the possession of great wealth always gives, ought to be suppressed. They are directly adverse to our power and interest. The nature of things, the past experience of all Governments, renders it unnecessary to enlarge on the subject. We do not want (in India) generals, statesmen and legislators; we want the industrious husbandmen who cannot easily combine against Government."

This policy has produced the desired fruits, until Indian generals and statesmen have become a matter of past history, and such Indian legislators as are permitted to sit in the imperial and provincial legislative councils are mere nonentities, so far as any real influence on the course of legislation is concerned. The policy of weaning Indians from occupations which require intelligence and skill, and are, therefore, a source of wealth, has fructified to such a degree that more than nine-tenths of the vast population of India have to live by agriculture, with the result that an enormous share of the food produced by them goes away to foreign countries to pay for the services of trained intellectual workers, such as civil and military officers, and higher officials of other departments of state, and for the products of skilled labour, such as cloth, hardware, and other necessaries, for which India is now dependent on foreign countries, and this enormous drain of food-stuffs manifests itself in the shape of periodical famines and perennial plague. The somewhat lengthy remarks in this paragraph are made in anticipation of the objection which some may raise that large measures affecting the prosperity of a whole country can only be undertaken by its Government. Whatever truth there may be in this objection can only be applicable to self-governed countries where it is one of the most important duties of statesmen and administrators to devise and carry out measures for developing and training the latent faculties of individuals, and for employing them in promoting the prosperity and greatness of the country. In India, the only large country in the world which is under foreign domination, circumstances are different. Here people must work for their own prosperity, independently of Government, and they should regard themselves fortunate if they have not to work towards that end in spite of Government.

The Indian National Congress can justify its name by undertaking the task of restoring India to prosperity The task is undoubtedly stupendous, considering the vastness of the country and the depths of poverty into which the people have sunk; but it should not stagger the minds of those who have the imagination to see how small beginnings may lead to great achievements. Educated Indians all know how an originally humble trading company has developed into a Government which now rules the destiny of a continent like India. The solution of the problem of Indian poverty lies to a great extent in making Indians competent to produce the manufactured articles, metals and machinery, which are now imported from foreign countries, and in establishing factories and workshops, and opening mining works, for the production of the requirements of the country. In order to accomplish the gigantic task of quickening and training the intelligence, and developing the resources of so vast a country, the Congress must have regular constituencies in every part of India, and what is even more important is that those constituencies must pay voluntary taxes for carrying out the work before the Congress. It is true that a large revenue cannot be raised by the Congress from poor people already overburdened by the taxes which they have to pay to the Government; but work can begin with taxes levied from the wealthy and the well-to-do. In order to do real work the Congress, like a government, must, for the most part, be a paid agency. It is true that the task of regenerating a country calls for patriotism and self-sacrifice; but patriots cannot work long if they have to work starving. Intelligent and educated men who have earned a competence by the practice of liberal professions, or from trade, can afford to be purely honorary workers; but such workers must necessarily be compratively few. The greater part of the real work of the Congress must be performed by paid workers, and if the work is controlled by really capable men, the remuneration of the workers will, after some time, come from the work itself, just as the salaries of a Railway's staff come from the earnings of the Railway. But work must be begun by raising taxes or subscriptions from the constituents and supporters of the Congress. A beginning can be made with a few model schools and factories, or even a single pioneer technical institution, which need not be on a very large scale in its

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inception. A fund of ten or twelve lakhs may suffice to start an establishment for the production of one or two of the most urgent requirements of India. By way of an instance one may suggest a factory, which may also serve as a training school, for the manufacture of small steam or oil engines and pumps, for purposes of irrigation in tracts which are not served by canals. This would be a beginning for the supply of an effective antidote to famines, which are of such frequent occurrence in India. To the same factory may be added a department for the manufacture of bicycles, or other articles of manufacture, which are largely imported from foreign countries. By and by, mining classes may be opened and a beginning made for the development of the vast mineral resources of the country. With the increase of experience and pecuniary resources, hydraulic and electrical engineering may be introduced, and the great Himalayan rivers may be utilised as a source of motive power for manufacturing purposes. When a few model establishments have shown satisfactory results for a few years, a large number of similar establishments will spring up in the country, and, if they are under the guidance of a central governing body of intelligent, upright, experienced, and patriotic men, such as the proposed Congress, there will be a large army of workers forming a widespread organisation. Taxes will be willingly paid to enable the Congress to carry out measures for the benefit of the tax-payer. An efficient and impartial administration of the finances of the Congress will give practical experience in the art of self-government. There can be no self-government without self-taxation. The Congress should, therefore, take early steps to devise a scheme of self-taxation and bring it into force as early as possible. With adequate funds at its disposal it can secure the services of men of brains, education and character, as whole-time workers. Men possessing special knowledge and technical skill, not available in the country at present, can be imported from outside for some years as was done in Japan. In course of time the whole country can be dotted with centres of education in theoretical and practical knowledge and of industries producing all the needs of the country. With mills, factories, workshops, banks, insurance companies, mines, railways, and other productive concerns working in all parts of the country under the guidance and control of the national assembly, useful and honourable careers will be open in abundance for men who now seek Government service in vain, or having succeeded in securing it, eke out a penurious living by drudgery in subordinate positions, although they may be capable of much better things; and have to refrain from all patrotic activities, although their hearts may be longing to be engaged in patriotic work. Droughts will not be followed by famines, as the foodstuffs which are now drained out to pay for products of skilled labour and for brain work, will remain in the country as a reserve for times of scanty harvests. The standard of living will improve and the plague will be a thing of the past and there will be plenty and prosperity in the land. When the Congress has the control of the industries and commerce of the country and is supported by a number of intelligent, educated, and patriotic men in affluent circumstances, it will become a real National Congress, and it will be in a position to demand political rights and privileges with a voice to which no sane Government can turn a deaf ear.

BHÁRADVÁJA.

THE STORY OF NALA AND DAMAYANTI

(*From the Mahabharata.*)

THERE was formerly a king named Nala, strong and handsome and an excellent horseman. He was truthful and a master of his passions and beloved of men and women. There was also in his time a maiden Damayanti, daughter of Bhima, the king of the Vidarbhas. She was a girl of faultless beauty, without a peer in the three worlds. And heralds sang of her in the presence of Nala, and they sang of Nala in the court of her father. And through report alone they fell in love with each other, for neither knew the other by sight.

So Damayanti lost all peace of mind, and grew sad and thin and pale. She went about dreaming, with uplifted eyes, and ceased to

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lie down by day or night. And her maidens seeing her plight gave a hint of the truth to the king. And the king resolved that she should choose for herself a husband. And he made a proclamation and assembled for her choice all the rulers of the earth.

And when the immortals heard the proclamation they, too, came down to join the assembly. And they met Nala on the road thither, and they said to him, "O best of men, be thou our messenger!" And he pledged his word to them and said, "I will be your messenger—but who are you, and what is the message?" And they said, "We are immortals that come to woo Damayanti; go and bid her choose her lord among us." And he said, "It is my own errand here to woo her; how can I speak for others?" And they answered, "We have thy promise."

So Nala went and entered the palace, and they gave him power to pass the guards unseen and he stood before Damayanti and told her the message of the gods. And she wept and said to him, "O lord of earth, bowing down to all the gods, I choose thee for my lord. Come thou to the assembly with them, and I will choose thee for myself."

So Nala told her answer to the gods, and he went with them to the assembly. And they sat and waited till she came, and she entered the hall among them. And when she looked upon them, behold, she saw five men before her, all perfectly alike in shape. And long she stood in doubt, till she resolved to appeal to the gods themselves. Folding her hands she bowed her head and she addressed them trembling:—"Long since I chose Nala for my lord, and I have still been true to him in thought and word. By that truth I implore you all to show me which of you is he." And seeing her steady purpose the gods complied, and assumed their native forms. And she saw them without sweat on their bodies, poised above the ground without shadows, and crowned with unfading flowers. And she recognised the King of Naishadha; and shyly she caught the hem of his robe and flung a garland about his neck. And all the gods cried out "Well done!" And they bestowed on them many boons and departed.

Then Nala and Damayanti were married and began to pass their days in joy. But Kali (कलि) alone of the gods was jealous, and he vowed a vow against Nala. Twelve years he waited for a fault in the king, that he might have an occasion against him. And in the twelfth year he found an occasion, for the king, having one day answered a call of nature, said his prayers without washing his feet. Upon this Kali entered his person, and possessed him. And he set him gambling at dice, till he lost all that he had.

So Nala renounced his kingdom, and passed through the gate of the city naked. And Damayanti, his wife, followed him and they lived on the roots and fruits of the forest. And one night they lay down to sleep together, dirty and haggard and weary. And the king woke in the night and thus he reflected:—"What use is it to go on thus? Had I not better desert my wife? If I stay with her, she is certain of misery; if I leave her, she may perhaps be happy again." Thus he reflected, at the suggestion of Kali, and he made up his mind to desert her, saying, "O blessed one, may the Ashwins* protect thee, guarded as thou art by virtue!" And he left her, returning more than once where she lay, distracted by Kali and the impulse of his heart.

And Damayanti awoke when he was gone, and shrieked aloud with horror. And she cried many times to her husband, saying, "O best of men, whither hast thou gone? Dost thou not hear thy wife lamenting? Whom shall I ask for thee, my warrior, my sinless hero? Here is nothing but the wilderness, and the lions and tigers and demons that belong to it. O mountain, O king of mountains, with thy fair peaks kissing the skies, rising like a banner above this forest, O pillar of the earth, I approach thee for succour. Know me for a king's daughter and the consort of a king, now bereft of my husband and sunk in woe. Wilt thou not take me for thy daughter, and soothe me and tell me where I may find my lord?" She spoke also to an ashoka tree, rich in leaves and blossoms and echoing with birds. "O ashoka tree, vindicate thy name†! Tell me thou hast seen my lord!"

And going forward towards the north she fell in with a caravan of merchants. And they were frightened when they saw her, pale and dusty and wild as a maniac. "Art thou a demon or a mortal?" they cried, "or, if thou art a goddess, bless us and protect us!" And hearing who she was, they made her welcome and gave her leave to travel with them. But one evening, when they halted for the night, they chanced upon a resort of wild elephants. And the wild elephants saw the elephants in their service, and fiercely they set upon them. Like rocks descending a mountain they hurled themselves

* The two physicians of the gods celebrated for their active benevolence.—*Ed., M. R.*

† The derivative meaning of ashoka is *without sorrow, not feeling or causing sorrow.—Ed., M. R.*

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on the caravan, and few of the merchants and their followers escaped. And the princess fled into the forest, in the uttermost grief and misery. "Alas!" she said, "what have I done? I have brought destruction on this company of merchants. No one dies, they say, before his time; how long must I endure my evil destiny? For Destiny it is that plagues me; I have never sinned to deserve this. Is it the gods whom I rejected that have sent me this misery?"

And one evening she entered the city of Suvâhu, the truth-telling king of the Chedis. She was so disarrayed and haggard that the boys of the city began to follow her. And she passed before the palace, where the queen-mother saw her from the roof. And the queen-mother sent a nurse to fetch her in, saying, "That woman is forlorn and vexed by the crowd, and seems to be in need of succour." And Damayanti entered and told her tale, and the queen-mother bade her stay in the palace. And Damayanti answered "O mother of heroes, I must stay with thee on certain conditions. I must not eat the remnants of any dish, nor wash any one's feet, nor speak to any man. And should any one tempt me with solicitations, he shall be punished at thy hands." And the queen-mother agreed, and bade her own daughter Sunandâ take Damayanti for a companion.

Now as for Nala, when he left Damayanti he saw a fire raging in the forest, and in the fire a great serpent lying in a coil. And the serpent spoke to him and said, "O king of men, there is a curse laid upon me, because I deceived the rishi Nârada. He said to me, 'Stay there and stir not, till one Nala delivers thee. Let him carry thee to a certain spot and thou shalt be free.' Take me up therefore, O best of kings, I will become light in thy hands. Take me up and carry me out of this fire and I will instruct thee concerning thy own welfare." And as he spoke that king of snakes became as small as a man's thumb. And Nala took him up and carried him out of the fire. And when he was about to drop him, the snake addressed him again, saying, "Carry me a little further, counting thy steps as thou goest." And Nala did so, and when the snake heard him say 'Ten,' he bit him. And the form of Nala changed, the serpent also assumed his own form. And the serpent said to him, "I have deprived thee of thy beauty that no one may know thee. And he that has deceived thee and possessed thy body, as long as he stays there, shall be tortured by my venom. Now go to the delightful city of Ayodhyâ, and show thyself to the king, Rituparna, and say, 'I am a charioteer, Vâhuka by name,' and he will be thy friend. And one day thou shalt regain thy wife and children." With these words that serpent gave to Nala two pieces of celestial cloth, and then he vanished.

So Nala went to Ayodhyâ and presented himself to the king. And the king put him in charge of his stables, and paid him well, and treated him well. And Nala made two verses for himself, and every night he recited them:—

Where lies that helpless lady, faint and thirsty and worn out with toil? Is she thinking of that wretch? And whom is she waiting on now?

Now when Nala had lost his kingdom, his father-in-law sent often to find him. Many Brâhmanas went at his command and searched various cities and provinces. And at last one of them, Sudeva, discovered Damayanti in the city of the Chedis. And he said to himself, "She is what she ever was, beautiful as Shri*. But she shines no more, through grief for her lord; she is like the moon struggling through clouds, or an uprooted lotus. Alas! When shall she cross this ocean of woe? How can I console her?"

And he went and made himself known, and told her tale to the queen-mother. And the queen-mother wept and embraced Damayanti, and she said to her, "Stay with us, Damayanti, my house and my wealth are thine. For thy mother and I are sisters, daughters of Sudâman, the king of Dashârna." And Damayanti said, "Mother, I have been happy with thee, and I could, without doubt, be happier still. But my son and daughter are with my father, thy are left as orphans and live in misery. If thou wilt please me, prepare me a carriage, that I may go at once to find them." And the queen-mother said, "So be it," and she sent Damayanti to the city of Bhima. And the king rejoiced to see her, and he gave Sudeva much wealth and a village and a thousand kine.

And still she mourned for her husband, and besought her father to enquire for him. And he appointed Brâhmanas to travel and search for him, and Damayanti gave them instructions. And she said, "I have made these verses, recite them in every concourse of men. '*Dear gambler, where hast thou gone, leaving thy true wife in the forest? Still she stays and weeps for thee—O relent and answer her! Good and dutiful man, why hast thou forgotten the husband's part? Wise and kind as thou art, why hast thou been unkind?*' And

* The goddess of wealth and beauty.—*Ed., M. R.*

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if any one should answer you, find out who he is, and report to me what he says."

And at length there returned a Brâhmana named Pârnada, and thus he reported to Damayanti: "O best of women, I come from Ayodhyâ, from the court of Rituparna. In that court there is a charioteer, Vâhuka, a man ugly and low in stature. He sighed often when he heard your verses, and afterwards he said to me:—'Chaste women, in the hour of trouble, are protected by the strong armour of virtue. If her husband left her, let her not be angry, for he did it in great distress.' Thou hast heard my story; now do as seems proper to thee!"

Then Damayanti called Sudeva the Brâhmana and said to him:—"Go thou to Ayodhyâ, as straight as a bird flies, and say thus to king Rituparna, 'Since Damayanti knows not whether Nala be alive, she will choose herself another husband; the ceremony will be held forthwith, and thou art bidden to attend.'"

And that Brâhmana went and told Rituparna, and the king bade Vâhuka prepare his chariot. And Nala felt his heart bursting with grief; nevertheless, he went to the stable, and he chose for the journey steeds lean and strong. And the king mounted the chariot, and the horses duly urged by Vâhuka rose and sped through the sky. Then the blessed king of Ayodhyâ was exceedingly amazed and began to reflect on the skill of the charioteer. "Can this be Mâtali," he said, "the charioteer of the gods? Or is it indeed Nala, that great warrior? Truly Vâhuka and he are of an age, and if this man is unsightly, still it sometimes happens through misfortune, that heroes walk the earth in disguise." And he said to the charioteer, "Whatever be thy wish, I will grant it thee, if thou wilt take me to-day before sunrise to the city of Bhima." And Vâhuka said, "Grant me thy knowledge of numbers and thy skill in dice." And the king said, "Receive it." And at that instant Kali came out of Nala's body, incessantly spewing forth the poison of the snake Karkotaka. And Nala regained for an instant his native form, nevertheless, he accepted once more the form and duties of a charioteer and went forward with the king.

And when they reached the city of Bhima, he loosed the horses, and tended them, and sat down on a side of the chariot. And Damayanti, seeing him from the palace, said to her maid, "Who is that charioteer, that unsightly man, sitting by the chariot? Has he learned the art of driving from Nala, for when he drives, his car rattles like that of Nala? Go and speak to him and stay near him and watch him, and come and tell me what thou seest."

And the maid went and having marked what she saw, she returned to Damayanti and related all to her. "I have never seen a man like this, with such control over the elements. When he comes to a low passage it grows wide and high for him. And when the king sent him meat to cook, the vessels became full of water as he looked upon them. And he took a handful of grass and set it in the sun, and it blazed up into fire. And he touched that fire and was not burned. And when he gathered flowers and pressed them in his hands they grew brighter and smelled more sweetly than before."

Then Damayanti assured herself this was Nala, and she sent to her mother and asked leave to prove him. She clad herself in a piece of red cloth and matted her hair and covered herself with dust. And she sent for the charioteer to her room and thus she addressed him:—"O Vâhuka, didst thou ever know a dutiful man who left his wife in the forest? Who but Nala would have done this, deserting his dear and dutiful wife? How, alas, had I offended him? Had I not chosen him rather than one of the gods? Had he not taken my hand before the sacred fire and vowed to me saying 'I will be thine?' Where was that vow when he deserted me?" And as she spoke tears began to pour from her eyes. And Nala answered, "It was not I that deserted thee, but Kali that possessed me. And now that wretch has left me, I am come here for thy sake. But how is it thou hast made a proclamation, to assemble kings and to choose another husband?" And she answered, "This was my scheme to recover thee, for I knew there was none that could drive like thee, and thou wouldst be the first of all to come. And now I swear to thee that I have never, even in thought, sinned against thee! If I have sinned against thee, may the all-seeing Sun destroy me, and the moon that dwells in every creature! Let the three gods that guard the three worlds bear witness to my truth to-day."

Then there came a voice from the sky, and the wind-god confirmed her answer; and a shower of blossoms fell and they heard the drum of the immortals. And the king laid aside all his doubts, and assuming his native form he embraced Damayanti with great delight. And Damayanti rejoiced, as fields of tender plants rejoice in showers.

And thereafter Nala returned to his own city; and he played again with Pushkara, that won it from him. And with a single throw he won it back, and he entered it again and comforted the citizens.

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THE SPIRIT OF THE "WEST"

RUDYARD Kipling has asserted with a supercilious dogmatism characteristic of the class to which he belongs, that

"East is East and West is West
And the twain shall never meet."

But all West is not West. The "West" has an "East" to it—which he who runs may see.

The truth of the last statement begins to dawn upon the Indian traveller soon after his landing in the new world. The appalling confusion in terms at first dazes and dumbs him. At times he feels he never will be able to master their inexplicable intricacies. The words "East" and "West" are used in interminable ways—and what mortally disconcerts him is that they appear to be employed in an inside-turned-out manner. Soon he learns to overcome the difficulty. First comes the *intellectual* understanding. He realizes in a dim way that he is in a country antipodal in ways more than one to Hindostan. He begins to call "East," "the Orient"—what he used to style "West" he names the "Occident," or, to make sure, "Europe." Just for fun, at times he clings to calling Asia "the far East"—but this only at odd moments. After the intellectual understanding comes a period when the change sinks deeply into his inmost consciousness. Then, what appeared to him "West" apportions itself into three great divides—"Way down East"—"West," or sometimes "Middle West"—and "Out West," or "Way out West."

The term "way" is a shortened form of "away." At first the stranger is apt blandly to smile when it is used. When a Bostonian or a New Yorker talks of Buffalo, a city a few hundred miles distant from either point, as "Way out West," he cannot but smile. Provincialism hardly is a thing that an inhabitant of India is looking for in America—and when something which evidences it comes to his notice, he just smiles. The word "way" remains meaningless until the Indian traveller has crossed the continent. When he undertakes a trip from "Way down East New Heaven" to "Way out West California" and spends almost a week, traveling night and day aboard a sixty-mile-an-hour express train, he begins to fathom the meaning.

But it is not merely a matter of miles to which the terms "Way down East" and "Way out West" owe their origin. Miles certainly did have something to do with the coinage of these phrases. When they first were introduced into the language only a strip of land on the Atlantic had been cleared of the jungle and settled. The rest still was full of bush and bramble and trees, infested with wild animals of every species, and with wilder natives of the land. No wonder that in those days even a hundred miles from the inhabited regions appeared "Way out West."

The words that were coined to meet an exigency have come to stay. They, in an unmistakable manner, indicate that "The West" has both an "East" and "West" to it. What may be called "the East of America" is as distinct from "the West of America" as Asia is different from Europe—as Europe from America—for certainly the latter named continents present great contrasts. The one is old and effete—the other young and full of life. The one is fettered by custom, prejudice and precedent—the other is free as the air. The people inhabiting the one own their allegiance to the past. They are enslaved by "good forms," by conventionality. They use a certain amount of "nasal twang"—intonate their "cawnts and shawnts" in a certain "approved" style. They can take a step with their legs just so many inches apart. They walk a block in just so many minutes. Their waists have to be of a size that the two hands can span. Their feet must be of the dimensions of "Cinderella's." They have to go to the church to which they have been brought up. They will not betake themselves to places of amusement and recreation that are not "in fashion." They love to "follow suit"—to do as everyone else does—profess adoration for a fad which is **the** fad of the moment.

The other people live as they "D——please." If their dress does not shock the canons of conventionality, they feel as if their mission in life has remained unfulfilled. They avoid ruts. To contradict what their fathers said—to contradict what they, themselves, said years ago, or yesterday, or the preceding minute, they consider their birth-right. They do not walk, they run, they "rush after you."

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They do not profess allegiance to some old creeds. They make a new God, set up a new Deity every day. They "live," love and hope. "Devil-may-care" expresses their attitude towards life. Fortunes are made and unmade—made over again and lost once more—but faith is not lost. Hope continues to be rosy. The brain and muscle are well-supplied with "red corpuscles."

Such is "East" and such is "West."

The "Middle West" is hybrid—a coalescence of the East and West—of conventionality and freedom—of "suppression" and "expression"—of following in the foot-steps of forefathers and constantly forging ahead, bulging forward, hewing out new paths for themselves.

The American Dollar is supposed to contain one hundred cents. "Out West" you feel this is not the case. There, your impression is that the American Dollar has but twenty cents. The five-cent-piece is the coin of the lowest denomination that changes hands.

The "Easterner"—not the "Oriental," mind you—who in "way down East" is in the habit of buying his morning and evening paper for a cent a piece, gasps when he presents a "nickel," as the five-cent-piece is known "out West," and the "newsboy" keeps the change. Good form prohibits haggling over a bargain; so the "Easterner" consoles himself and accepts the inevitable with outward gracefulness. But the next time the newsboy keeps the change, it proves too much for even the equanimity of an "Easterner." He politely asks the boy to produce the "balance." The news-seller gives him a look that, as the "Westerners" say, "fixes" him.

When the "Easterner" goes "out West," he goes with certain set notions—much the same as an English subaltern leaves London for some station in interior-India or an American Missionary goes to the "heathen" lands to dispense "light." The "Easterner" considers himself the custodian of absolute verity—the "Westerner" a semi-barbarian. In his estimation all culture is confined to the East,—to New England—to Concord. Emerson, Thoreau, Whittier, Lowell, Poe, Longfellow and even Whitman, the rugged writer of strenuous poems, all were born in the East. "What has the West produced in the form of literature, art, metaphysics?" the "Easterner" asks himself excitedly, almost in derision.

His boast probably is correct. Perhaps the "Westerner" is somewhat uncouth in manner and curt in language. Essentially he has the "pioneer spirit,"—he is willing to take a chance to put up with all manner of difficulties. He is used to calling a spade a spade To him, "contorted" words mean "distorted." ones. There is a spontaneity in open, frank, even terse language that no polish, no gloss, no surface-culture can outvie. There is a strenuosity, a purposefulness, a hit-the-nail-square-on-the-head-ness, a combination of lucidity and forcefulness that sand-papered words lack. There is so much expression in the uncouth, rugged hand-clasp, a warmth, an ardour, that the "just-so" manner falls utterly flat beside it.

"Way out West" they have a happy-go-lucky style. Their attitude towards life may be gauged from their count of the cents in a dollar. They spend money as they make it.

Their part of the country offers unlimited opportunities. Rich in mineral and material resources, it barely has been tackled. Forests stand in their virgin grandeur. Fish abound in the salt sea and fresh-water lakes. Land is fertile, and agricultural science is their bond slave. Fruit culture offers them not only a congenial occupation, but proves as well a paying profession. They can afford to be "Devil-may-care."

In one respect only are "Westerners" small-minded. Their treatment of the Asiatic immigrant brands them as a set of ignorant nincompoops. If a "Western" laborer cannot hold his own in his own native land and with diverse advantages of education and association against Chinese or Japanese coolies, the sooner the wheel ef evolution blots him out of existence, the better. All "Westerners" are not narrow-minded in this respect. Only the hoodlums, the "blather skites" are up in arms against the Asiatic coolies.

After all, the question as to whether Asiatic immigrants shall or shall not be permitted to settle in America and compete with American labourers, resolves itself into a study of evolution—of the survival of the fittest. If the Asians are "the fittest," eventually they will find the gates of the American Continent open for their entrance, in the natural course of events. If they are "the fittest," all the rules and reactionary regulations that American legislators can devise will not be able effectually to bar them out. That they continue to find their way to this continent in spite of repressive measures would seem to point out that they are "the fittest." The very fact that Americans attempt to bar them out is a further proof that they are "the fittest." Show of force in circumstances of this kind always implies weakness. Americans are resorting to brute force to down their

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Asiatic competitors. This in itself reveals the strength of the Orientals. The Asians come to this country, uneducated, without advantage of any sort. They work hard, live frugally, and as a consequence of their eternal diligence are able to work the luxury-loving Americans who are backed up by educational and other advantages undreamed of by the "yellow peril," out of their positions, by the mere force of their innate superiority.

Hitherto the "Westerners" chiefly confined their attacks to the Chinese. The principal cause of their antipathy was given out to be, because the Chinaman was "too stingy with his money." The Jap met with little or no opposition. He imitated the American, put on gold-rimmed spectacles, twenty-five-dollar suits, boiled suits and well-laundered linen. The "Westerners" thought that he was not only a money-maker but a money-spender as well. Thus, the Jap escaped the hatred of the people of the west. But since some time the "Westerners" have changed their attitude towards the Jap. They have declared war upon the Japanese immigrants in their part of the country, and are insulting and maltreating them with a view to forcing the United States Legislature to pass a bill that will stop their further in-coming. The "Westerner's" philosophy seems to be that unless the Asiatic is as much a spendthrift as he himself is (which never will be the case) he is an undesirable citizen.

The last few months have seen the people of the West take an offensive stand in regard to the Indian immigrants. Their number is very few, and they are thinly scattered through several Western States. Riots have taken place in Ballingham, Washington, and show of force is threatened in several other cities of the West.

It appears that the West is not only up in arms against the Mongol race, but also against such Asiatics as belong to the Aryan branch. The slogan of this propaganda is: "Stop the Asiatic without regard to the nationality or country, education or attainments, of the immigrant."

Barring this one weak point, "the spirit of the West" will lead the world. The "Westerners" are leading the "Easterners" by the nose, "the spirit of the West" is so ahead in its nature.

Where else in the world but in the American West would you find a town of two thousand inhabitants, started two years ago, which can boast of electric lights, electric street railways, water-works, a telephone system, an organized fire-fighting force and five banks doing a roaring business six days in the week? Yet, such is no phenomenon in the West.

It is impossible to "bluff" the Westerner. He always is "on." That is to say, he constantly forestalls you.

"How did you get your knowledge—from the schoolhouse or from the Varsity?" the writer asked a prominent Seattle-ite.

"Fudge! We have no use for the schoolhouse. The University does not appeal to us," he replied.

"My first question still remains unanswered." But the Seattle-ite never answered it.

That is the orthodox "Western" spirit. No "Westerner" ever was known to stop to answer your questions. He feels that you ought to help yourself. So confident is he of his own ability to solve any riddle, accomplish any task, that he expects the same of you. If you are not capable of looking out for yourself, the sooner he feels you are down and out, the better.

To the "West," people from all parts of the world have emigrated, from the nooks and corners of Europe as well as Asia and from other points of America. They mingle with each other, and a jargon of languages is spoken.

"Out West" no one learns geography, history or languages from books or instructors. There is a more direct method. The writer once had occasion to work on a battle-ship that was being built in a Western town in Uncle Sam's Domain. He was detailed by the "Boss" to "help" a Hungarian-American blow holes in the armour of the boat. This Hungarian, in order to "guy" the swarthy Hindoo from India's coral strand, recited the Lord's Prayer in thirteen different European languages. Yet, in his soiled over-alls, this workman, earning four dollars a day, did not impress one as a man who knew thirteen languages.

A Russian Jew woman whose husband owned a small grocery store in a "Western" city, and who waited on customers while her husband peddled groceries from door to door, was known by the writer to be able to speak seventeen different languages. Yet she looked to be an ignorant woman who would do well if she could speak her native tongue correctly.

While at work, "Westerners" talk of traditions, mythology and history. They discuss religion and philosophy and those tainted with Socialism can read sermons in economics and sociology to the professors of those subjects in colleges. To do physical labor alongside of them is a rare education.

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This does not mean, however, that they have made no provision for education. Their facilities for primary and higher education are such that another couple of centuries of British Rule in India will not be able to outstrip or perhaps even overtake what they possess to-day. Grammar and high-schools are provided everywhere, and are absolutely free. Even the Universities do not charge tuition fees. In many instances books, stationary, etc., are provided at the cost of the State. Agricultural and technical education is at a high premium, receiving great support from the State as well as the public.

The schools and universities of the "West," instead of running counter to the spirit of the West, are accentuating and accelerating it. As a unit the teachers are engaged in instructing their pupils that all labor is holy—that pride of opinion is profitless—that the man who wins in the race of life is the one who weds his physical with the mental and the spiritual,—the one who not only thinks but who digs deeper down. This is the spirit of the "West"—"Dig Deeper Down:"

The Concord sage has told us,
"Hitch your wagon to a star."
If you do you go a-drifting,
Never knowing where you are.
On a misty mere of moonshine,
A poor derelict you'll swim;
You'd better far look downward, and
Then buckle in with vim,
Drilling down, deeper down,
With a tool of Diamond crown,
To the wealth that lies beneath us,
At the "forty thousand level,"
And what the Lord don't give you here,
You can wrest it from the Devil;
You can wrest it from the Devil, deeper down.

Do not waste your time in dreamings
Of the diamonds in the skies!
Distant prospects are deceiving
And are trying to the eyes.
'Tis a figment of the fancy,
Thus to try a comet's flight,
Just to seek factitious brilliance
Through the darkness of the night;
So go down, deeper down,
If you'd win a starry crown!
It is not in far-off spaces,
But in hidden depths below,
Where the richest of all jewels
Flash their adamantine glow!
Flash their scintillating glow, deeper down!

Everything which man possesses,
Or inherits from his birth,
Never came from upper cloudland,
But 'twas dug from out the earth!
If Truth is what we're after,
She lives deep down in a well;
So drive the drill in deeper,
Penetrate the hole to hell;
Driving down, deeper down,
And the end the work will crown!
Put your soul in downward boring,
Not in upward struggles blind;
'Tis by boring, not by soaring,
Fattest dividends you'll find,
Richest dividends you'll find, deeper down!

The above poem was specially written for this article by J. S. Z., of Chicago, as representing America's message to India.

SAINT NIHAL SING.

MR. KEIR HARDIE IN AN INDIAN VILLAGE

THE following is an account of an enquiry that Mr. Keir Hardie held into the condition and daily life of the ryots in Chaubepur, a village in the District of Benares about eleven miles from the city of that name; an enquiry which convinced him "that the majority of them had hardly means enough for even one full meal a day":—

At about noon on October 8th, 1907, Mr. Keir Hardie started from the city of Benares in a motor car to visit some villages that might be found adjoining the road. After going a very short distance it became apparent that Mr. Keir Hardie was touring in India with eyes as open as was his mind. Having noticed not far from the city a number of enclosed gardens and groves he asked whether those were some features of the villages in that part of the country; but he was told, and he saw it with his own eyes soon after, that those were luxuries too costly for the generality of the ryots and that they belonged to some rich men in the city. As he passed on, sights of other kinds were soon before his eyes. Looking at a ploughed field he remarked, 'The soil there is so good; with sufficient water and manure you can get plenty out of it.' But he learnt that if the rains failed the watering of the fields entailed in many cases a prohibitive cost, and that cowdung, the chief substance available for manure in the villages, could not be spared for that purpose; for it was

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generally made into cakes to be used as fuel, and in the villages near the city, the making and selling of these cowdung cakes was a substantial though scanty means of support to many poor families. In the afternoon on the way back from the visit, Mr. Keir Hardie saw many men and women returning from the city, some with empty baskets and others with quantities of corn or other things in them. These were the poor villagers that had taken the cowdung cakes to the city for sale in the morning and were returning home in the evening with the necessaries that they could purchase with the price obtained for the cowdung cakes. They had thus spent their whole day in this miserable trade, their chief means of support. This seems to have produced a great impression on Mr. Hardie's mind. After a few minutes' further drive, Mr. Hardie stopped near a field of maize. He went into the field and examined the nature and condition of the crop. Here a sadly humorous incident occurred that told its own tale of the poverty of the ryots. We called for water at a small hut adjoining the road. A skeleton of a man came out with a broken iron jar (गगरा) of water and on being asked to get a smaller vessel to drink from, he said that he had one small pot but that had been stolen away sometime before, and since then he had contented himself with that iron jar of many holes as the only vessel for keeping water. But that too he would not bring near the motor car where Mr. Hardie was standing; for he was afraid that the Saheb might rob him of that vessel also. Mr. Hardie heard of this and asked us to assure the man that he would never do anything of that sort. The man then came up, though trembling with fear, and Mr. Hardie had a full sight of this one type of the Indian peasant, for the man was none else but the tenant of an adjoining field. At this stage a *chaukidar* came up and made a very respectful bow to Mr. Hardie. This attracted Mr. Keir Hardie's attention, and he put a number of questions to him, but of this in another place.

He passed on. He noticed many paddy fields with the crop almost dried and gone and other unsown fields without any sign of moisture in the soil. He remarked that it would all produce a grave famine. He noticed in some places a number of persons struggling hard to bale out into some paddy fields the remnant of water that was still left in some hollows adjoining the road. On being questioned as to the nature of the fields in England, he remarked that such a continuous level expanse of fields was not a common sight there, and as he meant to say that it might be a great advantage for cultivation on a large scale here, it was explained to him that the fields that he saw did not belong to any one man and that the numerous small divisions that he noticed belonged generally to different persons. A few more remarks as to things noticed on the way, and the motor stopped at Chaubepur.

There were several small villages on the way but Chaubepur had been fixed upon as the village first to be seen; for it was a comparatively large village. It had a village school for boys as well as one for girls, and it was a police station also, and so in many respects it was a typical village, a village where almost all the features of villages in this part of the country were combined. The spot where we had stopped was just opposite to the village school, and Mr. Keir Hardie at once entered the school and began his enquiries.

It was a large school, one of the very few large village schools that exist either in Benares or any other district in the Province. It had about 250 boys on the rolls. The school, with a branch, consisted of four detached buildings and the one that Mr. Keir Hardie first entered was indeed a sight to see. The building was a thatched roof supported mostly on wooden and bamboo pillars. This so-called building was open on all sides for a free passage of the wind, which the poorly clad boys of the school must be truly enjoying. They squatted on the ground in long rows on narrow pieces of gunny cloth. At one end of these rows was placed a table with one chair near it. Mr. Hardie looked round and took a survey of this, a unique sight to him, and then took his seat in the chair beside the table. The Head Master of the school was informed of the arrival of the visitors, and as he came Mr. Hardie stood up and offered the chair to him. The Head Master preferred to remain standing as others there were for want of seats; and while we were all standing, Mr. Hardie began his examination.

It deserves mention that Mr. Hardie's way of enquiry was truly judicial. Those who had to interpret his questions to his witnesses and the latter's answer to him were made to understand that he would not like any but his own questions to be put to the witnesses, and if any question suggested itself to any one, it had to be first mentioned to Mr. Hardie before it could be put to the witness, and also he did not like any one but the witness before him to give answers to his questions in the first instance. If his witness did not understand or could not answer any of his

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questions, he would change its form twice, thrice or even four times and extract an answer from his witness.

Having learnt about the number of boys that were reading in that school, he asked the Head Master if he had any idea of the number of the population to which that school served as an educational institution. The Head Master replied in the negative. He then changed his question and asked whether the Head Master knew of the number of villages from which boys came to his school. This too could not be answered. He then changed his question again and asked how far was the most distant village from which boys came to the school. The distance was given as ten miles and this at once showed to Mr. Keir Hardie the scarcity of schools in the district. After a few more questions about the number of schools in the interior, which could not be definitely answered, he turned to another topic, but here too he could not get any definite information.

He asked whether these schools were maintained entirely with any extra tax levied by the Government for that purpose, and whether Government supplied the expenditure to any extent from its general revenues, which officers, if any, in connection with those schools, were paid by the Government, and which by the DistrictBoard, and many similar questions directed towards ascertaining the Government's and the Board's respective contributions towards the up-keep of the school. The answers to these questions were very vague and unsatisfactory, and Mr. Hardie changed the topic with the remark that he would obtain information from those who might know all about the matter.

Mr. Hardie turned to examine the school furniture and appliances; but this did not take much time, for they were not many. The stock consisted of a chair here, and a table there, a bench in one place and a *charpai* (primitive string bed-stead) in another. Besides these, there were the long narrow strips of gunny cloth on which the boys squatted. Mr. Hardie's attention was drawn to a small alphabetical chart hanging on the wall of what they called the branch school. It was an old worn out sheet of paper on which the letters had been written by one of the teachers. Mr. Hardie asked whether that was supplied by the District Board, but it was found to have been made by a teacher of the school. He enquired whether the slates, the wooden tablets, or any other appliances with the boys, were supplied by the school or the District Board; but he was told that students had to provide themselves with their own things.

Having not much to see of school furniture, &c., he turned to the teachers, and addressing the Head Master he very politely asked if the Head Master would mind telling him what salary he received, and it turned out that the Head Master had reached the respectable figure of Rs. 30 (£ 2) per month, the lot of only the select few in these village schools. With the permission of Mr. Hardie another question was put to the Head Master, and it became apparent that the fortunate Head Master had worked for 30 years to come up to that level of affluence. He was a grey-haired old man, and of course not a discontented B.A. The salary of other teachers was, however, much lower. Mr. Hardie learnt that they had families to support and that the salaries they received were hardly enough for their needs. In his remarks in the school visitors' book he has observed that these teachers deserve more support, and, if encouraged, could show better work.

Mr. Hardie was shown the teachers' training class that is held in this school. It consisted of four students sitting round a table, at which sat the teacher of that class. Mr. Hardie in his characteristic way asked numerous questions as to the system of training and its standard, the number of training schools and classes and the pay and prospects of the trained teacher in the Vernacular schools. The impression left on every one's mind, who heard these questions and answers, was that the training classes were few and far between, and that these teachers had to lead a hard life and were very ill paid for the time and labour that they bestowed on their work.

Mr. Hardie then turned to the students. The boys were sitting quietly on the ground with their books and papers in cloth bags placed before them. Mr. Hardie asked whether they had things to write upon, and being told they had, he expressed a wish to see how the boys wrote. This was at once complied with, and he saw the boys writing with their papers on their slates and the latter supported on their knees. The reed pens, with which they were writing, were perhaps a novelty to him; he took one of them and examined it. He asked who cut these pens and being told that the majority of the boys did it for themselves, he wanted to see and was shown the process. Noticing the knife with which the pen was being cut, he asked whether every boy had a knife of his own; but except the one which he had seen there was none else to be found. He was told that the

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boys in the school managed with one or two knives possessed by some of their school fellows, and that all could not afford to have one. He then took and examined the knife and it was Kaufmann & Co.'s, made in Germany. He further had a look into their books, enquired as to their contents (for the books were in Hindi) and asked generally as to the standard to which the boys were taught. He then turned to an interesting part of his enquiry.

He enquired as to the number of Mahommedan students that were reading in that school, and it so happened that in the part of the school where he put the question there was only one Mahommedan boy. As a reason of this smallness of the number of Mahommedan boys in the school, Mr. Hardie was told by the teachers that the Mahommedan population in the villages around was very scanty.

Mr. Hardie then asked how many boys were sons of agriculturists and how many were sons of traders. Hands were raised to show the numbers, and it was seen that there was a good number representing each of these classes. Mr. Hardie then asked as to how many of these boys would go up for further education in the High School which he had been told existed only in the city. He questioned as to the number that had gone to the High School in previous years, and having found that the number was very small, he asked the reason. A teacher said that the boys could not afford the necessary expenses, and hence their education stopped with the village school. Mr. Hardie heard this rather attentively, but he would ascertain it for himself. He asked the boys how many of them would go up for higher education, if they were supplied the necessary expenses, and in answer to this question he saw a very large number, more than two-thirds of the boys, with their hands raised eagerly looking towards him, as if the boys thought that he himself was going to meet their expenses. But the next question as to how many would go at their own cost, brought down the number to two. He asked again as to how many of those, who had a desire but not the means to go up for higher education, were the sons of agriculturists, and it was found that a large majority belonged to that class. This seemed a discovery to Mr. Hardie, for he remarked that the sons of agriculturists, he had been told in England, did not like to be educated, while here the facts were quite the contrary. It must be mentioned here that throughout the enquiry Mr. Hardie was very reticent about his impressions and opinions, and it was only when the facts proved very striking that he could not withhold an expression of his own opinion.

Mr. Hardie had already learnt that High Schools existed only in the city, and that it was too expensive for the boys to live and to be educated there. He now asked what help the Government or the Board gave for High School education in the way of scholarships, stipends, etc., to these boys. He was told that at the end of the school course there was an examination called the Vernacular Middle Examination, for all the Vernacular schools in the Province, and of the successful candidates the first 40 were awarded scholarships of Rs. 3 per mensem if they joined any High School. Mr. K. Chaudhry, who was with Mr. Keir Hardie, remarked that the United Provinces consisted of 49 districts for which the Government supplied 40 scholarships, and that the whole amount of the scholarships was Rs. 120 per mensem, the pay of one pupil teacher in England. This astonished Mr. Kier Hardie, and he asked whether there was any other sort of help that the Government granted to these students; the reply was of course in the negative. Mr. K. Hardie seemed much impressed with the insufficiency of the encouragement given by the Government, and he gave expression to his opinion in this respect to a correspondent of the *Indian Daily Telegraph* at Lucknow.

Mr. Hardie was making his enquiries in the Branch School when, in reply to a question, he was told that students from distant villages started for school at about 8 o'clock in the morning and remained there till evening, and that for their day's meal they brought with them some parched corn. Mr. Hardie expressed a desire to see it, and he was accordingly shown the corn in the possession of several students. It was generally parched peas or maize. In one case a quantity of peas tied in a wretched piece of cloth was said to belong to three boys. Mr. Hardie took a few grains out of it and put them into his pocket, and on the teacher's offering him a little more out of it he remarked that the quantity was already too little for the three boys to whom it belonged. Mr. K. Hardie's pity was much excited and he entered into further enquiry into the matter. A number of the boys of the school were asked to come near him and Mr. K. Hardie had a full sight of them. They were mostly thin and lean-looking children, and in many cases with only a single piece of cloth round their loins to hide their shame. Mr. K. Hardie asked whether the school was a free one. The reply was pathetic. It was said that in that Branch School, though the fee was only two pice (a half-penny) per month per head, it was in

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many cases very difficult to realise even that amount. Many of the poor agriculturists found this monthly demand very inconvenient, and when their sons pressed them for fees and books which did not cost much, they would often detain them at home to cut grass and do other work which they said would bring them a few pice (farthings) and they thus saved themselves for some days from paying the fee, with which they said they could purchase a little salt. The teachers said that if they pressed the demand very much, many of the boys would give up coming to school altogether, and hence in many cases they paid the fees from their own pockets or rather suffered the loss of the fees themselves, for the Government deducted the amount from their salary every month. Mr. K. Hardie here asked about the reason or rather the motive of their so doing; and they said in reply that the loss they thus suffered was not of more than a rupee or so per head, but the gain was that they could thereby keep a larger attendance in the school for which they gained credit, and which in no small degree kept them in the enjoyment of the salaries that they received for the time being, insufficient and small though they were for their needs. This explanation satisfied Mr. Hardie and he seemed to be much impressed. This shows how necessary it is to make education free at least in these village schools where the fee charged, small though it is, is an obstacle in the way of the poor students, and an expensive burden to the already poorly paid teachers.

After having finished his enquiry at the boys' school, Mr. Keir Hardie went round the village and visited the girls' school, which had been started only seven months before; but before leaving the school he put a few general questions as to the literacy of the villagers.

He asked whether there was any library in the village, but he was told that these villagers were too poor and too illiterate to possess and keep one in the village. He then asked whether they read newspapers. The gentleman to whom this particular question was put, was not a stranger to newspapers. He had told those who were with Mr. K. Hardie, that he had been just reading in the *Abhyudaya* of Allahabad an account of Mr. K. Hardie and had been much delighted to see the visitor. He might be well trusted to know the taste of the villagers for newspapers. He replied to Mr. K. Hardie that the villagers in general did not read newspapers, for, as he hastened to add, they could not afford to spend the necessary amount for the subscription. He said that many of them would consider themselves rather fortunate if they could easily save two rupees (2*s.* 8*d.*) yearly (the amount of subscription for a Hindi Weekly) for a pair of loin cloths for themselves or their family. Mr. Keir Hardie seemed to appreciate this pertinent reply, and he put a few more questions to his witnesses and got similar replies. But of this in another place.

This finished Mr. Keir Hardie's enquiry in the school: and he started on his round in the village itself. But before he left the school, the school visitors' book was presented to him and he quickly wrote down a rather long note as to his impressions of the school. He has written there as to the insufficiency of school materials, the smallness of the teachers' salaries and the want of proper and sufficient Government encouragement to Vernacular primary education.

The Girls' School was held in a room in the house of a villager who was also the only teacher of that school. The scholars were seated on the floor, in many cases on the bare mud floor without the usual gunny cloth underneath them. The whole presented a very dusty appearance.

Mr. Hardie entered this school-room by the only door in front of it; and the Head Master, or rather the only master of the school, was presented to him. He was an old man with a lean and haggard appearance. After his usual salute Mr. Keir Hardie asked him whether he was fond of education. The gentleman hesitated, and before he could reply Mr. Hardie wanted to know his salary. It was Rs. 6 (8*s.*) per mensem. The next question was as to how many members he had in his family, and how many of them were earning members. The reply was that there were eleven persons in his family, mostly women and that none of them except himself was an earning member. Thereupon Mr. Hardie asked why the other members did not work? and the old man had a pathetic story to tell. It was said by a villager on his behalf,—for the old man was very slow in speaking—that he was formerly a respectable zemindar (landholder or farmer) of that village, but he had gradually lost almost the whole of his property. The women, who had within their yet green memory belonged to a respectable family, could not so soon be made to do any menial work, and they were all dragging on their wretched existence with the little remnant of their property and the six rupeess of the school salary, which was a great help to them. Mr. Hardie then turned to the scholars.

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He learnt that girls could remain in the school until they were married, which generally happend not later than at 12 years of age, and that by the end of their school course they would be able to read easy books and write letters. He asked whether they would read newspapers, and he was told, they would perhaps not understand them, except some intelligent ones who might acquire that much proficiency. He then examined their books, their writing boards, the reed pens, the earthen pots and noticing the chalk solution with which they were writing, he asked Mr. Chaudhry where the chalk came from. Mr. Chaudhry said that writing chalk generally came from England and America.

Pointing towards a group of some six girls, Mr. Hardie asked to what caste they belonged, and learning that they were all Brahman girls, he asked whether there were girls of other castes in the school. Numbers of girls were pointed out to him as belonging to different castes. Whereupon Mr. Hardie asked in surprise if the girls of different castes could sit so close together, for he said he had been told that men of one caste would not associate so freely and so closely with those of another. It was explained to him that there was no such mutual repulsion as he had been led to imagine, and that there were only a few classes of degraded people in India whose society was avoided by most of the higher castes. Mr. Hardie seemed satisfied at having learnt that there was no such disunion as he had been told existed among the several castes. Mr. Hardie noticed that none of those girls had any ornament on their bodies, and he asked questions about it, but of this in another place. He left the girls' school after writing down his remarks in the visitors' book presented to him.

The above is an account of what Mr. Hardie saw in the village schools. He next went through the interior of the village, and saw and inquired about a number of things; and the following account of his enquiries is arranged not according to the order in which he saw those things, but rather under the heads of the subjects of his enquiry :—

A Mohamedan gentleman had been taken to be Mr. Hardie's guide through the village. He took him first to a sugarcane press, and here Mr. Hardie noticed a cattle trough with an ox tied near and eating out of it. With the object of examining the fodder, Mr. Hardie approached the trough, but before he could look into it, the ox jumped, snorted, fretted and frowned as if the Saheb was going to snatch away from him even his scanty meal. Mr. Hardie hurriedly retired and stood at a distance. Then a man in whom the ox seemed to have all confidence went forward and brought a handful of what the ox was eating. Mr. Hardie examined the substance with his own hands, and he found it to be pieces of green maize stalks and dry straw soaked in water. Mr. Hardie asked whether the oxen were not given any quantity of corn or any thing else besides what he saw. He was told that corn or even its roughest part could not be spared for the ox, for the master of the ox like the other villagers had already too little for himself.

Mr. Hardie then turned to the old Indian stone sugar-press. He had it explained to him how that simple mechanism worked. He then asked as to who had made that press, to whom or to how many persons it belonged, and as to the quantity of work done by it. It was said that the press was cut by a stone-cutter of a neighbouring village, that it was bought long ago by one man for Rs. 50 (£ 3 6*s*. 8*d*.), but then the owner had now neither sufficient sugar-cane nor a sufficient number of oxen to work the press for himself, and so it was now shared by other villagers, the quantity of juice pressed for each varying with the number of oxen they could supply to work the press, and those having no oxen paying a little hire for the work done for them.

This enquiry took a comparatively long time, for Mr. Hardie would not leave till he had thoroughly understood the whole system. Here also his method of changing the form of his questions till he got at the facts he wanted, was greatly in evidence.

Mr. Hardie noticed a few rough earthen drinking vessels. He examined them and was told in answer to his questions that they were in use in almost every house. He noticed a small brass pot and asked whether that too was to be found in every house, and he was told that one at least was to be found in almost every house.

Mr. Hardie passed on and noticed the cow-dung cakes that were spread out in the sun to dry. He had already heard about them, and he examined these productions of this particular Indian village industry.

He noticed a black thatch roof; he went near and saw what was going on there. It was a grain-parching shop, a hut where the owner was parching corn. There was a rickety 'charpai' lying there, and Mr. Hardie sat down on it. He saw two lean fellows working there. One was putting dry mango leaves into the fire, and the

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other was parching paddy with the hot sand. Mr. Hardie asked a large number of questions here, and the following is a summary of the answers given to him:—

He was told that these men could not afford to burn the cowdung cakes, which were sold for money; that wood was of course out of the question; that they collected the dry leaves in mango groves, and this alone they could use as fuel; that there were four men working with them, one collected the leaves, one went round for corn, one worked at the fire, and the fourth parched the corn; that the wages they earned came to three or four annas (3*d.* or 4*d.*) a day. Mr. Hardie remarked that this came to about an anna (a penny) per head and was indeed very insufficient.

There was a weaver's house in the village, but it was said that several years ago the weaver finding his profession very unprofitable sold up his loom and all weaving materials and had now taken to manual labour. His house was, therefore, not visited.

Mr. Hardie was shown a bania's (grocer's) shop. It was a very poor-looking shop; the whole stock consisted of a few baskets, containing small quantities of rice, pulse, barley, peas, and other grain; and a few earthern pots, containing tobacco, salt and some medicinal drugs. Mr. Hardie asked the rate at which these grains were selling. He asked the shopkeeper to calculate to him the amount which would be sufficient for a man for one month, and the bania after some rough calculation said that the least amount on which one poor man could live was between four and five rupees a month. Mr. Hardie examined the tobacco and the dry tobacco leaves. He wanted to see the salt. The bania brought out a handful of it; Mr. Hardie took a piece, examined it, and tasted it, too. He then put that piece into the bania's hand; there was a meaning smile all round, and the bania put the salt in his hand separate from his stock of salt. The bania offered as his present to Mr. Hardie two dried leaves of tobacco. Mr. Hardie took and then returned to him with thanks.

Another part of Mr. Hardie's enquiry was that into the economic condition of the villagers. They had at first taken Mr. Keir Hardie to be some plague inoculation officer, and had tried to shun his approach, but the purpose of his visit soon became known to them, and then a crowd eagerly followed him from house to house. Mr. Hardie was glad to see them, but seeing how scantily clothed most of them were, he asked them to stand in some shade where he said he would ask them some questions after a few minutes; but they did not mind the sun and followed Mr. Hardie wherever he went.

Here was noticed an old man, standing at the door of his humble cottage, supporting himself on his stick, and mumbling something. He was a poorly clad and very lean old man of, perhaps, several famines, telling the story of his and his family's poverty and their present misery. His eyes were full of tears, but his words were not very audible, and were less intelligible, and Mr. Hardie could not help but pass on to another place.

A house was pointed out to Mr. Hardie as belonging to a Brahman. It was a clean looking house, but as no one seemed to be there, he passed on. He was shown a house which had mostly fallen down for want of repairs, and the occupant lived only in a corner of it. Mr. Hardie then stood near a poorman's hut of which the walls and roof were all made of thatch. Mr. Keir Hardie took permission and entered this hut, and as on entering he found that he could not remain standing, the roof being very low, he sat down on a stone flour-mill in a corner, and from here he examined and enquired about all that he saw there. The hut was about 14 by ten feet and there was in it the fire-place, the black cooking earthen pot (which Mr. Hardie "purified" by his touch), a basket or two with small quantities of paddy, which the occupant labourer had earned as wages, a rickety cot, with rags for an apology for a bed, and a few other wretched-looking things. Mr. Hardie minutely enquired and learnt about all these things. He then came out, and the poorman's wife, a woman with a single, torn and dirty cloth on her body, being pointed out to him, he asked how many wives that labourer had and it was said that he had only one.

Thereupon he asked whether it would not be a distinct gain to the man to have more wives than one, seeing that they could all work for wages. He however was told in reply that the wages received in the villages were not quite enough even for the individual who worked. Besides work was not always available. These wives, therefore, would rather prove a burden to the man. Mr. Hardie said "yes," rather gravely. He was surprised to learn that there were seven members in that labourer's family, and he asked how they could all manage to sleep in that small hut. It was said that the hut was used only as a shelter against rain and sun, and that many of the occupants generally slept outside the hut.

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Mr. Hardie said that he had been told that Indian women possessed ornaments, and that a part of an Indian's wealth was stored up in these ornaments, but that he had noticed no ornament either with any one in the girls' school or with any other women that he saw in the village. The reply was an intelligent one. It was said that most of the poor villagers could not afford to keep ornaments. "It was indeed a custom," said the witness, "with the villagers to give their sisters and daughters some ornaments at the time of their marriage, and this they provided with the money which they had either saved or procured on loan or by sale or mortgage of some of their property; but in many cases after the girl went to her husband's house, her ornaments had to be pawned to defray some other necessary expenses, and that these girls were, therefore, once more left without any ornament." Mr. Hardie seemed satisfied with the explanation. A number of villagers had by this time collected and were following him from house to house.

Mr. Hardie now turned to the group that had followed him throughout the village. He asked one of them what he ate; he and another of the group were then asked to bring if they could any quantity of what they had eaten. They went and soon came back, one with a thick and black piece of bread and the other with a little of what he called cooked rice. Mr. Hardie first took the bread in his own hand, he broke it into pieces and saw what it was made of. He showed it to Mr. Chaudhry and remarked that it was made only of bran and some husk with but the trace of a little flour in it. Mr. Chaudhry said that flour was too dear and those poor men, therefore, contented themselves with bran and husk. Mr. Hardie then turned to the rather white jelly-like thing which was said to be cooked rice. Mr. Hardie at first finding no trace of the grains, asked if the man could show him the uncooked grain. The man ran back and brought with him a handful of small grain of a particular kind (सांवां). Mr. Hardie examined it and said that it was food for pigeons.

Here may be mentioned one of the facts in this connection that Mr. Hardie had learnt from one of the village school teachers. He had asked whether the villagers took meat very often. He had been told that to those who ate meat, it was rather a costly luxury. It was only on festive occasions that they subscribed for a goat and then there were a number of them to share it, the share that any one person could have, was too small to supply a dinner for him. Before the collected villagers he mentioned beef, but his question was not translated and it was quickly explained why he should not mention the word in a Hindu village.

He then wanted to see some tenants, and two were pointed out as standing before him. He asked and learnt how much land they possessed and what was the rate of rent that they paid. One said that he paid Rs. 2 per *bigha* while the other said that he paid at the rate of Rs 5. Mr. Hardie himself guessed out the explanation, and it came out as he had anticipated that it was because the field of the former was far from the village while the latter's field was close to it. Mr. Hardie here had some talk about the rights of the zemindars and their tenants, and as to when and how the former could enhance the rent. He asked many of the tenants whether their rents had been enhanced within the few previous years, but he found no such case.

He then turned to a tenant and asked him whether he expected any famine this year, and a number of them replied that there was already a famine and that corn had become very dear. He again asked a particular tenant whether he had a good crop the year before that year. The tenant replied in a rather discontented tone खेत में तो किसी साल कुछ नहीं पैदा होता और लगान हमें हर साल डांड ही देना पड़ता है।

This being explained to Mr. Hardie, he asked the tenant whether his rents were in arrear, and being told that they were not, he asked the tenant again as to how he could manage to pay the rent when his field yielded no crop; and the tenant then gave him a rather important explanation. He said that the year before he had to pay an arrear of some Rs. 15. He therefore mortgaged a few mango trees of his for Rs. 60. He paid off the arrears out of that amount and kept the remainder for his year's expenses. This struck Mr. Hardie, and he asked whether his landlord did not remit him the rent. He said "no" and another standing by added,

सरकार तो मालगुज़ारी छोड़ती ही नहीं ज़मीदार कैसे छोड़े।

The above is almost a full account of what Mr. Hardie enquired into and said in the interior of the village, and now before he went up to the police station, which was on the road, he turned to the assembled villagers and spoke somewhat to the following effect:—

"Please tell these good people that I am very thankful to them for what they have shown me. Tell them that I am a Member of

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Parliament and therein I represent people of their kind. Tell them that I have come to India to enquire into their condition and that here I have seen what they are. Tell them that when I go back to England I shall do all that lies in my power to better their condition. I thank them once more for what they have shown me."

These kind words were explained to the villagers and seemed to have quite won their hearts. Having got a hint, they shouted out twice, साहेब की जै हो ! साहेब की जै हो ! हम लोग बहुत गरीब हैं। Mr. Hardie asked what they meant. He was told that they said, "We are very poor! Victory to the saheb, Victory to him!" Mr. Hardie smiled and said, "They are talking sedition," for they wanted victory, he meant to say, to him and not to the Government. With this remark Mr. Hardie turned towards the police station.

AN EYEWITNESS.

THE YELLOW GOD

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BY H. RIDER HAGGARD,

Author of "King Solomon's Mines," "She," "The Brethren," "Benita," &c.

CHAPTER I.

SAHARA, LIMITED.

Sir Robert Aylward, Bart., M.P., sat in his office in the city. It was a very magnificent office, quite one of the finest that could be found within half a mile of the Mansion House. Its exterior was built of Aberdeen granite, a material calculated to impress the prospective investor with a comfortable sense of security.

"There is so much in externals," Mr. Champers-Haswell, Sir Robert's partner, would say in his cheerful voice. "We are all of us influenced by them, however unconsciously. Impress the public, my dear Aylward. Let solemnity without suggest opulence within."

Sir Robert was seated at his ebony desk playing with a pencil, and the light from a cheerful fire fell upon his face. In its own way it was a remarkable face as he appeared then in his four and fortieth year; very pale, but with a natural pallor, very well cut, and on the whole impressive. His eyes were dark, matching his black hair and pointed beard, and his nose was straight and rather prominent. Perhaps the mouth was his weakest feature, for there was a certain shiftiness about it, also the lips were thick and slightly sensuous. Sir Robert knew this, and therefore he grew a moustache to veil them somewhat. To a careful observer the general impression given by this face was such as is left by the sudden sight of a waxen mask. "How strong! How lifelike!" he would have said, "but of course it isn't real. There may be a man behind, or there may be wood, but that's only a mask." Many people of perception had felt like this about Sir Robert Aylward, namely, that under the mask of his pale countenance dwelt a different being, whom they did not know or appreciate.

If these had seen him at this moment of the opening of our story they might have held that Wisdom was justified of her children. For now in the solitude of his splendid office of a sudden Sir Robert's mask seemed to fall from him. His face broke up like ice beneath a thaw. He rose from his table, and began to walk up and down the room. He talked to himself aloud.

"Great Heavens!" he muttered, "what a game to have played; and it will go through. I believe that it will go through."

He stopped at the table, switched on an electric light, and made a rapid calculation on the back of a letter with a blue pencil.

"Yes," he said, "that's my share, a million and seventeen thousand in cash, and two million in ordinary shares, which can be worked off at a discount—let us say another seven hundred and fifty thousand, plus what I have got already—put it at only two hundred and fifty thousand net. Two millions in all, which, of course, may, or may not, be added to—probably not, unless the ordinaries boom—for I don't mean to speculate any more. That's the end of twenty years' work, Robert Aylward. And to think of it, eighteen months ago, although I seemed so rich, I was on the very verge of bankruptcy—the very verge, not worth five thousand pounds. Now, what did the trick? I wonder what did the trick."

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He walked down the room, and stopped opposite an ancient marble, staring at it——

"Not Venus, I think," he said with a laugh, "Venus never made any man rich." He turned and retraced his steps to the other end of the room, which was veiled in shadow.

Here upon a second marble pedestal stood an object that gleamed dimly through the gloom. It was about ten inches or a foot high, but in that place nothing more could be seen of it, except that it was yellow and had the general appearance of a toad. For some reason it seemed to attract Sir Robert Aylward, for he halted to stare at it, then stretched out his hand and switched on another lamp, in the hard brilliance of which the thing upon the pedestal suddenly declared itself, leaping out of the darkness into light. It was a terrible object, a monstrosity of indeterminate sex and nature, but surmounted by a woman's head and face of extraordinary, if devilish loveliness, sunk back between high but grotesquely small shoulders like to those of a lizard, so that it glared upwards. The workmanship of the thing was rude yet strangely powerful. Whatever there is cruel, whatever there is sensual, whatever there is inhuman in the dark places of the world, shone out of the jewelled eyes which were set in that yellow woman's face, yellow because its substance was of gold, a face which seemed not to belong to the embryonic legs beneath,—for body there was none,—but to float above them. A hollow, life-sized mask with two tiny frog-like legs, that was the fashion of it.

"You are an ugly brute," said Sir Robert, contemplating this effigy; "but although I believe in nothing in heaven above or earth below, except the abysmal folly of the British public, I am bothered if I don't believe in you. At any rate from the day when Vernon brought you into my office my luck turned, and to judge from the smile on your sweet countenance I don't think it is done with yet. I wonder what those stones are in your eyes. Opals I suppose, from the way they change colour. They shine uncommonly to-day. I never remember them so bright. I——"

At this moment a knock came on the door. Sir Robert turned off the lamp and walked back to the fireplace.

"Come in," he said, and as he spoke once more his pale face grew impassive and expressionless. The door opened, and a clerk entered.

"I don't think I rang, Jeffreys."

"No, Sir Robert," answered the clerk, bowing as though he spoke to a Royalty, "but there is a little matter about that article in 'The Cynic.' We are paying this paper thirty guineas to insert an article about Sahara, Limited, and they say that if they have to put in the 'national and imperial' business they must have twenty more."

"Indeed, Jeffreys? Why?"

"Because, Sir Robert—I will tell you as you always like to hear the truth—their advertisement editor is of opinion that this Sahara, Limited, is a national and imperial swindle. He says that he won't drag the nation and the empire into it in an editorial under fifty guineas."

A faint smile flickered on Sir Robert's face.

"Does he, indeed?" he asked. "Well, we don't want to quarrel with them just now—feed the sharks. But surely, Jeffreys, you didn't come to disturb me about such a trifle?"

"Not altogether, Sir Robert. There is something more important. 'The Daily Judge' not only declines to put in any article whatsoever but refuses our advertisement, and states that it means to criticise the prospectus trenchantly."

"Ah!" said his master after a moment's thought, "that *is* rather serious, since people believe in the 'Judge' even when it is wrong. Offer them the advertisement at treble rates."

"It has been done, sir, and they still refuse."

Sir Robert walked to the corner of the room where the yellow object squatted on its pedestal, and contemplated it awhile, as a man often studies one thing when he is thinking of another. It seemed to give him an idea, for he looked over his shoulder and said:

"That will do, Jeffreys. When Major Vernon comes in, give him my compliments and say that I should be obliged by a word or two with him."

The clerk bowed and went as noiselessly as he had entered.

"Let's see," added Sir Robert to himself. "Old Jackson, the editor of 'The Judge,' was a great friend of Vernon's father, the late Sir William Vernon, G.C.B. I believe that he was engaged to be married to his sister years ago, only she died or something. So the Major ought to be able to get round him if anybody can. Only the worst of it is I don't altogether trust that young gentleman. It suited us to give him a share in the business because he is an engineer who knows the country, and this Sahara scheme was his notion, a very good one in a way, and for other reasons. Now he shows signs of kicking over the traces, wants

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to know too much, is developing a con-
science, and so forth. As though the promo-
ters of speculative companies had any business
with consciences. Ah! here he comes."

Sir Robert seated himself at his desk and resumed his calculations upon a half-sheet of notepaper, and that moment a clear, hearty voice was heard speaking to the clerks in the outer office. Then came the sound of a strong, firm footstep, the door opened, and Major Alan Vernon appeared.

He was still quite a young man, not more than thirty-two or three years of age, though he lacked the ultra robust and rubicund appearance which is typical of so many Englishmen of his class at this period of life. A heavy bout of blackwater fever acquired on service in West Africa, which would have killed anyone of weaker constitution, had robbed his face of its bloom and left it much sallower, if more interesting than once it had been. For in a way there was interest about the face; also a certain charm. It was a good and honest face with a rather eager, rather puzzled look, that of a man who has imagination and ideas and who searches for the truth but fails to find it. As for the charm, it lay for the most part in the pleasant, open smiles, and in the frank but rather round brown eyes overhung by a somewhat massive forehead which projected a little, or perhaps the severe illness already alluded to had caused the rest of the face to sink. Though thin the man was bigly built, with broad shoulders and well-developed limbs, measuring a trifle under six feet in height.

Such was the outward appearance of Alan Vernon. As for his mind, it was able enough in certain fashions, for instance, those of engineering, and the soldierlike faculties to which it had been trained, frank and kindly also, but in other respects not quick, perhaps from its unsuspiciousness. Alan Vernon was a man slow to discover ill, and slower still to believe in it, even when it seemed to be discovered, a weakness that may have gone far to account for his presence in the office of those eminent and brilliant financiers, Messrs. Aylward and Champers-Haswell. Just now he looked a little worried, like a fish out of water, or rather a fish which has begun to suspect the quality of the water, something in its smell and taste.

"Jeffreys tells me that you want to see me about something, Sir Robert," he said in his low and pleasant voice, looking at the baronet rather anxiously.

"Yes, my dear Vernon, I want to ask you to do something, if you kindly will, although it is not quite in your line. Old Jackson, the editor of 'The Judge,' is a friend of yours, isn't he?"

"He was a friend of my father's, and I used to know him slightly."

"Well, that's near enough. As I daresay you have heard, he is an unreasonable old beggar and has taken a dislike to our Sahara scheme. Someone has set him against it, and he refuses to receive advertisements, threatens criticism, etc. Now, the opposition of 'The Judge,' or any other paper, won't kill us, and if necessary we can fight him, but at the same time it is always wise to agree with your enemy while he is in the way, and, in short—would you mind going down and explaining his mistake to him?"

Before answering, Major Vernon walked to the window leisurely and looked out.

"I don't like asking favours from family friends," he replied at length, "and, as you said, I think it isn't quite my line. Though of course, if it has anything to do with the engineering possibilities I shall be most happy to see him," he added, brightening.

"I don't know what it has to do with; that is what I shall be obliged if you will find out," answered Sir Robert, with some asperity. "One can't divide a matter of this sort into watertight compartments. It is true that in so important a concern each of us has charge of his own division, but the fact remains that we are jointly and severally responsible for the whole. I am not sure that you bear this sufficiently in mind, my dear Vernon," he added with slow emphasis.

His partner moved quickly; it might almost have been said that he shivered, though whether the movement, or the shiver, was produced by the argument of joint and several liability or by the familiarity of the "my dear Vernon," remains uncertain. Perhaps it was the latter, since although the elder man was a baronet and the younger only a retired Major of Engineers, the gulf between them, as any one of discernment could see, was as wide as that which separated Dives and Lazarus in the parable. They were born, and lived and moved in different spheres unbridged by any common element or impulse.

"I think that I do bear it in mind, especially of late, Sir Robert," answered Alan Vernon slowly.

His partner threw a searching glance on him, for he felt that there was meaning in the words, but only said:

"That's all right. My motor is outside, and will take you to Fleet-street in no time. Meanwhile you might tell them to telephone that

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you are coming, and perhaps you will just look in when you get back."

Ten minutes later the splendid, two thousand guinea motor brougham drew up at the offices of the "Judge," and the obsequious motor-footman bowed Major Vernon through its rather grimy doorway. Within, a small boy in a kind of box asked his business, and when he heard his name, said that the "Guv'nor" had sent down word that he was to go up at once—third floor, first to the right and second to the left. So up he went, and reached the indicated locality.

Jackson burst into a hearty laugh and swung his chair round.

"Now, then, Alan, what is it? I have a quarter of an hour at your service."

"It is about that Sahara flotation, Mr. Jackson," he began, rather doubtfully.

The old editor's massive face darkened. "The Sahara flotation! That accursed——" and he ceased abruptly. "What have you, of all people in the world, got to do with it? Oh! I remember. Someone told me you had gone into partnership with Aylward, the company promoter, and that little beast, Champers-Haswell, who really is the clever one. Well, set it out, set it out."

"It seems, Mr. Jackson, that 'The Judge' has refused not only our article, but also the advertisement of the company. I don't know much about this side of the affair myself, but Sir Robert asked me if I would come round and see if things couldn't be arranged."

"You mean that the man sent you to try and work on me because he knew that I used to be intimate with your family. Well, it is a poor errand, and will have a poor end. You can't—no one on earth can, while I sit in this chair, not even my proprietors."

There was silence, broken at last by Alan, who remarked awkwardly:

"If that is so, I must not take up your time any longer."

"I said that I would give you a quarter of an hour, and you have only been here four minutes. Now, if you will take my advice, you'll go out of this business as soon as you can."

"Why?"

"Because, Alan Vernon, I am sure you don't want to see your name dragged in the dirt, any more than I do." He fumbled in a drawer and produced a typewritten sheet. "Take that," he said, "and study it at your leisure. It's a sketch of the financial career of Messrs. Aylward and Champers-Haswell, also of the companies which they have promoted and been connected with, and what has happened to them and to those who invested in them. A man got it out for me yesterday, and I'm going to use it. As regards this Sahara thing, you think it all right, and so it is from an engineering point of view, but you will never live to see that sea which the British Public is going to be asked to find so many millions to make. Look here. We have only three minutes more, so I will come to the point at once. It's Turkish territory, isn't it? And putting aside everything else, the security for the whole thing is a Firman from the Sultan?"

"Yes, Sir Robert Aylward, and Haswell procured it in Constantinople. I have seen the document."

"Indeed, and are you well acquainted with the Sultan's signature? I know when they were there last autumn that potentate was very ill—"

"You mean," said Major Vernon, looking up.

"I mean, Alan, that I like not the security. I won't say any more as there is a law of libel in this land. 'The Judge' has certain sources of information. It may be that no protest will be made at once, for baksheesh can stop it for a while, but sooner or later the protest or repudiation will come, and perhaps some international bother; also much scandal. As to the scheme itself, putting everything else aside, it is shamelessly over-capitalised for the benefit of the promoters—of whom, remember, Alan, you will appear as one. Now time's up. Perhaps you will take my advice, and perhaps you won't; but there it is for what it's worth, as that of a man of the world and an old friend of your family."

CHAPTER II.

THE YELLOW GOD.

Alan Vernon walked thoughtfully down the lead-covered stairs, hustled by eager gentlemen hurrying up to see the great editor whose bell was already ringing furiously, and was duly ushered by the obsequious assistant-chauffeur back into the luxurious motor. There was an electric lamp in this motor, and by the light of it, his mind being perplexed, he began to read the typewritten document given to him by Mr. Jackson, which he still held in his hand.

As it chanced, they were blocked for a quarter of an hour near the Mansion House, so that he found time, if not to master it, at least to gather enough of its contents to make him open his brown eyes very wide before the motor pulled up at the granite

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doorway of his office. Alan descended from the machine, which departed silently, and with a firm step walked straight into Sir Robert Aylward's room.

"How did you get on with Jackson, Vernon?" Sir Robert asked.

"I did not get on at all. He will not touch the thing on any terms, and, indeed, means to oppose it tooth and nail."

"Then he will find himself in a minority when the articles come out to-morrow. Of course it is a bore, but we are strong enough to snap our fingers at him."

Alan felt that the crisis had come. He must speak now or for ever hold his peace; indeed, Aylward was already looking round for his hat.

"Sir Robert," he broke in rather nervously, "I have something to say to you, something unpleasant," and he paused.

"Then please say it at once, Vernon. I want to dress for dinner; I am going to the theatre to-night, and must dine early," replied Aylward, in a voice of the utmost unconcern.

"It is," went on Alan with a rush, "that I do not like the lines upon which this business is being worked, and I wish to give up my interest in it and retire from the firm, as I have a right to do under our deed of partnership."

"Have you?" said Aylward. "Really, I forget. But, my dear fellow, do not think that we should wish to keep you for one moment against your will. Only, might I ask, has that old puritan, Jackson, hypnotized you, or is it a case of sudden madness after influenza?"

"It is neither," answered Alan sternly, for although he might be diffident on matters that he did not thoroughly understand, he was not a man to brook trifling or impertinence. "It is what I have said, neither more nor less. I am not satisfied either as to the capitalisation or as to the guarantees that the enterprise can be really carried out."

For one moment a sort of tremor passed over Sir Robert's impassive countenance.

"Perhaps, Vernon, you remember that you hold over 1,700 of the Syndicate shares which we have worked up to £18, and think it wiser to capture the profit in sight; generally speaking, a very sound principle."

"You are mistaken, Sir Robert," replied Alan flushing. "The way that those shares have been artificially put up is one of the things to which I most object. I shall only ask for mine the face value of £1 which I paid for them."

What is called an awkward pause ensued; in fact, it was a very awkward pause.

Mr. Champers-Haswell, who was present, remarked that the weather was very cold for April, and Alan agreed with him, while Sir Robert found his hat and brushed it with his sleeve. Then Mr. Haswell, in desperation—for in minor matters he was a kindly sort of man who disliked scenes and unpleasantness—muttered something as to seeing him—Alan—at the Court in Hertfordshire from Saturday to Monday.

"That was the arrangement," answered Alan bluntly, "but possibly, after what has happened, you will not wish that it should be kept."

"Oh! why not, why not?" said Mr. Haswell. "Sunday is a day of rest, when we make it a rule not to talk business, and if we did, perhaps we might all change our minds about these matters. Sir Robert is coming, and I am sure that your cousin Barbara will be very disappointed if you do not turn up, for she understands nothing about these city things, which are Greek to her."

At the mention of the name of Barbara Sir Robert Aylward looked up from the papers which he affected to be tidying, and Alan thought that there was a kind of challenge in his eyes. A moment before he had made up his mind that no power on earth would induce him to spend a Sunday with his late partners at the Court Now, acting upon some instinct or impulse, he reversed his opinion.

"Thanks," he said, "if that is understood, I shall be happy to come. I will drive over from Yarleys in time for dinner to-morrow. Perhaps you will say so to Barbara."

"She will be glad I am sure," answered Mr. Haswell, "for she told me the other day that she wants to consult you about some outdoor theatricals that she means to get up in July."

"In July!" answered Alan with a little laugh. "I wonder where I shall be in July."

Then came another pause, which seemed to affect even Sir Robert's nerves, for, abandoning the papers, he walked down the room till he came to the golden object on the stand that has been described, and for the second time that day stood there contemplating it.

"This thing is yours, Vernon," he said, "and now that our relations are at an end, I suppose that you will want to take it away. What is its history? You never told me."

"Oh! that's a long story," answered Alan in an absent voice. "My uncle, who was a

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missionary, brought it from West Africa. I rather forget the facts, but Jeeki, my old negro servant, knows them all, for as a lad my uncle saved him from sacrifice, or something, in the place where they worship these things, and he has been with us ever since. It is a fetish with magical powers and all the rest of it. I believe they call it the Swimming Head and other names. If you look at it, you will see that it seems to swim between the shoulders, doesn't it?"

"Yes," said Sir Robert, "and I admire the beautiful beast. She is cruel and artistic, like—like finance. Look here, Vernon, we have quarrelled, and of course henceforth are enemies, for it is no use mincing matters, only fools do that. But in a way you are being hardly treated. You could get £20 apiece to-day for those shares of yours on the market, and I am paying you £1. I understand your scruples, but there is no reason why we should not square things. This fetish of yours has brought me luck, so let's do a deal. Leave it here, and instead of a cheque for £1,700, I will make you one out for £17,000."

"That's a very liberal offer," said Vernon. "Give me a moment to think it over."

Then he also walked into the corner of the room and contemplated the golden mask that seemed to float between the frog-like shoulders. The shimmering eyes drew his eyes, though what he saw in them does not matter. Indeed he could never remember. Only when he straightened himself again there was left on his mind a determination that not for seventeen or seventy thousand pounds would he part with his ownership in this very unique fetish.

"No, thank you," he said presently. "I don't think I will sell the Yellow God, as Jeeki calls it. Perhaps you will kindly keep her here for a week or so, until I make up my mind where to stow her."

Alan was outside at last. The massive granite portal vanished behind him in the evening mists, much as a nightmare vanishes. He, Alan Vernon, who for a year or more had been in bondage, was a free man again. All his dreams of wealth had departed; indeed, if anything, save in experience, he was poorer than when first the shadow of yonder doorway fell upon him. But at least he was safe, safe. That deed of partnership which had been as a chain about his neck, was now white ashes; his name was erased from that fearful prospectus of Sahara, Limited, wherein millions, which someone would provide, were spoken of like silver in the days of Solomon, as things of no account. The bitterest critic could not say that he had made a halfpenny out of the venture; in fact if trouble came, his voluntary abandonment of the profits due to him must go to his credit. He had plunged into the icy waters of renunciation, and come up clean, if naked.

He remembered that this step of his meant that, sooner or later, within a year or two at most, Yarleys, where his family had dwelt for centuries, must go to the hammer. Why had he not accepted Aylward's offer and sold that old fetish to him for £17,000? There was no question of share-dealing there, and if a very wealthy man chose to give a fancy price for a curiosity, he could take it without doubt or shame. At least, it would have sufficed to save Yarleys, which after all was only mortgaged for £20,000. For the life of him he could not tell. He had acted on impulse, a very curious impulse, and there was an end of it, perhaps because his uncle had told him as a boy that the thing was unique, or perhaps because old Jeeki, his negro servant, venerated it so much and swore that it was "lucky." At any rate, he had declined, and there was an end. But another and a graver matter remained. He had desired wealth to save Yarleys, but he desired it still more for a different purpose. Above everything on earth he loved Barbara, his distant cousin, and the niece of Mr. Champers-Haswell, who until an hour ago had been his partner. Now she was a great heiress, and without fortune he could not marry her, even if she would marry him, which remained in doubt. For one thing, her uncle and guardian, Haswell, under her father's will, had absolute discretion in this matter until she reached the age of twenty-five, and for another, he was too proud. Therefore, it would seem that in abandoning his business, he had abandoned his chance of Barbara also, which was a truly dreadful thought. Well, it was in order that he might see her that he had agreed to visit the Court on the morrow, even though it meant a meeting with his late partners, who were the last people with whom he desired to foregather again so soon. Then and there he made up his mind that before he bade Barbara farewell, he would tell her the whole story, so that she might not misjudge him. After that he would go off somewhere—to Africa, perhaps. Meanwhile, he was quite tired out, as tired as though he had lain a week in the grip of fever. He must eat some food and get to bed. Sufficient unto the day was the evil thereof, yet on the whole he blessed the name of Jackson, editor of "The Judge," and his father's old friend.

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When Alan had left the office, Sir Robert turned to Mr. Champers-Haswell and asked abruptly, "What the devil does this mean?"

Mr. Haswell looked up at the ceiling and whistled in his own peculiar fashion.

"Haswell," Sir Robert broke out, "I tell you that of late our luck has been too good to last. The boom, the real boom, came in with Vernon, and with Vernon I think that it would go."

"At any rate it must leave something pretty substantial behind it this time, Aylward, my friend. Whatever happens, within a week we shall be rich, really rich for life."

"For life, Haswell, yes, for life. But what is life? A bubble that any pin may prick. Oh! I know that you do not like the subject, but it is as well to look it in the face sometimes. There, let's get out of this before I grow superstitious. Got your hat and coat? So have I, come on," and he switched off the light, so that the room was left in darkness except for the faint glimmering of the fire.

"Good Lord deliver us," chimed in Mr. Haswell in a shaking voice behind him. "What the devil's that?"

Sir Robert looked round and saw, or thought that he saw, something very strange. From the pillar on which it stood, the golden fetish with a woman's face appeared to have floated. The firelight showed it gliding towards them across, but a few inches above, the floor of the great room. It came very slowly, but it came. Now it reached them and paused, and now it rose into the air until it attained the height of Mr. Champers-Haswell and stayed there, staring into his face and not a hand's breadth away, just as though it were a real woman glaring at him.

He uttered a sound, half whistle and half groan, and fell back, as it chanced on to a morocco covered seat behind him. For a moment or two the gleaming, golden mask floated in the air. Then it turned very deliberately, rose a little way, and moving sidelong to where Sir Robert stood, hung in front of *his* face.

Aylward staggered to the mantelpiece and began to fumble for the switch. He found it at last, and next instant the office broke into a blaze of light.

(*To be continued.*)

THE SUGAR INDUSTRY IN INDIA

THE problems of the Sugar Industry in India tend to show that if properly exploited by capitalists and sugar chemists and engineers much more money could be made out of this industry than is done at present. The average total production of sugar-cane in the world is 8·34 million tons of cane against 6·94 million tons of beet. Out of the world's total production of 8·94 million tons of cane sugar India by its primitive methods produces 3 million tons or nearly 39 per cent. According to some authorities its production is something very near to 5 million tons; but we would prefer to take the former figure. However, this, too, far from being negligible, is a very important figure, and if she is given modern machinery she could produce half as much again without extending the area of cultivation. At the same time if the fields under cane cultivation are properly and scientifically manured, with phosphetic and other manures, they would easily yield twice as much sugar-cane, with a very much higher percentage of juice. Whatever may be the output of sugar, the method of extraction is very defective, and thus the extraction is very low. Now-a-days people attach great importance to the process of sugar making commonly known as Hadi's process. By this process with ordinary crushing mills worked by animal power, it has been found impossible to extract more than 50 or 60 per cent. of juice, but from all accounts the bulk of sugar is obtained by most primitive and wasteful methods and without any kind of refinement. Besides, there is a very great loss in manufacture. By this process out of all the available sugar only 30 per cent. is extracted. The rest is either inverted during graining or lost as wastage in filter muds or burnt and charred during manufacture. Mr. Nursey in his lectures before the Society of Engineers showed that with maceration and triple crushing from 81 to 85 per cent. of juice can be obtained from the canes, whilst the *Louisiana Planter* recently in an exhaustive article on cane juice extraction said that in 1898 a 9-roller mill obtained 90 to 95 per cent., and in 1905 the

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12 roller mill secured 96 per cent. of juice, while if very heavy maceration or saturation of the last bagasse with water is used even a greater percentage than 96 can be secured. It can therefore be seen at a glance what a tremendous margin of profit is thrown away every year when 3,000,000 tons of jaggery are turned out on a 50 to 60 per cent. juice. If 75 or 85 per cent. is obtainable, at least another 1,000,000 tons of sugar could be made. Besides 3,000,000 tons of cane-sugar, another 1,500,000 tons of palm sugar are made, and last year 385,000 tons were imported (213,000 tons of cane and 172,000 tons of beet).

This is not the only loss that occurs during manufacture. In order to be successful in refining sugar, it is essential to obtain from the juice maximum percentage and high class crystallizable sugar, as it is for these crystals that the best price per unit is obtainable. The object of defecation (the process employed after extracting juice from cane or after melting gur) is to remove from the juice or liquor all impurities and produce a sugar easy of filtration and crystallization. No machinery or plant will remove all the natural chemical impurities existing in the sugar-cane. During the process of refining these impurities decrease the coefficient of purity and increase in corresponding ratio the percentage of molasses. Some of the old forms of defecation employed in India, such as with *sewar* or *bhindi* are not only of little use but introduce considerable danger, because of the presence of mineral acids which create inversion of the sugar, and give rise to the formation of uncrystallisable sugars, and the consequent increased per centage of molasses. Then again the primitive way of boiling syrup to grains in open pans is a source of very great loss.

To make the sugar industry a success the cultivation of canes must be taken off the hands of the present cultivators, who lack the requisite knowledge and resources. Here is an opening for educated young men with some means. Those who have received English education among us despise agriculture as a profession, and those who are engaged in agriculture are uneducated. Before we think of improvements in agriculture, either educated men should be induced to take up agriculture or those already engaged in it should be educated. I may say that if capital and education are concentrated on sugar cane cultivation, the Sugar Industry will become a profitable industry in this county. There are openings for the employment of a large capital on the joint stock principle even in agricultural industries. Why should I not ask men of means among us to throw their stocks together and venture upon an undertaking like that?

I think it would not be out of place to give here the statistics of cane grown in India. The home-grown article is chiefly produced in the U. P. of Agra and Oudh, in the Punjab, Bengal and along the Ganges valley in the following proportions:—

Bengal	...	...	444,900	Tons.
Eastern Bengal	...	...	189,000	"
U. P. ...	...	...	1,183,400	"
Punjab..	...	...	338,300	"
N.-W. Frontier	...	...	22,600	"
Madras	...	...	90,000	"

The manufacture of sugar ought to be a thriving industry in India. Sugar, like salt, is of universal consumption amongst the people of India, and may indeed almost be called a necessary of life with them. But I have already said the manufacture is crude and wastefully conducted, and the introduction of improvement both in the expression of the juice from cane and in the conversion of the juice into sugar is greatly needed. For this the most improved modern European machinery must be introduced. Attention might also with advantage be given to the preparation of date sugar which is largely consumed in Lower Bengal and which can be worked with the sugar-cane machinery. Sugar-cane is generally believed to have had its first home in the Indian Peninsula, and is said to ripen all the year round in the varying climates and soil to be found in the vast expanse of land between Cape Comorin and the Himalayas. So cheaply can sugar be produced in India, that Dr. Royle thought it might even be possible to use it for manure in less favoured lands. It has, therefore, always appeared most singular that India, which might with ease supply the whole world with sugar, actually does not produce enough for its own requirements. This is owing to the negligence and laziness of our so-called leaders. The universal cultivation of the cane in India, and the greater quantity of sweets eaten by its people, indeed, make it evident that the sugar production of the Empire must be immense. No country has a soil or climate better adapted to the industry, or more abundant supplies of cheap labour, while the growth of a fresh great export trade would be of very high importance.

Indian coolies go away to foreign lands when all their resources have failed and their paternal holdings have been mortgaged to the hilt. When they return with money they redeem

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them, but soon they are reduced to their old miserable condition because they are unable to introduce changes in the method of cultivation. It would greatly benefit the country if a band of educated young men who have decided to take up agriculture as their profession retain the services of these returned coolies. Theoretical knowledge they may not possess, as they are uneducated, but they must possess some practical knowledge of cane planting. I hope this matter will not be allowed to drop.

K. C. BANERJI,
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Champaran Sugar Co., Ld.

THE STORY OF FOUR FRIENDS

ONCE upon a time there lived four friends. One was the son of a king, another of a goldsmith, the third of a pandit, and the fourth of a carpenter. The four friends used to wrestle together, and all were very brave and powerful. One day as they were wrestling, a giant came and made an enclosure of four walls around them, and challenged the four friends to try their strength on it by breaking it down. All tried in vain, but none succeeded, except the king's son, who broke the enclosure. On this the giant said: "You are the strongest of all, so go to Loha Garh or Iron Fort. There lives a giant, and a beautiful princess worthy of you. Go there and kill the giant; so you will be known as the strongest man and get the most beautiful princess that ever breathed." The king's son was fired by the idea of getting her, and with the permission of his father at once started for the place. In the way he met his three friends, who accompanied him. They travelled on and on till they came to a lonely place where there was a well. Finding the place very pleasant and romantic they halted there. Three went out to hunt, and the fourth, the goldsmith's son, began to prepare food. As he was cooking, a giant came out of the well and said: "Give me something out of this food." The goldsmith's son replied; "I have not yet given to any *pir* or *faqir*, how can I give thee? Sit down; when my friends will come, thou shalt also get something." On this the giant caught him by the wrist and threw him aside and took away all the food. When the friends came they did not find any food ready. On learning the cause, another friend, the carpenter's son volunteered to cook and fight the giant while the three went out to hunt. He met the same adventure. So did the third. At last the king's son volunteered to cook. The giant came out as usual and asked for food. The king's son said: "The bread has not been given as yet to *pir* or *faqir*, how dare you ask for it? Wait and you will get." On this the giant caught hold of the wrist of the king's son, and the latter caught hold of the other's hand, and there was a regular fight. At last, the king's son threw him down into the well and followed him into it and had a long fight there. When the giant, whose name was Tasma Shah, was perfectly subdued, he agreed to purchase peace by accompanying the prince in his journey and marrying his daughter to him. But the prince, who was in search of the lady of Loha Garh, declined the latter offer, but negotiated the match for his friend, the goldsmith's son. So, as soon as the marriage was solemnized, the three friends leaving the married couple behind started forward on their journey. Though they had lost one of their play-mates, yet their number was not lessened, for the giant, Tasma Shah, true to his promise, accompained them and proved of great service to them by his courage, devotion and fidelity to the prince. The three friends and the giant proceeded on their journey. They reached a city which was desolate, and where all the shops were closed. But in the midst of a large square there was only one living creature, she was a very beautiful girl with a basket full of flowers. On seeing them she began to weep and said: "Go away from this place. Do not stop here; for, this city is infested by a terrible giant who will soon come and devour you all." The giant Tasma Shah, who, by the bye, had assumed the shape of a man, for giants can put on any shape they like, said: "Never mind! we will stop here." Then they all stopped there for the night. The three friends being tired soon fell asleep, and Tasma Shah kept watch. As he was watching, he saw a very tall giant, whose head touched the sky, coming towards him; seeing him, Tasma Shah

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rolled himself on the ground and resumed his original shape of a giant which was so long kept disguised under that of a man. He enlarged his height, and expanded his form to the utmost, but could not reach higher than the shoulders of the giant of the city. Both then began to fight, and there was a great fight between them, so that the walls of the city shook and trembled. At last Tasma Shah killed the other giant. By this time it was dawn. The carcase of the dead giant fell with a loud crash on the city and stretched for many a mile. When the king of the city learned the news of the giant's death from the woman, he was very much astonished and pleased. For this giant was a very cruel one, and used to eat ten citizens every day, and had almost eaten away the whole city. The king searched out the four persons, and offered the hand of his daughter to Tasma Shah. But the latter generously recommended his friend, the pandit's son, instead.

So the second friend was married, and the two remaining friends and giant Tasma Shah proceeded on their journey. They reached another city, which was equally silent and desolate. They saw many pots full of milk and a very beautiful boy standing near them. On the friends enquiring why he was standing there alone, and why the shops were all closed, the boy said: "There comes a lion here, and he takes away daily a man and ten pots of milk." This day it is my lot to be devoured by the lion, and those pots which you see, are for him. Do not stop here, but please go away." The three travellers gave hope to the boy, and promised to help him. So the king's son and the carpenter's son both slept, while Tasma Shah kept watch. At last, when it was midnight, the lion came with a loud roar. But as soon as Tasma Shah saw the lion, he ran towards him and killed him. When in the morning the vazir of the city passed on that side on his inspecting tour, he saw the dead lion, and the four persons including the boy. The vazir asked them: "Who has killed the lion?" On learning the fact he took them before the Raja, who, in reward for this good service, gave in marriage his daugther to the carpenter's son. Then the king's son and the giant Tasma Shah proceeded on their journey towards Loha Garh, thus leaving one by one all their friends behind. At last they reached their destination. In that fort they saw a beautiful lady sitting on a tower. The giant took the prince on his back, and jumped into the fort and placed him before the beautiful lady. She strongly warned the prince to leave the fort, telling him that it harmated by a giant. But the prince assured her that the horrible giant was already killed, and, so, in fact it was, for in the meantime Tasma Shah had killed the giant of the fort. So the prince began to live with the lady. The prince lived in the tower, and Tasma Shah lived downstairs. The latter vowed never to go upstairs which he held sacred, and received his food from the king's son who brought it down daily for him. The lady of the fort one day went out to bathe in an adjacent stream. She unfortunately lost her shoe in the stream. The shoe floating away touched the coast of a city where a Raja's son was bathing. The Raja's son took up the shoe, and finding it was a lady's shoe, preserved it carefully and fell in love with the unknown wearer of it. So he went home and sat in a corner moodily. When the king came and asked his son the reason, the prince said: "I will not live, if I do not get the person whose shoe this is, for my wife." The king hearing this, and finding that advice will be no remedy for the incurable malady of his son, promised to give him that lady in marriage. So the king called the witches of the place and asked them to bring the lady whose shoe it was. One of the witches who knew the spell to control streams, rivers and waters, undertook the task. So she chanted some charms and dived into the stream and reached the fort of Loha Garh. She went near the tower and began to weep. The lady of the tower saw her, and calling her up hastily was taken in by her specious tale of misery, and kept her as her servant. When the witch had remained there for some time, one day she advised her mistress to ask the prince the secret of his life and death. The lady of the fort, not fearing any mischief, asked the prince, and was told by him that his life lay in the brightness of his sword. As long as the sword remained bright and untarnished, he would be alive, but no sooner was it rusty than he would die. When the foolish princess told this secret to the witch, the latter rejoiced very much in her heart. The evil woman was always on the look out for an opportunity to execute her wicked design. So one night when all had gone to sleep, the witch stole into the prince's room, took the charmed sword and put it into a burning furnace where it soon lost its brightness, and at that very moment the young prince lost his life. As soon as he was dead, the witch took up the sleeping princess and conveyed her under the stream to the Raja's son. The Raja and his son were very much pleased to get hold of the beautiful lady.

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But when the princess awoke, and found that she had been brought to this pass, she mustered all her courage, and her good sense soon devised a means of escape. She asked the Raja and his son to wait for a year, after which period she would marry the Raja's son. The Raja agreed to this, but kept the princess in close confinement in a strong fort.

Here Tasma Shah began to starve, for the prince being dead no one brought food for him. When he had passed a week without food he resolved to find out what was the matter. So once for all, breaking through his self-imposed vow, he went upstairs and with one glance took in the whole situation. He at once ran to the furnace, took out the sword and searched carefully whether any portion of it was bright or not. After a good search he found the tip of the sword still retaining its brightness, as it had been thrust into the earth and had not been burned. So Tasma Shah began to rub the sword, and after great efforts restored its brightness to the weapon and life to its prince. Then the two went out in search of the lost princess. They first got all the other friends together, *viz.*, the son of the pandit, &c. After great search the friends went to the city where the princess was kept a prisoner. They reached the city a few days before the expiry of the year of grace. Great preparations were being made for the coming marriage. They consulted together about the means of having a talk with the princess and give her news of their arrival. At last the pandit's son in the guise of an astrologer entered the fort, and under pretence of telling her fortune told the princess that the prince was in the city, and had devised some means for her release and told her what it was. A day before the marriage the princess said to the Raja that it was the custom of her family to float round the city in a golden ærial car with the bridegroom and the match-maker. The Raja, seeing that there could be no harm in indulging her in this whim, consented that she should have her wish, and sent his men to fetch such a car. In the meanwhile the giant Tasma Shah, with the help of the goldsmith's son and the carpenter's son, had constructed such a car and brought it for sale to the Raja. The Raja bought the wonderful car and sat on it with the princess, his son, and the witch and began to move in the air round the city. When the princess told them to stop at a certain place and the car was stopped, the four friends, headed by Tasma Shah, jumped into the car and moving its hidden spring at once rose very high into the air. They then bound down the treacherous witch, the Raja, and his son, and drowned them in the river for their wickedness and returned gloriously to their city.

SHAIKH CHILLI.

HERBERT SPENCER'S THEISM

MR. HERBERT SPENCER would, of course, have repudiated the word 'Theist' as applicable to him: and, in the sense in which he would have repudiated it, we do not use it. His field was not the field of Theology, but indirectly, his influence in that field has been enormous. He said nothing about 'God,' but he had a great deal to say about The Ultimate Reality, and we may say with safety that his teachings respecting God or The Ultimate Reality are prophetic, in the sense that they forecast the Theism of the future when the Theism of the past, now falling away from us in the present, is proved to be hopelessly crude and inadequate.

There is no word which requires more watching than the word 'Theism,' and there is no phrase more vague and elusive than the phrase 'Belief in God.' The Theism of the past (may we yet think of it quite as the past?) was almost entirely anthropomorphic. God was simply 'a magnified man.' He was seated on a 'great white throne' in an actual place, and most of the old painters depicted Him as a venerable old man. In short, He was strictly a person in our ordinary sense of the word 'person:' and He had huge personal characteristics. He was subject to moods: He was open to entreaty: He could change His mind: He could be appeased; and, quite in the old pagan sense, He could be propitiated—and with blood.

Any one who shrank from this crude picture of God was thought to be in a rebellious state of mind. Every one who repudiated it was regarded as a dangerous heretic: and, until lately, not many dared to question or repudi-

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ate it: and yet this old picture of God was, all the time, rapidly becoming a distress to vast numbers of religious men and women, and the creator of doubts that endangered belief in God altogether.

Herbert Spencer, from his position of detachment, and purely as an independent thinker, looked out upon all this, without antagonism and without prejudice: and probably without knowing precisely what he was doing, apparently repudiating Theism, but building 'better than he knew,' he laid at least the foundations for a Theism which would be in harmony with modern conceptions of the Universe and sufficiently cognisant of the limitations of Man. So far from denying God, his affirmations were really vast enough to absorb or surpass all previous affirmations, and to suggest a Deity or Ultimate Reality at once unassailable by science and reason, and fully satisfying to the humble reverence of the most devout. In fact, his thought of that Ultimate Reality was inspired as much by humble reverence as by philosophy, science and reason.

Spencer's phrase, 'The Unknowable,' has been pitiably misunderstood. Instead of dismissing, it in reality intensified the vital affirmation of Theism. It was based upon the sense of vastness, not of haziness. It was the tribute of an immense thought, not of a jaded despair,—a splendid affirmation, not a dull negation. It was, in truth, the finest modern version of the ancient cry,

> 'Who by searching can find out God, who can find out the Almighty unto perfection? That is high as Heaven, what canst thou do? deeper than Sheol, what canst thou know?'

It must be remembered, too, that Spencer applied his doctrine of 'the Unknowable' as much to Science as to Theology. Both, he said, deal with symbols. 'Ultimate Scientific Ideas are all representative of realities that cannot be comprehended.' The man of Science then, is as much pulled up before the Ultimate Reality as the man of Theology: and yet Spencer's doctrine of The Unknowable, as applied to Science, did not retard him as a scientist: and it only seemed to retard him in relation to Theology because that was not his field. But, in reality, he was no more agnostic in relation to Theology than in relation to Science. Force, Space and Time are as insoluble as God. It is precisely the man of Science, he says, who knows that he constantly lives and works 'face to face with an insoluble enigma,' 'and he ever more clearly perceives it to be an insoluble enigma.' 'He, more than any other, truly knows that in its ultimate nature not Cheng and be known.' But that does not invalidate or put a stop to Science; neither, he says, does it invalidate or put a stop to Religion. It only invalidates and puts a stop to the poor little peep-shows that have been constructed and insisted upon as finalities in Religion's name.

The doctrine of The Unknowable, then, does not involve closing inquiry, or unconcern. Quite the contrary. Spencer held and urged the opinion that the soul of truth in Religion was the conviction that the all-pervading mystery 'is a mystery calling for interpretation,' and he presses upon us the validity of this, as belonging of necessity to us and as worthy of our highest and most reverential thought. In doing this he (probably without actually intending it) carried the banner of Theism to a height which is far above that occupied by the conventional Theism of our day. The famous passage in which this was done may here be profitably quoted:—

> 'This, which to most will seem an essentially irreligious position, is an essentially religious one—nay, is the religious one, to which, as already shown, all others are but approximations. In the estimate it implies of the Ultimate Cause, it does not fall short of the alternative position, but exceeds it. Those who espouse this alternative position assume that the choice is between Personality and something lower than Personality; whereas the choice is rather between Personality and something that may be higher. Is it not possible that there is a mode of being as much transcending Intelligence and Will as these transcend mechanical motion? Doubtless we are totally unable to imagine any such higher mode of being. But this is not a reason for questioning its existence; it is rather the reverse. Have we not seen how utterly unable our minds are to form even an approach to a conception of that which underlies all phenomena? Is it not proved that we fail because of the incompetence of the Conditioned to grasp the Unconditioned? Does it not follow that the Ultimate Cause cannot in any respect be conceived because it is in every respect greater than can be conceived?'

It is just at this point that we may take note of the valuable negative work done by this doctrine of 'The Unknowable.' In so far as it is established, it gently wipes out all our final creeds, all our pictures, limitations and definitions of God. He is too subtile for them, too real, too great. It stops all our final decisions concerning The Unseen; it is too intricate for them. It repeals all our verdicts as to the divine decrees, except those found in Natural Law. It puts aside all the old 'Plans of Salvation' turning upon belief in opinions born in the past, and finds salvation in loyalty to the present. It makes impertinent all the anathemas and most of the promises of the Church.

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All this is to the good; but it takes nothing from the true basis of belief, and nothing from the real ground of hope. We still stand, as children, before the Infinite Fatherhood: we still see the beautiful and hope-inspiring process of evolution at work, and ever working for higher destinies and fuller life; and we are still lost in wonder, gratitude and awe as we look out upon the grander and wider sweep of that

One far off divine event,
To which the whole creation moves.

There is an important sense in which Spencer's doctrine of The Unknowable enlarges the field of thought and stimulates inquiry. This is so because the verdict of 'Unknowable' is based upon an affirmation of vastness, not upon a denial of reality, to which is added an explicit declaration of the necessity and validity of the quest. 'Positive knowledge,' Spencer says, does not, and never can, fill the whole region of positive thought.' At the uttermost reach of discovery there arises, and must ever arise, the question--What lies beyond? From this point of view, the word 'Inexhaustible' might be a better word than 'Unknowable,' and it often looks as though Spencer had inexhaustible rather than unknowable in his mind.

The great problem of Theism is, with him, an urgent one and a living one. The Theistic sentiment 'is a constituent in man's nature,' he says, and 'must be classed among human emotions,' and therefore 'we cannot rationally ignore it.' Of religion, then, he says:

'We must always remember that amid its many errors and corruptions, it has asserted and diffused a supreme verity. From the first, the recognition of this supreme verity, in however imperfect a manner, has been its vital element; and its chief defects, once extreme, but gradually diminishing, have been its failures to recognise in full that which is recognised in part. The truly religious element of Religion has always been good: that which has proved untenable in doctrine and vicious in practice, has been its irreligious element; and from this it has been undergoing purification.'

This 'supreme verity' is of the very essence of Theism, and no one ever stated it better than Spencer in that memorable sentence,

'One truth must grow ever clearer—the truth that there is an inscrutable Existence everywhere manifested, to which he (the man of science) can find nor conceive either beginning or end. Amid the mysteries which become the more mysterious the more they are thought about, there will remain the one absolute certainty, that he is ever in presence of an Infinite and Eternal Energy, from which all things proceed.'

This 'Infinite and Eternal Energy' he describes as 'the Ultimate Reality transcending human thought:' and this Ultimate Reality is the Infinite and Eternal Energy operating unceasingly in a Universe that seems 'everywhere alive.' What is the inference? Spencer did not draw it, but it is surely this,—that the ultimate Reality is, in some transcendent sense, alive, in whom, in very deed, we all live and move and have our being, and who lives and moves and has His being in us.

Spencer again and again insisted upon the importance and even the necessity of the great Theistic inferences, though he left these to others. He affirmed that 'while the beliefs to which analytic science leads are such as do not destroy the object-matter of religion, but simply transfigure it, science under its concrete forms enlarges the sphere for religious sentiment.' 'Enlarges the sphere' be it observed. Primitive man began his Theism low down, but with a true instinct that an internal energy was always the immediate antecedent of changes wrought by him, and the modern man has only improved upon it in his splendid inference 'that the Power manifested throughout the Universe distinguished as material, is the same Power which in ourselves wells up under the form of consciousness.'

If that is so, we are in immediate contact with that power, and communion with it is not only a possibility but a necessity. Here again we are reminded that Mr. Spencer halted, but that makes no difference to the argument. He brought us home to the Ultimate Reality, and he brought the Ultimate Reality home to us, and left Him there. If he did not care to follow that up, or if he drifted into anything seemingly inconsistent with it, that was his loss, and it need not be ours.

But it is not necessary to pursue the matter further. We can only repeat that his Theistic teaching logically carries us to an as yet unattained height where, if we seem to lose anything of God, it is only because we escape from crude survivals of outgrown anthropomorphisms.

For a limited God, seated somewhere on a great white throne, he tells us of an immanent God who is the secret and the inmost uplifting life of all things, the Creator, Sustainer and Spirit-substance of everything that is: Unknowable because Inexhaustible, and yet not utterly Unknowable, for all things are His manifestations and all His works are words. We may, for instance, rationally conclude that He is One; that He sees the end from the beginning, that He is far-seeing, dominant, ethical, a lover of beauty, harmony,

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and order; and that Evolution is the Arm of His working, revealing a stream of tendency which, in every direction, makes for progress and therefore for righteousness. In truth, we have only to follow Herbert Spencer's lead in order to find ourselves in a Temple which might receive and shelter a now almost homeless Theism for a hundred years.

JOHN PAGE HOPPS.

THE HEAVENLY FOOT SOCIETY

THIRTY-TWO years ago, the girls and women of the Chinese Empire were under the dominion of a most cruel and ancient custom. Learned men have tried to discover its origin, but they have failed, and we may assume that the founders of it were too much ashamed to have it recorded in the nation's history. They can only suggest that there was once a secondary wife of one of the emperors of China, who was exceedingly beautiful, but unfortunately she was deformed in her feet. She was compelled to resort to various ingenious ways to disguise her misfortune. The ladies of the Court, wishing to win her smile, bound up their feet very much as she had done, and the noble ladies outside of the Court, wishing to be in the royal fashion, were not slow to follow suit. Those of still humbler rank, desiring to ape the manners of the leaders of fashion, twisted and distorted the feet of their daughters.

This cruel and unsightly custom spread with wonderful rapidity throughout the whole of the empire. It invaded the homes of princes and nobles, and the families of the common people, and even found a lodgment amongst the poorest of the poor, who, if they had no money to put themselves on a level with their betters, had at least their feet to show that in one thing they were on an equal footing.

In short, it laid such an overmastering grip on the people that nothing has ever been able to unloose it. Even royal edicts that are accustomed to sweep everything before them, and to bend the will of the people in humble submission, have been issued in vain. Foot-binding had its roots entwined around the home and in family life, and to uproot them seemed to threaten the destruction of the whole social system.

Although the custom is attended with such exquisite pain and suffering, the greatest upholders of it have been the women of the country. They prefer to endure life-long misery rather than lose the caste they now enjoy by having the feet bound.

Foot-binding begins when the girl is about seven or eight years of age. Up to this time the foot is so tender and the bones so soft that it would simply be destroyed by the process of binding, which is done with no gentle hand. The agony of the first few months is borne with Spartan heroism, and though the girl quivers with pain, she would on no account consent to cast aside her bandages. You see a little girl who has just gone through her ordinary morning tortures. She is boiling over with excitement, and groans deep and prolonged are drawn from her, for every nerve in her body has been wound up through the agonies she is enduring to the highest pitch of tension. Her face is flushed, and the tear drops tremble on her eyelids, showing that nature at least is sympathising with her in the awful strain that is being put upon her. She is holding one of her feet in her hot hands, and gently pressing it to see if she cannot ease the excruciating pain that is almost driving her mad.

You ask if she would not like you to take off those bandages, and so relieve her from the agony she is enduring. An English girl would at once respond to the suggestion with a glad and joyous heart, but the Chinese girl has in her mind the scorn and derision in which she will be held by society should she have her feet unbound; and so, with a tearful look and a flushed face, she shakes her head and elects to suffer her bodily tortures rather than face the contempt of the coming years.

The fact is, that the young women who have natural feet are all slave girls, whose mistresses will not allow them to maim their feet, as they would be practically useless in performing their household duties. Rather than endure the opprobious title of slave that would be hurled at her, the Chinese girl is prepared to endure the pains and and

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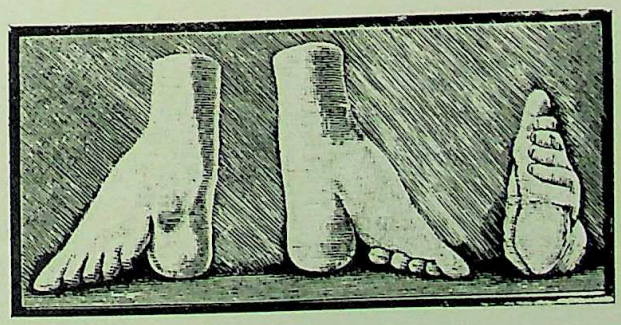
A group of unmarried Chinese girls of ages ranging from 18 to 22 years, with their feet bound. They generally walk on the heels and are unable to use their toes, which are practically useless.

Photograph by Dr. Ram Lal Sircar, China.



Foot of Chinese Girl (aged 16 years), in three positions:
Copied from a cast in Trinity College, Dublin.
(Length of foot, $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches).

(From Chambers's Encyclopædia).

The Indian Press, Allahabad.

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sorrows of foot-binding that will dog her as long as life lasts, though she live to be a hundred years old.

I was at one time exceedingly troubled and exercised in mind by the sorrows that the women, but especially the young girls, had to endure through this miserable custom, maintained simply because it added to the social position of those who were thus willing to make martyrs of themselves. I saw but little hope that any legislation would be made to deliver the young girlhood of the nation from their sufferings. I consulted with men of influence, and whilst theoretically they agreed with me about the evils of foot-binding they shook their heads, and declared that we must wait on time, for that nothing could be done to eradicate a system that for long ages had entwined itself about the very life of the nation.

I was discouraged by the lack of enthusiasm shown by everyone as to the possibility of attacking this octopus system which was crushing the young life of the people with its cruel grip. A gleam of light at last flashed across my path. At a meeting that I had been addressing on this question, one of those present suggested that it might be well to form an "Anti-Foot-binding Society," where those who were interested in the matter could associate themselves to try and influence the community to give up this cruel custom. I hailed the suggestion with delight, and determined to act upon it at once. To carry out this purpose with greater effect, it seemed to me most important that we should have as many of the women on our side as possible. They were deeply interested practically, they were the binders of their girls' feet, and if we could only get them to co-operate with us we should start our society with an additional force and prestige.

After consultation with others it was decided to call a public meeting of the Chinese Christian women in Amoy, in order to learn their views, and at the same time to secure, if possible, their aid in carrying out our views.

A meeting was announced to be held in a certain church in the centre of the Chinese town, and the women, both old and young, were invited to attend and express their views with regard to the new movement. The calling of this meeting was considered to be so grave an innovation on the usages of Chinese life that it was predicted that it might be the cause of serious disturbances amongst the non-Christian population, and consequently the only foreigners who would attend it were Mr. and Mrs. Sadler and Mr. and Mrs. Kip, together with my wife and myself. I was distinctly told by one prominent member of the missionary community that he viewed this meeting with the greatest alarm, and he should not be surprised to hear that the Chinese who lived in the region of the Church had risen in their indignation and had torn the building down. I assured him that we were going to risk that, and that a great evil that had produced such untold horrors among the women of China demanded heroic measures in its treatment, and that if we could only accomplish anything that would save them from their present misery, I for one should be quite content to have the place pulled about our ears.

We found about sixty women assembled to discuss the great problem of foot-binding. There were old women and young women, and there were middle-aged women, and, to our amazement, they seemed to be almost unanimous in their desire to be emancipated from a custom that was bringing life-long suffering upon them all.

I was appointed chairman, and I am happy to say that with the exception of the times when I have been in England on furlough, I have occupied that position to the present day, and I look upon that honour very much as some scientific man would regard his being President of the Royal Society.

There was no lack of speakers, for the women had found a theme on which they could expatiate with a full knowledge of the subject. One fine handsome woman stood up and declared that she had eight daughters, but not one of them should ever have her feet bound, and if men refused to marry them because of that, she would keep them at home to cook the family rice. Another old lady, between sixty and seventy, and so frail and feeble that she had to rest her trembling hand on a long staff that she carried with her, stood up to join in the discussion. "Why," she asked, "have you been so long in calling this meeting? Why did you not summon us years ago, and then I could have seen that my daughters' feet should have been left as God made them. I cannot do much now, because my girls have grown into womanhood, and the evil has been done; but I promise that all my strength shall be spent in opposing the binding of my grand-daughters' feet."

As a result of the meeting it was decided to establish an "Anti-Foot-binding Society," and, following the poetic ideas that the Chinese have in giving names to places and things, I called it "The Heavenly Foot Society." By this term it was understood that the members

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of it were determined that the feet of their children should retain the shape that Heaven gave them at their birth, and that no attempt should be made to subject them to the cruel and hideous process of bandaging. It was also agreed that two public meetings should take place annually, when papers should be read and discussions held, so that the whole subject could be thoroughly ventilated, and men's minds could be informed of the cruelty and inhumanity of this universal custom. I had brought a pledge book in order to get the names of those who wished to join the new society, and quite a number of the women pressed forward to have their names recorded as workers in the cause.

The meeting that day was in more than one respect a remarkable one. It was probably the very first that had ever been convened in China for the discussion of a great social problem. It was, moreover, composed of women, a thing that was opposed to the thoughts and conceptions of the whole of the Chinese nation. That day woman entered on a new *role* that was destined in the near future to emancipate her from a tyranny under which she had groaned for many a long century.

The meeting broke up amidst mutual rejoicings and pleasant smiles, and what seemed then to outsiders as wild and visionary hopes for the future. It had consisted of six foreigners and about sixty Chinese women, most of the latter being timid, shrinking mortals who would have almost fainted to hear their own voices raised in public. And yet it was from that very meeting that the death-knell of foot-binding sounded, and ere long the note that had been uttered that day in that humble assembly had its echoes heard throughout the length and breadth of the empire.

When we got outside, we found everything going on as usual. The sun shone with his wonted splendour upon the vile-smelling streets, and the crowds passed and repassed along the narrow arteries as unconcerned as though absolutely nothing had taken place to break in upon the eternal monotony and humdrum of Chinese life. Much had been accomplished in that our aspirations had been focussed into a definite plan of action, but we knew that many years of stern work would have to be done before an appreciable impression could be made on a system that was backed by countless ages, and by the wealth and social position of the great masses of China's immense population.

And now began the serious work of trying to enlighten public opinion on the grave and serious wrongs that were being done to the women of China. Our meetings were always well attended, for the subject was a novel one, and had such an absorbing interest that many came out of mere curiosity. We had adopted a plan that ultimately proved of vital importance to the success of the Anti-Foot-binding movement. We had invited men to read short papers which were to be open to discussion by the meeting afterwards, and we were very careful to obtain the attendance of those who were strongly opposed to the changes we advocated. There were certain intelligent men in the churches who from sincere conviction disapproved entirely of the efforts we were making. These men were asked to lay their views before the meetings so that we might the more readily obtain the exact truth in the matter. The fact that they were going to speak drew many who would not otherwise have attended. It was amusing to listen to these, and to note how little they had to say on behalf of foot-binding. The sole argument they could bring forward was that it was an ancient custom of China, and what had been good for the mothers of the race ought not to be lightly given up by their children. They did not dare to say that it was a healthy one, for there was too much general weakness amongst women to allow of that argument. They could not affirm, either, that it was a handsome one, for every woman shrinks with an instinctive dread from letting any stranger see her feet when the bandages are off. With a woman's keen sense of her own dignity, she hides the deformity that raises a sense of loathing in everyone that looks upon her disfigurement.

After a time no one had the courage to appear in these public assemblies and take the side against the movement in favour of woman's freedom from pain and sorrow. The years went by, and the two meetings were held, one in the spring and the other in the autumn, and every time we met both men and women came forward to have their names enrolled as members of the "Heavenly Foot Society." As the numbers grew, the churches began to take a more decided stand against the cruel custom, and so the cause was strengthened.

The fame of the Society spread far beyond the limits of Amoy, and letters came to me from distant regions asking for information about its method of working, and also for a sample of the shoes that had been devised to be worn by its members, so that they should not be confounded with the slave girls who never had their feet bound. But this disgrace, that was feared in the early years of

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the Society, was no longer to be dreaded after a certain time, either by the parents or by the girls themselves. The non-Christian community had learned to distinguish between the two classes, and the healthy, trim appearance of the Christian girls excited their admiration, especially when they contrasted them with the pale faces and the tottering gait of those whose feet had been bandaged.

After many years had passed, an event took place that was destined to give the movement a mighty impulse to send it on its way througe the empire. I was visiting Shanghai, and in conversation with Dr. Timothy Richard I was telling him of our Society in Amoy, and what wonders it had produced in the experience of the Christian women in that place. He was deeply interested in the romantic story, and he said, "I must introduce you to a lady who, I think, will be a tower of strength if you can get her so moved as to induce her to help on the movement of this great social question."

We went at once and saw her. She was Mrs. Archibald Little, a woman of a decided personality, with great executive ability, and with an eloquent persuasive tongue that could influence men to take up any question that she believed in. My story made such an impression on her that she decided to throw herself heartily into the cause, and as evidence of this she summoned a public meeting in one of the halls in Shanghai for the next day. To this she invited the leading foreigners, both official and merchants, to meet and discuss how the great question of delivering the women of China from the thraldom of foot-binding could be best advanced.

Hitherto our operations had been confined to the Native Christian churches, but from this time, through the enterprising spirit of Mrs. Little, larger and more influential audiences were to be appealed to. With a most indomitable and persevering determination, she organised meetings and invited not only the leading members of the foreign community, but also the Chinese bankers and merchants and compradores, to join in the movement. Pamphlets were issued, and broad sheets printed showing the aim of the "Heavenly Foot Society," and men and women were asked to join in the compaign against a foe that was bringing a blight on the lives of the women of the empire.

The continual presentation of the truth began to make an impression, and viceroys wrote in condemnation of foot-binding and scholars composed essays showing the evils that the system was bringing on the nation. Not only was the Christian conscience awakened, but the national one was also aroused. Men began to discuss calmly about abolishing a savage custom that had borne heavily on the women and girls for many centuries. At length the time came when the Palace was stirred, and edicts were issued from Peking under the sanction of the Emperor and the Empress Dowager, and orders sent to all the prominent officials throughout the length and breadth of the land to see that foot-binding be discouraged and forbidden in the districts over which their authority runs.

The question is virtually settled, though, of course, it will still take some time to pass through the transition stage until the women of China have been delivered from the pains and penalties of a most inhuman custom; but it is doomed, never again in the new China that is emerging from the old to be resuscitated.

In looking over the thirty-two years that have elapsed since our historic meeting in the church where the "Heavenly Foot Society" was instituted, my heart is filled with wonder and with gratitude to God. Begun by a few feeble folk in the centre of an unsympthetic population, which would have savagely resented any interference with an ancient custom, I see how God has been working in the most marvellous manner for the deliverance of the women of the Chinese Empire. Started by Christians, the movement has touched the heart of non-Christian life and enlisted in its service merchants, bankers, scholars, mandarins, high and low, viceroys, and finally the Emperor and Empress Dowager.

JOHN MACGOWAN.

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THE STORY OF HELEN GOULD'S LIFE AND WORK

"THE uncrowned Queen of American Womanhood"—the title once bestowed upon Miss Frances E. Willard—now fitly belongs to Miss Helen Miller Gould. She is to-day the best loved and most admired woman in public life in the United States. She is almost the personification of unselfishness, for though worth 3,000,000 dollars, or nearly one crore of rupees, in her own right, she lives not for her own pleasure, but to relieve the poor and needy, and to uplift American manhood and womanhood.

Miss Helen Gould is a woman of deep religious life, and that is the fountain of her generosity and her untiring work for the welfare of others less fortunate than herself. She believes that Christ's command to deny ourselves daily should be literally obeyed. Addressing a woman's club on one occasion she gave utterance to her social creed in the following words:

"I shall never cease to preach the gospel that women of means should do more than rush through life for their own pleasure. It is the duty of women who have wealth to help others, and especially other women, and to make life for them worth the living. So much happiness may be scattered continually that the more one tries to help others the more one loves to do it."

Miss Gould lives her own gospel. She is said to keep ten or eleven secretaries busy with her charitable schemes. She seems always to be devising new charities, but she never forgets the old ones. Her income is estimated to be £200,000 or thirty lakhs of rupees a year, but only a small fraction of that huge amount is expended on herself, the remainder is held as a trust for unfortunate humanity. Even her entertainments are of a modest character—in striking contrast and rebuke to the lavish expenditures of her millionaire friends and neighbours for an evening's selfish pleasure—while her fashionable visits are few and far between. She finds far greater happiness in entertaining at her town or country house a group of the working girls in whom she takes a keen interest.

Early in life Miss Gould realised the responsibility of properly administering the millions left her by her father, Jay Gould, a Wall Street financier. In order to equip herself thoroughly for the task, she took a law course at the University of New York. But she is so modest, and so dislikes publicity, that she refused to graduate with the rest of the class, as it would have meant an avalanche of newspaper notoriety.

The keynote of Miss Gould's giving is to render material help to the suffering, and spiritual assistance to the neglected classes. Her earliest charity was "Woody Crest," a palatial home for crippled and deformed children, in the grounds of her country house on the banks of the Hudson River. The children who are fortunate enough to enter this home are chosen, not because they are the most interesting, but because they are the most neglected and forlorn. On them Miss Gould lavishes all that wealth and a loving heart can devise. The wide sloping lawns, overlooking the beautiful river, and studded with shrubs and trees and flowers, form a veritable fairyland into which some poor crippled tenement child is suddenly introduced by this Lady Bountiful.

For years Miss Gould supported two cots in a babies' shelter in New York, and with her annual cheque she always sent these instructions: "Please reserve the cots for the two most uninteresting babies."

It was at the outbreak of the Spanish-American war that Miss Gould first came into national and international prominence through her gift of £20,000 to the American government. A little later this was followed by a gift of £5,000 to the Woman's National Relief Association. In that compaign Miss Gould was the Florence Nightingale of America. She visited the sick and wounded soldiers, giving them not only sympathy and love, but material and spiritual nourishment. To every soldier who enlisted, she presented a little pocket Testament to carry with him wheresoever he might go; and it is said she still keeps up the custom of giving this spiritual guide book to every soldier who enters the United States Army.

When she personally talked with the lads of the army, in the Philippines or in the States, it was frequently her custom to present them with a handsome Testament bound in morocco leather. To a friend of mine

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she gave one of these tokens. My friend carried the Testament for years until it was almost worn out, and he holds it as one of his most precious possessions.

Perhaps Miss Gould's crowning sacrifice for the soldiers was at the close of the war, when she turned both her town and country houses into hospitals, where hundreds of sick and wounded soldiers were cared for far more comfortably than they could have been in extemporised tent hospitals.

But the sailor as well as the soldier has a warm place in Miss Gould's heart. Not long since she gave £80,000 for the establishment of a great sailors' home at the Brooklyn Navy Yard. An interesting and characteristic story is told of how she became interested in that project. A young man named Frank Smith, a member of the Y.M.C.A., was deeply impressed with the idea of doing something for the great number of sailors who are continually ashore at the Brooklyn Navy Yard without friends or anything to do. He realised how easily such men fell into the snares laid for them on every hand.

In a small way he began a club for helping the men. When Miss Gould heard of it she went at once to the Navy Yard to see what was being done. The same day she wrote a cheque which laid the foundation of the Sailor's Institute, which now affords a home and club for thousands of blue-jackets. The big institution consists of an hotel with nearly one hundred beds, a restaurant, a library, recreation rooms, savings bank, etc. No one will ever know how many hundreds of sailors have been saved from physical and spiritual ruin by that home for the homeless.

As a rule Miss Gould does not attempt to answer the begging letters that come to her through the post. Doubtless very few of them get farther than one of her secretaries and the waste-paper basket. It is estimated that she receives about one hundred begging letters a day. She is asked to buy vessels for old sea-captains, raise mortgages on western farms, train the voices of embryo Pattis, educate young men to become clergymen, and to endow all kinds of religious and philanthropic institutions. One week the total amount asked for in begging letters reached the neat sum of £500,000; the average weekly total is £30,000.

When Miss Gould goes for a few weeks each year to her rustic home at Roxbury, New York, amid the Catskill Mountains, one may obtain the clearest view of the personality of this young woman who is giving her life for the service of others. There one sees how her genuine love for all classes in the little village makes social barriers disappear; while the affection in which she is held amounts almost to reverence. In more than one respect she is the "little mother" of the hamlet.

The day Miss Gould arrives at "Kirkside," her home in Roxbury, is the great event of the summer season. She is the children's friend, and never fails to give several parties for them during the summer, in addition to special horseback and automobile rides, and other good times of divers sorts. She seems to have the same happy faculty for entertaining children that was possessed by the late Henry Drummond.

Nor are the small lads of the village neglected. When they wanted base-ball uniforms like the grown-up team and were in perplexity about finances, somehow or other Miss Gould learned of their difficulty, and quickly the uniforms were theirs. For the schoolboys she has built a neat club-house, on the door of which is the following notice:

"This club and its grounds are intended for the use of boys of school-age or who are attending the school of Roxbury. They will be open for the use of boys daily, except Sunday, from 8 a.m. to 12 noon, and from 1 to 6 p.m. On Sunday and during school hours they will not be open. The use of profane or improper language is obsolutely prohibited on the premises.

"(Signed) H. M. GOULD."

She seems not to have forgotten any class in the hamlet. In order that the school may be first-class and prepare the young men and women for college, she pays the expenses of an extra teacher.

Miss Gould's love for Roxbury and its people arises from the fact that there her father and mother were married, and that the birthplace of her father, Jay Gould, was only a mile or two from the town. In memory of the parents the Gould children have erected the "Gould Memorial Church," a beautiful granite structure, which will endure for generations to come. The home where her father and mother were married has been purchased by the village Lady Bountiful and transformed into a circulating library.

Miss Gould's modesty in bestowing her gifts is illustrated by an incident related by a recent visitor to Roxbury. One day she called at the house where her father was born, and asked for a bowl of bread and milk. Miss Gould seemed to relish this simple repast, conversing pleasantly meantime with the farmer's wife. As she left the house she said nothing about paying for the dish, but a little later the hostess picked up the bread plate, and found underneath it a bank-note.

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Everywhere Miss Gould displays the same innate modesty and desire to avoid display. Regarding her church attendance the same visitor says:

"When Miss Gould attends the Memorial Church and occupies her pew, well towards the front, it is done with the modesty of a country maiden. Her contribution is always folded just as small as possible, so as not to attract attention among the others on the plate."

One of the most beautiful characteristics of the "uncrowned queen" is that, though possessing such great wealth, and the admiration of the entire American nation, she thinks naught of the trappings of social distinction. She loves humanity so unselfishly that she seems to enjoy giving pleasure to the poor and lowly far more than mingling in the society of the rich and high-born. When she once gave a tea party at "Kirkside," to furnish a room at the Brooklyn Sailors' Institute, none of the guests were made more welcome than the farmers and their wives, who drove in from the surrounding district. One day each week during her stay in the mountain town she is "at home" to all who wish to call, and the farmer's wives are given as cordial a reception as the handsomely gowned women from the aristocratic summer resorts near by.

It is said that during the winter, while in residence in New York City, Miss Gould not infrequently slips away from her house in Fifth Avenue, and goes over to the Home for Friendless Children, where she plays games with the little tots until their eyes fairly shine with delight.

GEORGE T. B. DAVIS.

THE FARNINGHAM ORPHANAGES

INDIAN readers may like to read something about orphanages in England. Here is a description of such orphanages in two villages on the little Kentish hills, where tiny boys are brought from city slums and poverty-dogged dwellings to find a new life and prospect awaiting them. There is no finer work being carried on in England. Here is something that not only alleviates present want or necessity, but is building up for the future, is providing part of the foundation of true statesmanship—and that is a body of sound, healthy, capable, and happy citizens.

In the midst of beautiful Kent, perched on a hill, you come to these charming village Homes, each of which is always sheltering 500 orphan, fatherless, and destitute little lads. You find yourself looking into far distances, to the waving lines of hills beyond, and if you have come out from London, and still have the noise of it in your ears, you envy the happy children of this quiet countryside. You think of the white-blossomed orchards you have passed on the way up, of the quiet fields and cottages, of the restful sweetness in the very air, and you say, "These boys are unusually fortunate to live in such surroundings." You walk about the gardens—the beds are rich in hyacinth and wallflower; the rooms are bright with the spring sunshine, shouts of boyhood come from the playing field: occasionally the odour of a coming dinner greets you; and behind all is the remembrance of those far different conditions from which so many of the boys have come.

I heard the histories of several of these boys—too sad, most of them, to be recorded here. But perhaps, in passing, I might recall that of one sturdy lad whose time is nearly up, and who will soon be earning his own living on a farm in England. This is the story told by the lady through whose influence the lad came under the care of the Homes.

"One evening," she says, "I was paying some visits, and called on an idle, dissolute man whose children I knew from repute had very little care bestowed on them. On entering the single room in which the father, the boy, and three girls lived, I saw lying on an old mattress in the corner of this 'Home,' with two broken chairs so placed as to keep it from crawling about the floor, a tiny child, looking more like a starved monkey than anything human. My heart went out towards the little thing, and I instinctively crossed the room to take it in my arms. At this the child stretched out its thin hands towards me, but before I could reach it, the man cried out, 'Don't! Don't touch it! It has never been in a woman's arms; if you start nursing it there will be no end to the trouble it will give."

In the light of such a record as this, you do not envy any more; you are simply grateful for the energy that planned and carried

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out this scheme of rescue work, and for the generous hearts that made it possible.

The Home in which these boys are prepared for the life of their maturer years consists of six to a dozen houses; not huge, dull barracks, but just the kind of villa residences that make auctioneers untruthfully eloquent. Each house is in the care of a "mother" or "father and mother." These are the common terms used by the boys themselves, and used deliberately, for it is no formal master or matron who is at the head of things. The "father" may be a master baker, or carpenter, or gardener; but he is only that out of the house. In the house he is the nearest friend, adviser, comrade that most of the boys have known; he is what they mean by "father." The "mother" is the manager of household affairs, directing the servant attached to each house. But she is more than that, or she would not earn her title. She is the sympathiser, the refuge of those in trouble, the womanly heart that each boy feels to belong to him—for the boy is only the little man, after all. In everything this home influence is always around the boys, so that the feeling of a large school—one's first thought of such an institution—quickly fades away altogether. Each house is a separate "home," and every member of it is just a member of a family, the boy of fourteen having grown up in it, and having learned his relations and duties to his companions, first to those older than himself, then to those younger and weaker. And what a pride they take in their homes! Order and cleanliness seem the nature of the settlements, and those of us who have met with disorder in some people's studies or workshops find an object lesson in the cobbler's shop or the playroom at Farningham or Swanley.

Watching the boys out of doors would soon make you imagine that the problem of the land was being settled before your eyes. If English farmers had helpers like these always at hand there would be little complaint of labour, for here you have brains developing with the hands. This directed village life, with clean fine order running through in just the same measure in and out of the house, is a complete preparation for all-round usefulness in manhood. Here are the very men for whom the colonies are always calling. The boy who has gone through the whole work of a house with the smile those boys seem to wear continually, and who has then been taught to turn his hand to branch after branch of practical and generally wage-earning work, is the boy to fall on his feet in the colonies. He can handle most of the tools of the carpenter's bench: he has probably been taught to set up type in the printing office; he may have turned out some of that excellent bread (brown as well as white) that appears on the tables; he has used hammer and bradawl in the shoemaking shop; he has had a hand in the garden, and may even know how to prune that marvellous Niphetos rose that dangles a score of wondrous blooms above your head. And he is not a boy at all if the pigs and fowls, the horses and the cows, fail to attract and teach him something of their ways. I saw "Canada" standing out in large type on the forehead of the boy who calmly sat down to milk one of the cows, so thoroughly was he at home in his task.

Of course, it is not all work at the Homes, and if you want to see the real natural boy, if you are ambitious of being saluted by military-looking boys—even though they salute you with a scrubbing-brush—if, indeed, you wish to wander round and see the place off guard, then go to Swanley or Farningham some Saturday afternoon. There are playing fields of which no school would be ashamed, and many would envy, while every house has its own smaller ground, as well as its indoor playroom.

Farningham is rich in having a large recreation room, with bagatelle, chess, draughts, and dominoes, and tables for those who prefer to read. Nor would I say for certain that the music and the singing are not part of the play. The vigour and go of the choir as I heard it led by the Swanley superintendent could only be explained on the assumption that the singers were enjoying the performance quite as much as the listeners. The Farningham military band has its useful side: it has given bandsmen to twenty-five British military bands; it has supplied four band masters; and yet the members look the sort of boys to take it all as play.

It was not to a flash of philanthropy the King and Queen, as Prince and Princess of Wales, set the seal of their approval when they opened the Homes in 1866. It was a serious attempt to cope with a great evil in a great way, and thousands of boys now bless the men and women who have made the venture possible. The King himself has 150 servants from the Home. They are in his army or navy, and one at least of them wears the V. C.

And how are these homes kept going? Sometimes the committee have been sore pressed for want of funds, hardly knowing

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where the next week's maintenance would come from; but God, in answer to the prayers of His people, has greatly blessed the work from the very first. Staunch friends of all denominations have rallied round the committee in times of crisis, giving generously of their substance, and now, after many years of struggle, the whole of the debt which formerly encumbered the Homes has been removed.

What is needed is an income of about £15,000 to carry on the work of the Institution, to maintain things simply as they are. But no one seeing the Homes, and recognising the spirit of the work done there, could fail to admit the need for extension. It will be remembered that at the Annual Festival Dinner held last April, Sir Christopher Furness, M.P., who presided, announced that he was prepared to build and equip an additional house in the Swanley Home if the Committee agreed to use it for the purpose of training little lads for our mercantile marine. This offer the Committee eagerly accepted, and the foundation stone was shortly afterwards laid by Lady Furness. But this does not yet complete the requirements of Swanley alone. A swimming-bath is also wanted; and instead of having to hold services in a schoolroom, Swanley naturally hopes some day to have a chapel of its own.

"Homes for Little Boys"—and some are little indeed, too small to find a home elsewhere. The baby of each home seemed generally to be four years old. And the sole conditions of eligibility are—for Farningham—that the children be destitute, or homeless, or in danger of becoming criminals, or are disqualified for entering other asylums; and for Swanley, that the children be either fatherless or entirely orphaned.

EDGAR DAPLYN.

Editor's Note.—India is the home of famines, in which thousands of children are orphaned. One of the most widespread of these national calamities has overtaken the land. Shall we not have our orphanages, with "fathers" and "mothers" of orphans taking care of them? We know there are some but there ought to be many times more.

NOTES

The "break-down" of nationalism.

Some people are jubilant at the supposed break-down of nationalism. If by nationalism is meant the "Extreme Party," this is absurd. Nationalism is not a political party, engaged in playing one side of a game, in carrying out a definite limited programme, whether by tricks or otherwise. Nationalism, on the contrary, is a great idea, to which a nation, amidst victory and defeat alike, is striving more and more to surrender itself. Not yet do we understand fully all that this idea demands of us. But so soon as we understand, thinks any that it shall be seen to demand in vain? A political party may be outflanked for a moment. The only answer will be the rolling-up to the same point, of countless thousands more to-morrow, and their march onward, resistless and unfaltering to the goal. Differences of political party are merely so many mannerisms to people like those of India, determined to become a nation. Differences of religious creed have no more power to disunite us than different shades of complexion. Have we not one interest? Are we not engaged in one struggle? Are we not children of a single immense civilisation, cradled in one sacred land? Nor is there any possible negation that could be offered to us. Not only from India proper, but from Burmah and Ceylon also, the cry has gone forth "Our home is one! Our part is one! Great and united shall be our future also!" Like the rising of the ocean in flood, to overwhelm a continent, is such an impulse felt by millions of men. As well try to shut out the tidal wave by a rampart built of its own sea-shells as oppose to such an impulse any force that is known to man. Partition and sub-partition will but spread the area of the idea. Never in the history of the world has there been committed any aggression that did not end in raising up a greater force of resistance, to overwhelm it. We have to remember that in the great *Máyá* of the Universe, the era of Indian Nationality is already existent. We have but to manifest that which stands already created. In the trumpet-tones of the Bhagawad Gita, it is for the men of the present generation in India to "arise and be an apparent cause!"

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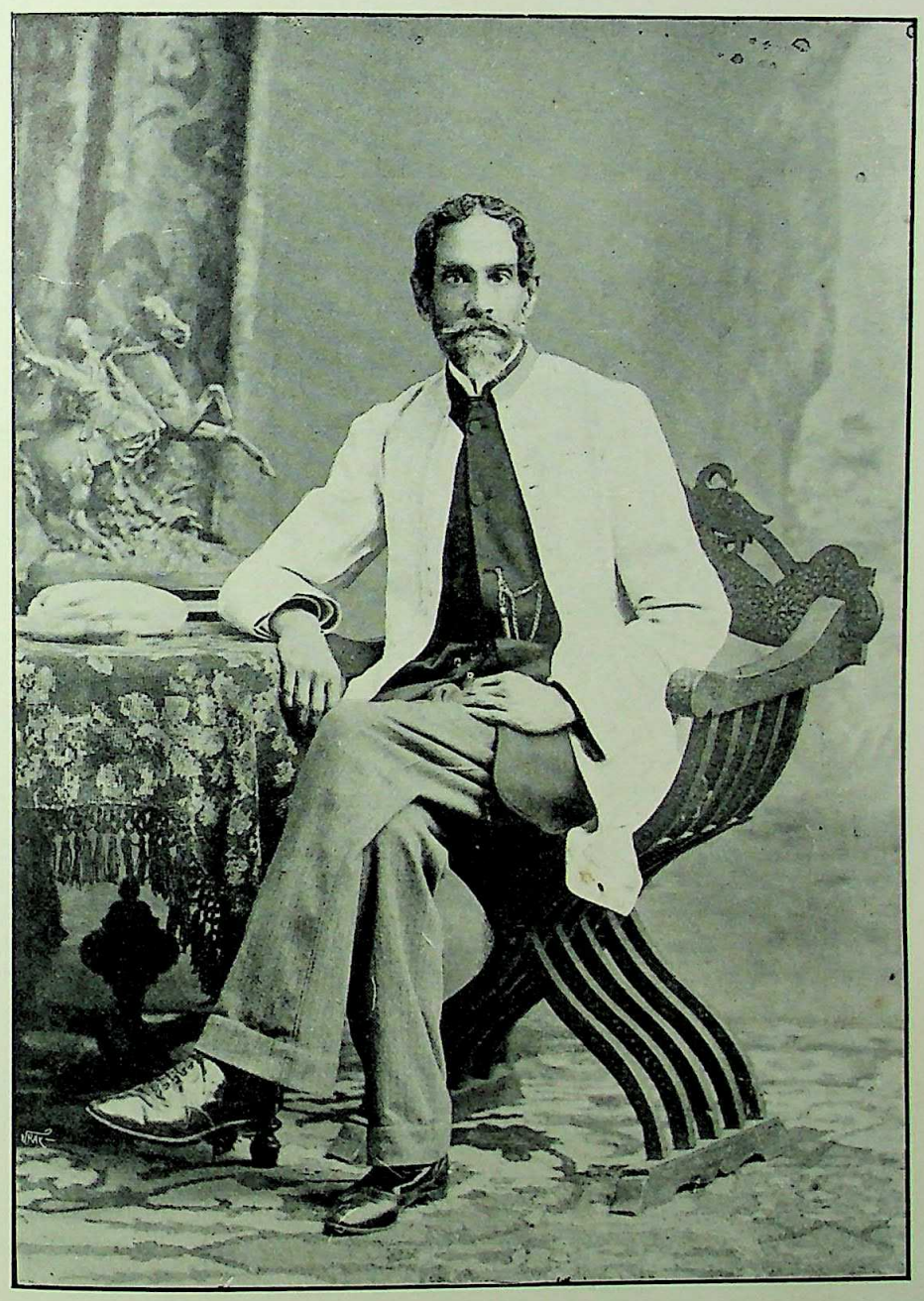

SATYENDRANATH TAGORE, I.C.S. (RETIRED),

President of the Surat Theistic Conference.

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The Social aspects of the development of Railways.

A subject which we commend to the attention and criticism of the younger generation amongst us is that of the social aspects of the development of railways. One who has seen anything of the large Mahratta encampments which grow up along the line of the Bengal-Nagpur railway, for instance, will have found much food for thought. It would be worth while to compare the ancient methods of organising or constituting a village—what are the authorities or *shastras* which deal with this and describe it?—with those chance-born dumping grounds of humanity, so to speak, which we know as Kharagpur or Adra, for instance. The modern nucleus of the future township is as unconsecrate as absence of blessedness can make it. Was the earth blest on which these homes are built? Why, if it was, so few leafy trees, such nakedness of gracious fruit and blossom? One has seen congeries of human habitations threaded on the track of the railway line, which might have been ash-heaps transported intact from the black country about Manchester or Birmingham. Little bits of those artisan's hells that Europe loves to build, with their cinder-heap and their treelessness and their rectantangular plans, and their doling out of the sky and dwelling space by the inch put bodily down, on the bosom of our spacious kindly mother-land, a sight to make devils laugh and angels weep. At best, and this not in every case, there will be a free library and reading room here, or a railway institute. No idealism of place. No waste of energy in civic enthusiasm. No meandering road with its shady corners. No running waters or lotus-starred pool with bathing-stairs and arch. No temple, no mosque, no flowers, no garden. Nothing but the grime and harshness of Lancashire, with, added, the furnace-like heat of the Indian plains.

Yet the Mind of Man is here! These human beings, crowded into the few feet of space which constitute the living room and kitchen of the employes' family, are *gentlefolk*, are *educated*. Think of this. It is significant. Your gentleman is, on the surface, refined and gentle and reserved. He shrinks, in all probability, from offering rude aggression or retaliation. Wait yet a while. All this is on the surface only. Deep within him he has reserves of latent energy, latent experience. The gentleman is the social leader. He is the combiner. He is the born organiser. He is the THINKER, and there is no artillery to compare with the human brain, no explosive like THOUGHT. Not for ever will the gentleman toil and moil tending another man's furnaces. The day will yet dawn when the scale shall fall from his eyes, and he will look out with seeing eyes upon the Present. Then let those who have taken advantage of his gentleness beware. That same power that enabled him thus to herd together patiently in kitchens and cubicles in the long day before his patience was exhausted, that same power that enabled him there to live decently and self-respectingly, with all the conditions against him, will be with him still in his hour of awakening; will enable him to face the hardships of political struggles of various kinds, will stand by him while he toils at midnight over plan and problem, over the secrets of knowledge, and the programmes of parties. Beware lest the gentlest become the fiercest, lest patience be turned into remorselessnsss, lest the thunderbolt in its fall destroy first those who mocked at its coming.

One feature of strength very obviously present in the general godlessness and factory-smoke of the railroad-junction man-warren is the demonstration which it forces on our attention, of the essential characteristics and community of characteristics, of various races in India. Mahrattas from all corners of Maharashtra will meet here, stripped of the local colour of their various homes and realise that they are one, recognisably one, evidently one. So also with the Bengali, or the Telugu, or the Panjabi. All the accustomed poetry of home and village are gone, yet there is no lack of social cohesion, no difficulty in division of feminine labour, no noticeable difference of feminine or social opinion. Under such circumstances, the real unity of Indian populations becomes conspicuous. And the provincial characteristics and functions of various parts of the Indian nation are clearly exhibited.

Few subjects more significant or more suggestive offer themselves to the historian of contemporary India.

The "Santi Parva" a store house of political wisdom.

The articles on "Limited Monarchy in ancient India" and "the Hindu idea of royal responsibility" published in our last October and December numbers must have revealed to our readers the storehouse of political wisdom contained in the *Santi Parva* of the Mahabharata. Rightly understood that *Parva* contains much that may prove the political salvation of India. If the speculations about the date of the Mahabharata published in the

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last July number of this review ("Some problems for Indian research") are correct, then we may take the *Santi Parva* as a document published in or about the year 400 A.D. by express royal command. This gives it an added seriousness and authenticity. There seems every reason to believe that India was ruled, from the throne of the Guptas, by a political intuition as sound, as clear, and as determinately democratic as anything modern times have known. This outlook, this great progressive policy of the Guptas, has been thwarted twice, once by the Hun incursions, which broke up their Empire (A.D. 455 to 528), and once later, by the turmoils inseparable from the Musalman invasions. But the modern mind is able to return upon all this, and to recover effectively the thread thus broken. In doing so, no material could be more valuable to us than that contained in the *Santi Parva*:—— for it contains the standards by which a centralised Indian Government was contented to be judged. These were the political and economic ideals which it laboured to popularise. These were not, it is true, embodied in formally passed acts of a legislative body. But they had attained the sanctity and binding form of custom. And custom is a far stronger guarantee for the people's rights than acts of parliament. Custom is a mesh from which no mind can emancipate itself. The emperor obeys it as blindly as the peasant.

Is the Indian Sepoy an ill-used person?

The native troops are looked upon as hired mercenaries, and so it has been the policy not to deal with them fairly. Sir John Lawrence, Brigadier-General Chamberlain and Col. Edwardes wrote:—

"A mercenary army is a keen and effective weapon, but it is only safe in a tight and determined grasp."*

It is this policy which has dictated all those measures calculated to keep the mercenary native army "in a tight and determined grasp."

Major F. Williams, Superintendent of Police, North-Western Provinces, gave it as his opinion that

"The native soldier, instead of being allowed to turn up his nose at the bare idea of labor, infinitely less derogatory than the low toil he readily undertakes for himself at home, should be fully employed, *the time now wasted in cooking, eating, and concocting mutiny and revolt, should be devoted to making him perfect in the art of applying his labor.*

"Were this done the mass of the native troops would be effectually kept out of mischief, the British Indian army would cease to be the only one which does not strengthen its positions by entrenchments, and Government would have for half the hire of common coolies the services of fifty, sixty, or seventy thousand skilled laborers to reduce the heavy expenditure for public works."

Put in plain language, the words italicised above, mean that a native sepoy should not be given sufficient time for preparing, cooking, eating and digesting his food and that he should be overworked. Is not this advice of Major Williams carried out to the very letter in many an Indian Regiment?

Perhaps it is also acting on Major William's advice that the native soldiers are now made to build their lines, which work legitimately belongs to coolies and other laborers. This is against the opinions of such distinguished officers as Sir John Lawrence, Brigadier-General Chamberlain and Colonel Edwardes, who answering the question,

"Has the strength of the native infantry ever been so great in times of peace, that it might have been in part employed otherwise than on mere military duties?"

said:—

"As far as numbers were concerned, no doubt there were many available for other than military employment; *but it would have been against the prejudices of the sepoys to do anything but militarg duty.*"

The next question

"Would it have been practicable to employ the troops upon public works?"

was answered by them:

"No, the men would have mutinied. In time of war they will throw up field works; but even then they do not like it."

Brigadier Coke also was of the same opinion. For he said:

"Native troops should not be employed for any but legitimate purposes. * * It will not do in my opinion, to work native troops at road making or other public works, * * * * with the average calls for service of the last 20 years, I am averse to employing soldiers as laborers except on service. * * * *

"If the late Bengal army had been ordered to labor at the public works I think they would have mutinied, and I do not consider it desirable to employ the army on the public work." * * *

In spite of the opinions of such experienced officers as Lawrence, Chamberlain, Edwardes and Coke, an experiment is being tried by the present military authorities, the consequences of which remain yet to be seen.

It is sad to think how the present generation of Indian military men have forgotten the sound advice of Sir John Malcolm:—

"It is by treating the sepoys with kindness and consideration, by stimulating their pride, and by attending, in the most minute manner, to their feeling

* P. 20 of "Papers connected with the Re-organization of the army in India." 1859.

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and prejudices, that we can command, as has been well observed, 'their lives through the medium of their affection'; and so long as we can, by these means, preserve the fidelity and attachment of that proportion of the population of our immense possessions in the East, which we arm to defend the remainder, our Empire may be considered as secure."*

Mr. Morley and "Impatient Idealists."

Mr. Morley in his Arbroath speech indulged in a cheap sneer at impatient idealists. In view of this pronouncement, it becomes interesting to consider what were the views expressed, in one of his own books, on idealism in politics, in the sense of imaginative grasp of and devotion to principles. In the very first chapter of his celebrated essay *On Compromise*, written so long ago as 1877, Mr. Morley deplores that 'inveterate national characteristic' of the English people—'a profound distrust of all general principles.' He adds—

When principle is held in contempt, or banished to the far dreamland of the philosopher and the student, with an affectation of reverence that in a materialistic age is in truth the most overweening kind of contempt, this only means that men are thinking much of the interests of to-day, and little of the more ample interests of the many days to come. It means that the conditions of the time are unfriendly to the penetration and the breadth of vision which disclose to us the whole range of consequences that follow on certain kinds of action or opinion, and unfavourable to the intrepidity and disinterestedness which make us willing to sacrifice our own present ease or near convenience, in the hope of securing higher advantages for others or for ourselves in the future?

Mr. Morley is too much of a philosopher not to know that such a lofty adherence to political principles cannot be expected of the multitude. But here is his pregnant answer:—

What is important is the mind and attitude, not of the ordinary man, but of those who should be extraordinary. The decisive sign of the elevation of a nation's life is to be sought among those who lead or ought to lead. The test of the health of a people is to be found in the utterances of those who are its spokesmen, and in the action of those whom it accepts or chooses to be its chiefs. We have to look to the magnitude of the issues and the height of the interests which engage its foremost spirits. What are the best men in a country striving for? And is the struggle pursued intrepidly and with a sense of its size and amplitude, or with creeping foot and blinking eye? The answer to these questions is the answer to the other question, whether the best men in the country are small or great?

The last lines of the last chapter of the book strike the same high note:—

A principle, if it be sound, represents one of the larger expediencies. To abandon that for the sake of some seeming expediency of the hour, is to sacrifice the greater good for the less, on no more creditable ground than that the less is nearer. It is better to wait, and to defer the realisation of our ideas until we can realise them fully, than to defraud the future by truncating them, if truncate them we must, in order to secure a partial triumph for them in the immediate present. It is better to bear the burden of impracticableness, than to stifle conviction and to pare away principle until it becomes mere hollowness and triviality. What is the sense, and what is the morality, of postponing the wider utility to the narrower? Nothing is so sure to impoverish an epoch, to deprive conduct of nobleness, and character of elevation.

Because Indians are not satisfied with Mr. Morley's small reforms, which are often the opposite of reforms, Mr. Morley places them in the same category with those who cry for the moon. But in the same book, referring to the French saying that small reforms are the worst enemies of great reforms, Mr. Morley observes that in a sense this is profoundly true, in two ways:—

(1) 'A small and temporary improvement may really be the worst enemy of a great and permanent improvement, unless the first is made on the lines and in the direction of the second. And so it may, if it be successfully palmed off upon a society as actually being the second.' (2) 'In a different way the second possible evil of a small reform may be equally mischievous—where the small reform is represented as settling the question. The mischief here is not that it takes us out of the progressive course ..... but that it sets men's minds in a posture of contentment, which is not justified by the amount of what has been done, and which makes it all the harder to arouse them to new effort when the inevitable time arrives'.

The theoretic ideas which give the creed of Liberalism whatever life and consistency it has, are thus summoned up by Mr. Morley, now the arch-priest of the doctrine of settled facts and of the representation of privileged classes:—

Such ideas are these: That the conditions of the social union are not a mystery, only to be touched by a miracle, but the results of explicable causes, and susceptible of constant modification: that the thoughts of wise and patriotic men should be perpetually turned towards the improvement of these conditions in every direction: that contented acquiescence in the ordering that has come down to us from the past is selfish and anti-social, because amid the ceaseless change that is inevitable in a growing organism, the institutions of the past demand progressive readaptations: that such improvements are most likely to be secured in the greatest abundance by limiting the sphere of authority, extending that of free individuality, and steadily striving after the bestowal, and so far as the nature of things will ever permit it, of equality of opportunity: that while there is dignity in ancestry, a modern society is only safe in proportion as it summons capacity to its public counsels and enterprises: that such a society to endure must progress: that progress on its political

* Appendix (B): p. 338, to Report from Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company.

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side means more than anything else the substitution of Justice as a governing idea, instead of Privilege, and that the best guarantee for justice in public dealings is the participation in their own government of the people most likely to suffer from injustice.

And Mr. Morley concludes:—

If those who use the watch-words of Liberalism were to return upon its principles, instead of dwelling exclusively on practical compromises, the tone of public life would be immeasurably raised,

If first principles do not lose their virtue east of Suez, may we not say that it is indeed a strange irony of fate that makes it necessary for us to remind the propounder of these noble truths, expressed in language of so much dignity and beauty, that he has violated them in almost every one of his public acts since he became the Secretary of State for India? The transformation of Dr. Jekyll of Robert Louis Stevenson's famous story was not more complete than that of Morley, the political philosopher, and his entire change of front when called upon to practise what he has so eloquently preached, furnishes a most remarkable, though infinitely sad, illustration of the limitations of human nature.

Indian honesty in trade.

Mr. Meredith Townsend bears the following testimony to Indian honesty in trade:—

"I myself received for ten years thousands of native hoondees or cheques every year, scraps of tissue paper covered with unknown characters. I never knew one dishonored. I once asked the manager of the greatest European bank, who I knew was making great remittances in native cheques to Bombay, if he were not occasionally afraid of such paper. No more, he said, than I am afraid of Bank of England notes! I may add that Asiatic bankers seem to have defeated forgery, and that they have devised a system of insurance for river traffic, called in India 'beema,' which works excellently well." [Meredith Townsend's *Asia and Europe* P. 8].

Passive resistance by Indians.

Mr. Meredith Townsend speaks thus of the possibilities of strikes and passive resistance by Indians:—

"There are no white servants, not even grooms, no white policemen, no white postmen, no white anything. If the brown men struck for a week, the Empire would collapse like a house of cards, and every ruling man would be a starving prisoner in his own house." [Meredith Townsend's *Asia and Europe*, P. 87].

Party Strife in India.

Among so-called political parties in India that show any activity in the positive direction to-day, there are two, called the Moderate and the Extreme party. The one has for its object the attainment of self-government for India on colonial lines, the other has set its heart upon absolute autonomy. The Moderates consider their ideal the only one that is within the range of practical politics; the Extemists, on the other hand, believe that it is absolute autonomy alone that can be called a perfect ideal, an ideal which alone can rouse the enthusiasm and secure the whole-souled devotion of patriots. As to methods of political struggle, the Moderates still believe in the sense of justice of the rulers of India, and therefore have faith in the efficacy of prayers, petitions and representations; but at the same time they have faith in self-help to a certain extent, and consider boycott and passive resistance as perfectly justifiable and "constitutional" political weapons under certain circumstances. The Extremists have no faith in what they call the "mendicant policy"; they think that our people should and can make themselves free by their own unaided efforts, and consider boycott and passive resistance as very efficacious means to that end. These are the broad lines of cleavage between the two parties as we understand them; for there are sub-sections among both Moderates and Extremists.

We have been deeply pained to observe the unseemly quarrels between the two parties in various places in India. In our opinion, the colonial form of self-government does not stand in the way of the ultimate attainment of complete autonomy; nor are boycott and passive resistance practicable or appropriate weapons of everyday political warfare; though in every case where they are appropriate and effective, they should and must be used, our choice of methods and weapons being under any and all circumstances limited only by the supreme considerations of righteousness and effectiveness. Of course, those who are prevented by a sense of self-respect from addressing petitions to Government need not do so, provided they are thoroughly consistent in the position they take up; for we do think preferring appeals to the High Court against the decisions of a lower court *is* petitioning, *is* "mendicancy" as extremists understand it, and is certainly not self-help in their sense of the term. Applications for bail, too, must bear the stigma of mendicancy. If it be said that these are the legal rights of citizens, civic rights are equally the rights of Indian citizens, by charter, proclamation and act of parliament.

Such being our view of the case, and neither colonial nor absolute self-rule being *actually* the immediate objects for which party strife is going on, we think the two parties can

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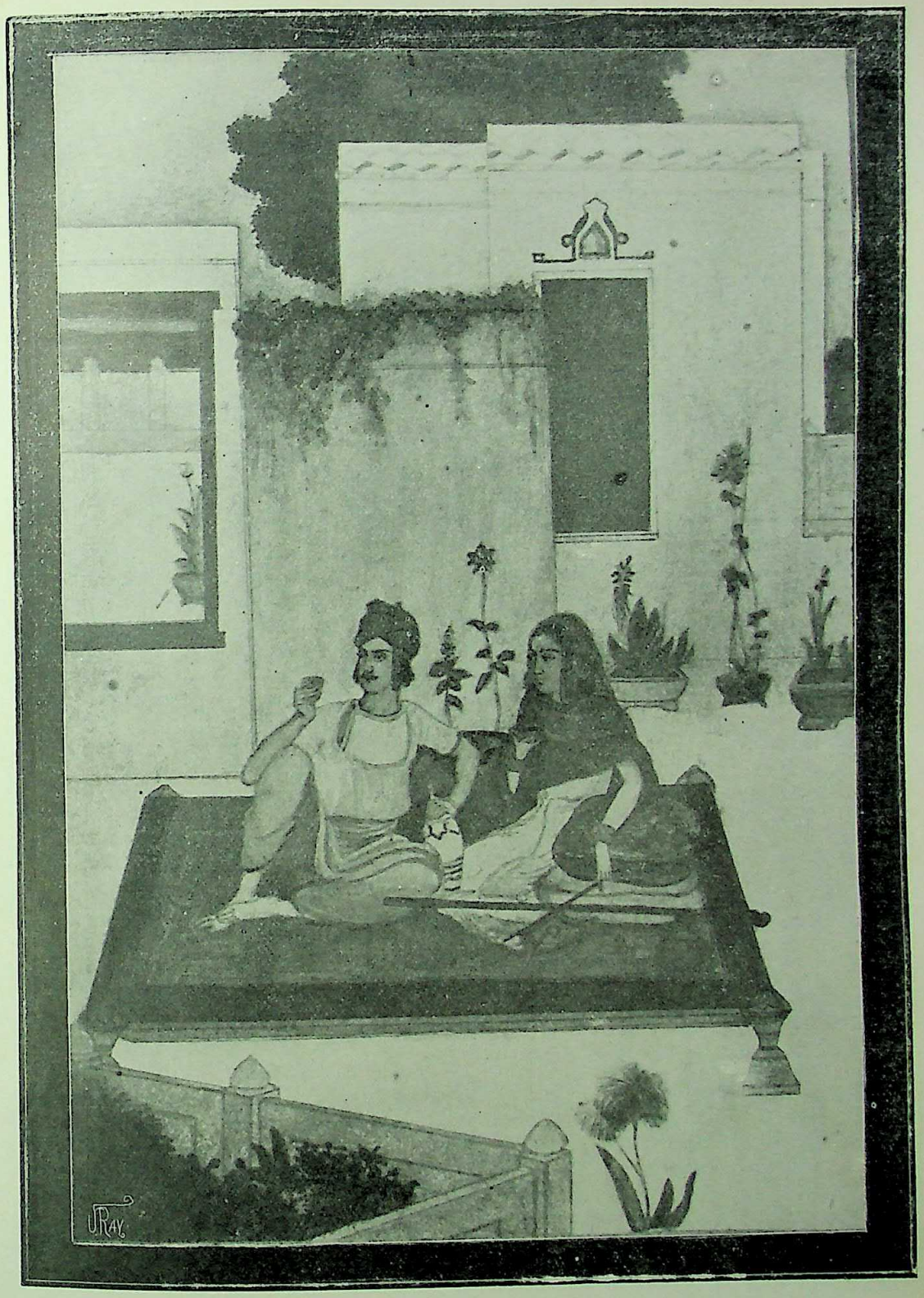

SUMMER.

Illustrating a passage in Kalidasa's "Ritusamhára" ("The Seasons.")

By Abanindranath Tagore.

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work harmoniously, if the leading men on both sides have only and really the good of India at heart, and not popular applause, leadership, notoriety, or worse. And when they must differ and discuss matters, it is certainly possible,—and highly desirable, too,—to do so like gentlemen. Though we have an earnest desire for perfect political freedom, though we do not believe that any nation can have either the power or the unselfishness to make another nation subject to it free, though we believe liberty can only be won, but never granted, we are disposed to be friendly to all who demand and work for more political freedom for India, though they may not at present be willing to go as far as we want them to.

Extremists are disinclined to accept the nomination of the Hon'ble Dr. Rash Bihari Ghose to the Presidentship of the Surat National Congress. They demand that Lala Lajpat Rai should be chosen instead. Our view is that according to both rule and precedent Dr. Ghose's nomination has been quite correct, and he is as worthy of the office as many, if not most past Congress Presidents. It should, therefore, be treated as a "settled fact," an expression which we use deliberately, in spite of its unsavory associations. As for his selection being unanimous or not, we do not think unanimity was secured or even insisted upon in the case of all former Presidents; nor can it be said that the election of Lala Lajpat Rai *this year* will be unanimous. Lala Lajpat Rai is undoubtedly one of the very worthiest men among our workers; but as Dr. Ghose has already been nominated, and as the Lala's own deportation will be one of the burning topics for discussion at the Surat Congress, he should not be elected to preside over the deliberation of the Congress to be held in December, 1907. If we are not mistaken, the Lala himself does not want the Presidentship this year.*

Some Moderates are extremely anxious that none but pronounced Moderates should ever be elected to the presidential chair. This is a rather unfair desire. The position taken up by the London correspondent of the Lucknow *Advocate*, who is not a supporter of Extremist politics, seems to us very fair and reasonable. He discusses the claims of Mr. Tilak, but the line of argument adopted in his case is applicable to the case of other Extremist leaders as well. Says he :—

* Since the above was in type the Lala has written to the papers dissociating himself from the agitation started for securing his nomination.

We sincerely hope that the Presidentship of the Congress will give rise to no further difficulties. For my own part, and I think I speak for others in this country, too, I see no reason why a representative man like Mr. Tilak should be permanently excluded from the chair. His views are certainly not mine nor are they the views of any considerable section of the Congress, but it ought not to be forgotten that the Congress is a comprehensive body and that within its ranks there is room for all classes, castes, races, religions and parties, so long as they are in agreement with the basic principles of the movement. Mr. Tilak may be an extremist, but the fact of his election to the chair would not commit the Congress to his views. The deliberate opinions of the Congress are only declared through its resolutions, which need not embody the views of any individual member, whatever his temporary position may be. Moderate as I am, I do not think that the inclusion of one Extremist in the long roll of the Presidents would damn or discredit the Congress movement.

In justice to Mr. Tilak it should be remembered that he has not personally pushed his candidature. He must not be held responsible for the excesses of some of his admirers who, if they only knew it, are largely responsible for keeping him out of the chair. I hope no one will misunderstand me. The election of Mr. Tilak this year, and at such a delicate juncture, would be impolitic and undesirable; but no true Nationalist, I think, ought to assent to the proposition that he should be permanent y boycotted and kept out of a position which his great ability and his manifest sincerity clearly entitle him to fill at no distant date.

Perhaps Mr. Tilak's recent writings and activities in connection with the Presidentship of the Surat Congress are not strengthening his claims to the presidential chair in some future year.

We do wish every individual and each party would give up mutual recrimination and do some positive work.

The price Russia has paid for liberty.

The London correspondent of the *Panjabee* writes :—

On the occasion of the second anniversary of the Imperial manifesto opening a "constitutional" era in Russia, the "Tovaritsch" publishes the following figures showing, as it says, the price which the Russian people have paid during the last two years for that important document :—

Two thousand seven hundred and seventeen persons were sentenced to death, and 1,780 executed ; 3,873 persons were sentenced to hard labour in Siberia, 3,268 to an aggregate period of 29,523 years, and 605 for life ; 502 persons were banished to Siberia for life, 5,751 persons were sentenced to imprisonment for an aggregate period of 4,236 years, 2,586 have been locked up in houses of detention for an aggregate period of 4,136 years, 1,588 have been sent to disciplinary battalians for an aggregate period of 3,110 years, and 1,307 persons have been placed in fortresses for an aggate period of 1,680 years ; 978 newspapers and other periodicals have been suppressed, and 1,114 editors prosecuted ; 174 journals have besides been fined (since

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the dissolution of the second Duma) to the aggregate amount of £11,215. Altogether 18,274 persons have paid their penalty, which means on an average more than 761 persons per month, or over twenty-five persons per diem. Of course, all the above penalties have been imposed by the Courts ; the number of those who were killed in conflicts with the military and the police or from bombs, etc., is not counted.

Without discussing the methods of the Russian worshippers of liberty, we may say that they have proved that they are very earnest and sincere in their worship. Anglo-Indian and English detractors of Indian political agitators should note that our reddest extremists in India would cut a very very "moderate" figure in Russia.

The well-behaved British student.

We take the following from the *Empire* of Calcutta :—

Royal visits and "rags" appear to go together at Cambridge. There was another of these outbreaks of rowdyism on November 11, following the visit of the King and Queen of Spain. The police were taken somewhat unawares, and consequently a good deal of damage was done to public and private property before a check could be put upon the doings of the mobs of undergraduates and young townsmen.

Evidence that a preconceived plan was being followed is forthcoming in the fact that the "rag" began at the secluded backs of the colleges. Some palings were torn down at the back of the Public Orator's house, and with this wood as nucleus fuel for a bonfire the crowd proceeded, following the country boundary and avoiding the borough police, down Chestertonroad to Midsummer Common. Here a bonfire was started, and a raid was promptly made on adjoining property, where fences and other combustible material were torn down.

When the police had ended the affair the crowd proceeded to the backs of the colleges by way of Victoria avenue, smashing lamps as they went. More lamps were broken at the "backs," and some young saplings which had been planted by St. John's College were smashed. Extensive damage was done at the corner of Westroad, where some building operations are in progress at a private house. A great length of heavy fencing was pulled down and part of it carried away, though its weight prevented its being taken far.

Police and proctors charged among the crowd, and some of the constables were a good deal knocked about. Only one person was arrested, a youth of the name of Douglas Parish, who was ordered by the borough magistrates yesterday to pay a fine and damage amounting to 10s.

And the following from *India* :—

"The name of the University has been dragged in the mire," said the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University on Saturday last (November 9) when fining eight undergraduates for disorderly conduct in the streets and assaults on the police on the night of November 5.

He characterised the conduct of the delinquents as disgraceful, and made a strong appeal for better bahaviour. He had no inclination, he said, to be lenient to such a culpable body, and he was heartily ashamed of their conduct. Some of the defendants denied wilful assaults, pleading accidents or that they were due to rough pushing and hustling. All were found guilty. The Hon. Richard Chichester, University College, who admitted attempting to rescue a prisoner from the police, was fined £ 5 ; Mr. Frederick Cobb, Worcester College, was fined £ 3 ; Mr. Godfrey Clarke, Christ Church, Mr. Guy Bullock, New College, and Mr. Lionel Farrer, Hertford College, were fined £ 1 each ; and Mr. George Tyler, Oriel, Mr. Leith Ross, Balliol, and Mr. Gerald Maude, Oriel, were fined ten shillings each.

The London "Nation" says that these "rowdy undergraduates at Oxford" "admitted that they regarded the police as mere 'butts.'"

As regards active mischief, our students have always been far better behaved than these Western rowdies, and should always remain so. In these days of increasing physical culture, our young men should never forget that rowdyism is very far removed from heroism. Of course we are not advocating cowardly submission to insults.

Eastern and Western ideals of Women.

A writer in the *International Journal of Ethics*, herself a woman, writing on "The elevation of the college woman's ideal," says that it seemed to her "that it would be valuable to discuss the ideal woman with some college juniors and seniors, about seventy in number, and with that in view," one of the questions asked was—

"Which do you consider of the most importance : honesty, love of humanity, self-control, chastity or justice ?"

The writer's summing up of the answers given by the college women is as follows :—

"For the most important virtue, a little more than one third take honesty ; one fourth, love of humanity ; one sixth, chastity ; and one fifth self-control. One sixth consider dishonesty the greatest vice ; one third drunkenness ; one fifth, impurity of life or unchastity ; and one fifth, murder.

"It is interesting to notice how few of these students hold to the traditional idea that chastity is a more fundamental virtue for woman than love of humanity or honesty, and that only two out of the whole number chose justice."

Indian women "hold to the traditional idea that chastity" is the most fundamental virtue for women, and perhaps that is the view of Western women, too, for the most part.

Pandit Ram Sundar, the Passive Resister.

The province of Agra ought to be proud that it has produced the first Indian Passive Resister, and all India ought to be proud of him. In the Transvaal all Asiatics, and Indians among them ; are subjected to various kinds of ignominy and persecution and have been asked to get themselves registered by giving their finger impressions, etc., a method which

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PANDIT RAM SUNDAR,

The Transvaal Passive Resister.

THE INDIAN PRESS, ALLAHABAD.

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being used for the identification of criminals is justly considered degrading. Transvaal Indians have, therefore, refused to undergo this degradation, subjecting themselves thereby to all the terrors of the law and the risk of losing their all and being deported. Only a few hundreds out of 13,000 have so far registered themselves. Many of the former have since expressed regret for betraying the cause of their brethren and are leaving South Africa. These 13,000 Indians, living among strangers in a strange land, consisting of Hindus, Jains, Parsis, Christians and Musalmans, not educated, or, not highly educated at any rate for the most part, have shown a heroism and a power of standing shoulder to shoulder which ought to deepen our faith in our countrymen and breathe courage and hope into the hearts of the three hundred millions of stay-at-home Indians. When shall every one of us be conscious of our vast strength? We are extremely grateful to the Transvaal Indians for the much needed rousing from our dream of weakness. We should give them all the moral and other support that we can. Seeing that the Transvaal air develops such manhood as is possessed by the Indian emigrants, we should take steps to send more men there as free settlers.

Ram Sundar Pundit has been the first victim of the Transvaal Anti-Asiatic Act. We take the following particulars regarding him from *Indian Opinion* (November 16, 1907) of South Africa:—

On the 8th instant, the Pandit was arrested near the Court House, in Germiston, on his failure to produce a permit authorising him to reside in the Transvaal. He was immediately taken to the Police Station. Mr. Polak, the Assistant Hon. Secretary of the British Indian Association, journeyed to Germiston and interviewed the Pandit, who, in reply to questions, point blank refused to be bailed out. The gaol authorities expostulated with him and offered every possible facility for him to be released on bail, but the Pandit was obdurate, saying that he meant to suffer for his religion and his country. At the gaol he was treated with every consideration and, with the exception of one Constable, he informed the writer that he was very well treated. Every arrangement was made for his ablutions, etc. Food was taken to him by the Indian Committee at Germiston, but, as the Pandit would not take any cooked food, he lived during his incarceration on fruit and milk.

Telegrams poured in from everywhere congratulating him on the brave stand made by him and praying that he might receive courage sufficient to pass through the whole ordeal. Among these telegrams, were those from the Natal Indian Congress, the Anjuman Islam, the Memon Committee, Durban, the Hindu Dharma Sabha, the Surat Hindu Association, and many others.

A short sketch of the Pandit's life.—Mr. Ram Sundar Pandit, whose portrait we issue as a supplement, is over thirty years of age. He was born in Benares, his parents having followed the priestly vocation. The Pandit was educated at the Benares Sanskrit Pathshala, and holds a testimonial from the Pathshala. Nine years ago, he migrated to Natal, and took up the work of preaching, which he continued for seven years. He was also married in Natal and has two children—a son two-and-a-half years old and a daughter one year old. After the British occupation, and at the r quest of the Hindus in the Transvaal, the Pandit, on receving a temporary permit, came to the Transvaal. By his energy the dilapidated Hindu Temple at Germiston was renovated. It was at one time, owing to dissensions among the Tamil section, publicly sold, and the Pandit, having immediately collected subscriptions, bought it in. Ever since 1906 he has devoted much of his time to the Temple and to the religious wants of the Hindus at Germiston. He, like his brother-priest, Moulvi Ahmed Mukhtiar, has played a prominent part in the agitation against the Asiatic Act. He raised a corps of pickets, of whom he was the chief, at the time the Registration Office was in Germiston. The Moulvi, as he says unfortunately for himself, had his temporary permit extended before the agitation against the Act began to tell, whereas the Pandit's permit expired when the feeling against the Act was almost at its highest. The result was that, although there was a tacit understanding that all temporary permits held by Indian priests should be extended from time to time, the Pandit's permit was not so extended, because he would not comply with the Act and took a prominent part in the agitation. The Pandit, on the other hand, as has already been stated, feels he owes a duty to his congregation which is higher than his duty to comply with the order of the Government and has, therefore, felt constrained to disregard the orders issued by the Registrar of Asiatics.

Ram Sundar Pundit said [in court] that he was unable to comply with the order to leave the Colony because he considered it imperative not to leave his congregation and temple erected by him. In opposing the Act he was fighting for truth, for which he would rather die than deviate from.

His ancestors were priests. He has a wife and two children and he had been in South Africa for nine years. He considered it his duty to his God and King to take up the attitue he had adopted, and was now quite willing to suffer any penalty that the law required.

We are told Ram Sundar Pandit speaks only "broken English." That is noteworthy. Very little book learning is needed to understand our political status, and struggle for its improvement. Let Ram Sundar Pandit's living message of courage and hope and strength be heard from end to end of India. We reproduce his portrait from *Indian Opinion*. He looks a free man, every inch of him. It is a sorry joke to send such a man to jail.

Stone walls do not a prison make,
Nor iron bars a cage,
Minds innocent and quiet take
That for a hermitage.

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Lord Curzon on Self-government for India.

Lord Curzon is reported to have said that in his opinion it is impossible to grant India self-government on colonial lines. Of course, to *grant* it! But is it impossible to *win* it, your lordship?

The national week in Surat.

Religious, social, economical, political and other reforms are correlated and interdependent; though it is natural for workers in any particular field of reform to emphasize its supreme necessity. We are, therefore, glad that during the last week of 1907 there are to be held in Surat, in addition to the session of the Indian National Congress, the Theistic Conference, the Arya Samaj Conference, the Social Conference, the Ladies' Conference, the Industrial Conference, the All-India Swadeshi Conference and the All-India Temperance Conference. The only disadvantage of this crowding of a host of important Conferences into a few days is that very few subjects can be thoroughly discussed and attended to. We cannot but regret the holding of caste conferences and the Muhammadan and Theosophist Conferences in the same week in different places. We could wish a different time of the year had been chosen for the purpose. Concentration and combination of energy is absolutely necessary for our national salvation.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

The Child in Nature—by Atul Chandra Dutt. Price 8 as. Pp. 155.

In this book an attempt has been made to teach little boys the English language, composition, translation and grammar through the medium of Bengali, in a psychological way, following the ways and methods of a child in nature. The subject has been dealt with very ably and cleverly, and we think this book will be a great boon both to little boys and their teachers. The Bengali of this book seems to be too stiff for those for whom it is intended; a colloquinal and easy style would have been better suited to the purpose. There are inaccuracies in the English, too, here and there.

C.B.

Memoirs of Mistral. Translated by C. E. Maud, Edward Arnold, London, 1907.

One of the most remarkable features of modern European developement has been the re-assertion by small peoples of their individuality, and the stand they have made for variety and individuality in culture. Ireland is the most familiar case. So too, in France; fifty years ago men looked on Provence only as a small unimportant part of France itself, speaking a local patois, and generally backward. The Provencals were a race almost submerged in the great French current. But Mistral, who not long ago received the Nobel prize for Literature, has saved Provencal culture for itself and for the world. At the age of twenty-one he resolved

"First to raise and revivify in Provence the sentiment of race that I saw being annihilated by the false and unnatural education of the schools: secondly, to promote that resurrection by the restoration of the native and historic language of the country, against which the schools waged war to the death; and lastly to make that langua e popular by illuminating it with the divine flame of poetry".

In all three desires he succeeded.

Do we not need Mistrals in India? Have we not a false and unnatural education in our schools? do not the schools wage war against the native and historic languages of the Indians? As Sir George Birdwood lately said of English education in India:—

"Our education has destroyed their love of their own literature, the quickening soul of a people, and their delight in their own arts and, worst of all, their repose in their own traditional and national religion. It has disgusted them with their own homes—their parents, their sisters, their very wives. It has brought discontent into every family so far as its baneful influences have reached",

The lesson for India here is that in every community we need a Mistral, and a thousand helpers round him. It is far more important for us to nationalise education, than for us to nationalise trade, or recover administrative rights. If education is nationalised, all else will follow; of which the 'anglicists' are well aware. The crying need of to-day is for the development of the people's intelligence through the medium of their own national culture.

A. K. C.

Thoughts on the present discontent. By Mohammed Ali, B. A. (Oxon.). M. A. Bashir & Co., 138, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay, 1907.

Though the views propounded in this pamphlet do not in many respects coincide with ours, we must say that we have spent an interesting half-hour in the author's company. He has an original and piquant way of saying things. We would advice him however to give up his airs of superiority to some classes

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of his countrymen. We refrain from discussing his views, as the topics he deals with are well worn and we have very little space to spare.

Indian English: An examination of the errors of idiom made by Indians in writing English. By George Clifford Whitworth, I. C. S. (retired), author of "An Anglo-Indian Dictionary." Letchworth, Herts.: Printed by Garden City Press, Limited. 1907.

This book is written in a friendly spirit, as the following passage from the introductory chapter will show:—

"I hope no one will take up this little book expecting to find an amusing collection of those linguistic flights to which imaginative Indians occasionally commit themselves. I am myself too painfully conscious of the immense superiority of Indians to Englishmen in the way of acquiring foreign languages, for the preparation of any such work to be a congenial task to me. No; my purpose is entirely different, and is perfectly serious. For many years past, both in hearing arguments from the Bar, and in reading Indian books and newspapers, I have been struck with the wonderful command which Indians—and not only those who have been to England—have obtained over the English language for all practical purposes. At the same time, I have often felt what a pity it is that men exhibiting this splendid facility should now and then mar their compositions by little errors of idiom which jar upon the ear of the native Englishman.

"Considering, in conjunction with this great natural ability, that the Indians are the inheritors of the most elaborate language that the world has known, and that their foreforthers regarded grammar (Vyakaran) as a Vedanga, or limb of their sacred Veda, it seems well worth while to try and render them a small service by showing them how their admirable knowledge of our language may be made still more complete."

Whatever is worth doing is worth doing well. As we have to speak and write English, we should learn to do it correctly. We, therefore, recommend this very useful book to all teachers and students and Indian writers of English. At the same time we must bear in mind that the Japanese write and speak English much worse than ourselves, and draw the correct conclusion therefrom. We should be able to write and speak English correctly and clearly enough for all practical purposes Writing and speaking English in a means to an end, but not an end in itself. It is, moreover, snobbish for an Indian to be vain of his English. It matters much more *what* you write and speak than *how* you write and speak.

———

The Weavers. By Gilbert Parker. William Heinemann, London.

This is an interesting story of the doings of an English youth brought up under Quaker influences. The Quakers in England are somewhat like the Jains in India—to whom the idea of taking the life of any human being is abhorrent. David, the hero of the story, is placed by the fatality of circumstances in a position where the taking of human life becomes his *dharma*. He becomes the favourite adviser of the Prince of Cairo and so a person of great influence in Egypt. He is fired with a quixotic desire of reforming Egypt and ameliorating the miserable condition of the Fellaheen. He is a forerunner of Gordon, but while the latter lost his life in Soudon, David, our hero, is almost miraculously saved from a similar fate by the timely re-inforcement sent by his greatest enemy Nahomi, the Prime Minister. The almost saintly character of David—who has the majestic faculty of clairvoyance, turns at the end his greatest enemy into his friend. This is a story very ably told.

There are, however, one or two great defects, not in the story itself, which as a work of art, may be said to be almost perfect, but due to the bias under which the whole plot is conceived. It is taken for granted that the Europeans have received a divine commission to right the wrongs of all oppressed and weaker nations. David is fired with such an enthusiasm; but those who know the Europeans of history will at once pronounce that such a character is an impossible creation of the novelist's brain. To destroy the aristocracy of wealth and intellect of a country with the cant cry of raising the masses deceives no one now; the professions of European unselfishness have been estimated at their true value and the danger to his country, clearly foreseen, by the patriot Harrik, whom our author has painted in such dark colours. Says Harrik:

"Day by day, I saw Egypt given over to the Christians. The Greek, the Italian, the Frenchman, the Englishman, everywhere they reached out their hands and took from us our own. They defiled our mosques, they corrupted our life, they ravaged our trade, they stole our customers, they crowded us from the streets where once the faithful lived alone. Day by day the Muslim has loosed his hold on Cairo, and Alexandria and the cities of Egypt. Street upon street knows him no more. My heart burned within me. I conspired for Egypt's sake. I would have made her Muslim once again. In my own house I would have been master. We seek not to take up our abode in other nations and in the cities of the infidel. Shall we give place to them on our own mastaba, in our own courtyard—hand to them the keys of our harem s?"

To a fallen people like the Indians, who have tasted to the bitter dregs the sweets of European philanthropy, it may be permitted to have more sympathy with this misguided but prophetic patriot Harrik with his *Jehad* than with the Quixotic Quaker David trying to right the wrongs of the Fellaheen.

Another defect in the book common to all English writers on oriental subjects and peoples, is the unconscious defamation of all the leaders of the people. There is not perhaps a single character in the book, taken from the higher ranks of Egyptian society, for whom the author has a good word. They are either scheming or licentious or venal or depraved. But the *khansama* of David is a paragon of fidelity and virtue. It is the same old story with which we are so conversant in India. To our rulers the educated Indian is "our enemy," and so devoid of all high qualities of head or heart; while their salaaming *khitmadgar* and bearer are the storehouse of all that is noble and good in Indian character.

We have deliberately used the very strong expression "cant" in the above. But we are not without our authority on this point. How Europe has been civilizing Egypt will be evident from the following extracts from the "Diary of General Gordon," perhaps the most unselfish European who ever served in Egypt:

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"What have we done in lower Egypt to make them like us? Nothing, a single thing. We have foisted Europeans on them to the extent of £450,000 a year. We have not reduced taxes, only improved the way of extorting those taxes" (p: 31).

"We chose to regard Greece, Spain, Turkey, Mexico and other lands as debtors and bankrupts. We did not attempt to saddle the rulers, personally, with the debts of these countries—excepting in the case of Egypt and Ismail Pasha (*i. e.*, we did not turn out the rulers of the states, while we did turn out Ismail). Of course, it is easy to put it down to his ill faith. I expect the rulers of those other states were guilty of far worse faith. It is the custom to say we acted in the interests of the oppressed Fellaheen, but what have the Fellaheen gained up to the present time? Where are those millions to come from I have talked of? (p: 102).

'Daily Practice of the Hindus,' Sris Chandra Vasu, 'Indian Press,' Allahabad, price Re. 1.

This unpretentious little volume of 221 pages is of quite remarkable interest and importance. For the first time it is made easy for the outsider to understand, from an actual acquaintance with the daily ritual of a devout Hindu of the old school, the meaning, the method and the depth of Hindu spiritual culture.

Indian religion has been always a very personal matter, one rather of daily intellectual and devotional discipline for the individual than of congregational worship. In Hindu homes a room is set apart as a private chapel used by each member of the family for their private daily practice, and with this room pure and restful thoughts only are associated. Moreover, the whole of life is regarded as a sacrament, and treated as a part of religion, every action from rising to retiring is done unto the Lord. In these days of conflict for the means of livelihood and maintenance it is not possible for most people to carry out the elaborate ritual contemplated in the Sandhya systems; and perhaps the devotion of so much time to spiritual matters by persons who are after all householders and citizens involves a too great neglect of the things of this world. But although all the duties cannot be performed in order daily, it is good to know something of them, and to practise them as far as possible, if only to keep alive the ideal, and to remind us that the object of life is not material prosperity but the development of the mental, moral and spiritual powers latent in man. The daily practices also remind us that man is not merely a physical being with duties to his family, kinsmen, guests, and outcastes, as well as to beasts and birds, but that he is a spiritual being as well, with spiritual relation to spiritual beings on other planes of existence.

Before rising the Hindu repeats certain slokas recalling in succession God in His cosmic manifestations; the Guru or spiritual teacher; the Self which is one with God, and lastly his personal self with all its actions, he dedicates to the Lord all the actions of the day, of which he makes a mental programme, and then rises, touching the earth with his right foot, saying 'O Earth, the giver of all that is dear to us, I hail thee.' *

The Hindu is then to walk out into the country to answer the call of nature; which, as the author remarks, gave exercise in the morning, avoided the necessity for accumulating filth in or near houses and for elaborate drainage systems, as well as the need for a class of men employed in a degrading form of labour. He is next to thoroughly cleanse the body (if ever cleanliness was next to godliness it is so in India), perform the ceremonial purification called Achamana, cleanse his teeth with twigs, take a rapid bath and put the caste mark on his forehead. A second bath is to be taken at mid-day. The whole ritual of bathing is made into a beautiful symbolism of the purification of the soul. The water is first sanctified and 'magnetised' by the mantram "O ye Ganges, Jamna, Godavari, Sarasvati, Narmada, Indus and Kaveri, come and approach this water"; a prayer to the Ganges follows; if bathing in the Ganges itself he repeats a prayer ending "O Mother! Goddess Jahnavi! with thy immortal waters make me all pure, thy loving devotee, Divine Bhagirathi." Next follows the Tarpana or peace offering to the Devas, the Rishis and the Fathers:—

One perfect prayer is this "Om! the Devas, the Yakshas, as well as Nagas, the Apsaras, the Asuras, the crooked and the creeping ones and those of beautiful wings, so also the trees, the beasts, the holders of knowledge, the holders of water, those who walk in space—the creatures that are without food, those who are given to sin and religion—for the contentment of all there is offered by me."

Then comes the Sandhya for the morning. Sandhya is a ritual performed at the union (Sandhya) of night with day, and of day with night, and also often at mid-day also. It consists of (I) Achamana, and Marjana or the sprinkling of water, with beautiful prayers of which two run thus:—

Om! auspicious be to us the waters of the desert places; auspicious be the waters of well watered land; auspicious be to us the waters of the sea; auspicious be to us the waters of the well"; and "Om! even as one perspiring is relieved by the shade of a tree, or as bathing removes the impurities of the body, or as ghi is cleansed by its purifying agents, so let the waters purify me from all sins." The Hindu idea of sin, is one rather of pollution, of putting oneself out of tune with the universe, than of the infringement of particular commandments; hence the object of the ritual is to restore within him the lost spiritual harmony. The third part of the Sandhya is Pranayama, or the regulation of breath, and an exercise of the most health-giving description, as well as of spiritual value. It consists of the indrawing, retention and

* How near after all are the great ideals of the East and of the West; Brynhild awaked on Hindfell greeted the new day in the same spirit and almost the same words:—

"All hail, O Day and thy Sons, and thy kin of the coloured things!
Hail, following Night, and thy daughter that leadeth thy wavering wings!
Look down with unangry eyes on us to-day alive.
And give us the hearts victorious, and the gain for which we strive!
All hail, ye Lords of God-home, and ye Queens of the House of Gold!
Hail thou dear Earth that bearest, and thou Wealth of field and fold!
us, your noble children, the glory of wisdom and speech!
And the hearts and the hands of healing, and the mouths and the and that teach!"

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expulsion of breath while reciting the Gayatri. Next to this comes a second Achamana, Marjana, the Aghamarshana, and Suryopasthana or hymn to the sun. Then follows Japa, or silent repetition of the Gayatri. This is the essence of the whole ritual. The Gayatri is a verse regarded as the essence of the Vedas. Literally translated it runs. "We meditate upon the adored light of that shining creator, who incites our Buddhi." The full meaning, taken with the accompanying *vyahriti* and *shira* words is "I am that Brahma, which is designated by the word Om, whose essence is Existence, Intelligence and Bliss, which is eternally free, all-illumining, and the Supreme above all" This great text is to be meditated on, with affirmation of the identity of the worshipper with God, "What I am that he is, what He is that I am." It is the great common factor in the ritual of all Hindus; and like the principal it expresses, is really a part of the Indian national consciousness. The meditation is preceded by the endeavour to form mental images of the goddess of the Gayatri, which is personified in the morning as Brahmani, at mid-day as Vaishnavi and in the evening as Rudrani (Sarasvati), thus in turn as the feminine aspects of each member of the Hindu trinity. This is the evening formula, "In the evening Sarasvati should be meditated upon as embodying the Sama Veda, white of colour, having two arms, holding the trident and the drum, seated on the Bull, old, and as Rudrani." With the farewell to Gayatri, and other prayers, the morning Sandhya is concluded. The details of mid-day and evening practice are not entered into. This ritual is used by men of the three twice-born castes.

A similar but shorter ritual than the above Vaidiki Sandhya, is the Tantriki, which is intended for all men without distinction of caste or race; this also is given in outline.

It would be difficult to overestimate the value of such a ritual, sincerely performed, as a means of spiritual culture. No doubt, like all rituals, it is sometimes perfunctorily carried through; but it connot be easy to do so, for it is planned with a full knowledge of the importance of mental concentration, and the best means of securing it, by the combination of physical and mental effort (Sankalpa, etc: see pp. 153 and 198 of the Daily Practice). It would be difficult to perform the ritual in any adequate way without continual mental effort.

The value of the practice of daily concentration of thought as a means of mental training is becoming more and more recognized every day in the West; the Hindus knew all about it long ago. The fault of the ritual from the modern point of view is its too great length; it would seem that an abbreviated ritual of the same general character, and calculated to occupy a time not exceeding half an hour would still be a spiritual and mental training of the utmost value. We strongly recommend this little volume to all interested in mental culture, or who wish to know more of Hinduism as it really is.

A. K. C.

URDU

Zanana husn-o-libas or feminine beauty and costume, by Lala Madan Gopal, Vakil, Chief Court, Lahore, (price of demi paper Rs. 4; country paper Rs. 3), printed at the Rifah-i-Am Steam Press, Lahore. 472 pages.

The author has tried in this book to sketch a criterion of his own to judge female beauty in different nations, and for this purpose has inserted 32 illustrations in the body of the book. These illustrations have been placed without any plan and so do not produce the desired effect. The author has evidently taken pains and incurred a good deal of expense in procuring the photographs, which are for the most part well reproduced. In treating of the several limbs of the body, he has given suggestions how they can be beautified, and has noted prescriptions how the diseases affecting them can be cured. In giving prescriptions he has not taken into account the religious prejudices of the people. But perhaps his book is intended for the reformed party of Indians and for such ladies only as can understand English in addition to Urdu. Some of his notions are queer at the present stage of our enlightenment and can find few supporters. At page 340 he advocates the cropping of the hair of girls as well as of matrons on the ground that in his opinion long hair is an encumbrance, and Indian ladies do not know how to make it nice-looking!

He has tried to trace the origin of the use of dress in the different stages of society from the naked savages to the highly civilized nations of the East and the West, criticising at the same time what seems defective or superfluous in it according to his notions of decency and convenience. He seems to favour the English costume and would encourage aping the same by the ladies of light and learning!

As to the language of the book it is neither very elegant nor idiomatic. Apart from the defects which are seldom separable from the first edition of a big book as this is, the book contains much useful information likely to benefit those for whom it is intended.

The object of the author in compiling this book, which is the first of its kind in Urdu, is laudable, inasmuch as he wishes to inculcate principles and ideas which will help to eradicate the *pardah* system with its prejudices and superstitions and thereby enable Indian women to enjoy the open air, partake in active games and exercises, become robust and *sudaul* or well-formed and thus be the mothers of healthy and robust children.

B. Misra.

Muhibb-i-Hind or the Indian Patriot, compiled by Lala Guru Prasad Kayasth, printed at the Israr-i-Karim Press, Allahabad, price 6 pies.

It is a little book of 24 pages containing poetical pieces by different authors dealing with swadeshism. The pieces are in various metres, and are worthy of being sung or recited in public gatherings.

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Sawanih Umri Shahanshah Akbar or the Urdu translation of Colonel Malleson's *Akbar* in the 'Rulers of India' series; by Lala Shiv Diyal, M.A., : printed and published at the Mufid-i-Am Press, Lahore. Price Re. 1 .It is a closely printed book of 230 pages. The translation is literal but intelligible, and reads as if it were free. The subject of the book needs no description while the hero is widely known throughout the civilized world as a model sovereign, whom the constitutional monarchs of the twentieth century can imitate with advantage.

B. MISRA.

HINDI.

Kavya Vinode: Part I.—By Amarchand P. Parmar: Bombay Samachar Printing Press, Bombay; paper bound, pp. 87. Price 0-8-0 (1907).

This is a reprint of certain papers published by the writer from week to week in the *Bombay Samachar* for the last twelve months. It is a collection of various sorts of old Hindi poems, verses and stanzas, illustrating the different *Rasas*, and referring to various matters, political, religious, historical, educational, and commercial, too. Mr. Parmar, a Gujrati by birth, is well known in Bombay as a learned Hindi scholar, and his knowledge of that rich tongue and its literature is unrivalled in this part of the country. His extempore poetical compositions, sung out to local audiences on all concievable occasions, in his peculiarly stentorian voice, though they stimulate the risible faculty, still never fail to elicit approval from his hearers. This compilation is a most readable one and its value is enhanced by the fact that each poem is accompanied by a translation and notes. The verses of Tulsi and Bhukhan and other Hindi poets are not unfamiliar to the Gujaratis, but the honor of collecting such admirable pieces together and publishing them with notes belongs to Mr. Parmar, who has another such work—a continuation of the present collection, in contemplation.

K. M. J.

GUJARATI.

Shivaji and Zeb-un-Nisa, by Hargovind Premshanker Trivedi, of Mahuva: Printed at the Vidya Vijaya Printing Press. Bhavnagar: pp. 156. *Cloth bound Price Re. 1.* (1907).

The alleged love of Zeb-un-Nisa, the daughter of the proud Aurangzeb, for his most hated foe Shivaji, is one of the most thrilling of traditional incidents, hardly bearing the close scrutimy of historical research. The Marathi and Bengali literateurs have perpetuated this love-episode, and it has now been the turn of Gujarati to recount it in the form of a poem. To those who are acquainted with the various phases of this unfruitful devotion of the Princess to the lord of her heart it tells nothing new, but to others it conveys the narrative in simple Gujarati verse, relieved at times by commendable flights of imagination; and we are of opinion that after perusal of the work, the reader would not consider his time was lost.

K. M. J.

Jivan no Adarsh: by Jivabhai Revabhai Patel, B. A., LL. B. Published by the Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad. Printed at the Gujarat Printing Press, Ahmedabad: pp. 228 *cloth bound. Price* 0-12-0 (1907).

The Gujarat Vernacular Society administers a Fund called the Seth Harivullabhdas Balgovinddas Fund. The interest of the said fund has till now financed about twenty-five useful publications, and the book under review is also indebted for its publication to the same source. It is based mainly on—is rather in a large measure a translation of—Lecky's Map of Life. The writer however has very thoughtfully omitted such portions—moral compromise in the Church, Statesmen, and other kindred subjects,—as were unsuited to Indian life and polity, and made original additions of subjects, like early marriage, social reform, &c., which directly bear on our present day conditions. The references, wherever they could conveniently be made, are made to our own Shastras and literature. The work is any thing but a slavish translation. It betrays all through the intelligent interest taken by the writer in his work, and he has been successful in bringing out a readable book.

K. M. J.

Mradula: by "Subandhu": Published by the Bandhu Samaj of Ahmedabad: pp. 176. *Paper bound. Price* 0-8-0 (1907).

A band of young men at Ahmedabad have formed themselves into a union for the encouragement of literature in Gujarat, and amongst other useful work accomplished by this "Bandhu Samaj"—which includes among it, many university educated gentlemen—is the successful starting and continuing of an admirable little monthly, the "Sundari Subodh," entirely devoted to the interests of ladies, cheap (at Re. 1-3-0 per annum), and full of interesting and useful contributions, mostly of late from the pen of ladies. This monthly is in the fourth year of its existence, and thriving, as it deserves to do. The above booklet, containing a social novel, is a present made to the subscribers of the magazine, being the fourth of its kind. It breathes all the good sentiments, generated in the breasts of boys and girls, the results of modern college and school education, and furnishes a sample of the channels into which the writings of the products of this education are flowing.

K. M. J.

BENGALI.

Grihasukh (the happiness of home) by Atul Chandra Datta. Pp. 19. Price two annas only.

In this booklet the ideal of the Brahma Samaj and the responsibilities of a married life pertaining thereto have been very lucidly described. This book ought to be presented to every newly-married couple. The value of the book would have been heightened had it been written for a wider public irrespective of sectarian considerations. The ideals and responsibilities which the book deals with are not confined to the Brahma

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Samaj. A book intended for presentation requires better printing and paper than the present one has.

C. B.

Samaj Samskare Manusher Samparka Vichar : an open letter for the thoughtful Hindus. By Atul Chandra Datta. Pp. 31. Price five pice only.

In this booklet the author discusses the Relation of Man to Social Reform. He refutes four contentions. (1) There is no reformer like time. (2) There is no need of leaving the old Hindu Society to join the newly formed Brahma Samaj. (3) The Brahma faith and ideal can be cherished within the Hindu Society. And (4) the men of the Brahma Samaj have brought social chaos into the country in order to make prominent their own personalities.

(1) The author does not admit that time has any hand in reform. His opinion is that unless and until man wakes himself up to reform, no reform is possible. It is quite true that nothing can be done without effort ; but that effort may either be self-originated or enforced by some outward circumstances, both of which are equally efficacious ; the only difference in them being that one imparts glory to the originator and the other does not.

(2) About the second point the author has shown that whatever is reformed and favourable to liberal thought is the ideal of the Brahma Samaj. Whoever adopts that ideal becomes a Brahma, and can no longer be a Hindu. We think the author has a very narrow view of Hindu Society. We consider the Brahmas nothing but Hindus, and their ideal is the true ideal of the Hindus. Hindu Society is now progressing gradually towards reform, and this will extend with education and culture. That reformed state of society, call it by whatever name you please, will after all remain Hindu. The writer himself has admitted this more than once in some way or other.

(3) About the third point we have the same objection, *viz.*, that the writer means by Hindu Society, a Society very narrow and bigoted in its principles. It may be difficult to adopt a monotheistic and democratic religion in the idolatrous and caste-ridden Hindu Society, but we do not admit that it is quite impossible.

(4) The fourth contention none will support, save and except bigoted, narrow-minded and uneducated persons. Every man in a greater or less degree is conservative. And this conservatism prevents him from adopting a new name. We think the writer in his sectarian fervour has laid much more stress upon the name than on the spirit. Otherwise every free-thinking man will be at one with him.

In conclusion, we ask thoughtful readers to peruse this ably written booklet, and we hope they will be benefited by it.

C. B.

Shodasi—By Prabhatkumar Mukhopadhyay [B. A. Barrister-at-Law.]

This is a collection of *sixteen* short stories complete in themselves ; hence its name '*Shodasi.*' The author is well-known to Bengali readers as one of the most successful writers of short stories. His style has an indefinable charm, and his pen a lightness of touch all his own. His diction is chaste and simple. The plots are attractive and ingenious, and keep hold of the reader's attention till he reaches the last sentence with a feeling of regret that the stories are not longer. A vein of refined humour is another rare characteristic of his writings. Even when he indulges in rollicking fun, as in the "Strong Son-in-law," there is not the slightest coarseness or vulgarity in his humour. The stories can be read again and again with pleasure, without any fear of their getting hackneyed.

Ramasundari—By Prabhatkumar Mukhopadhyay [B. A., Barrister-at-Law].

The author has long been famous as a writer of short stories. This book will establish his claim to occupy a leading place among Bengali novelists. In it the author's excellence of style and his subtle and refined humour are as evident as in his short stories. A novel is a longer and more intricate literary web than a short story, and the author has shown his ability to weave such a web skilfully. His characters are all lifelike ; if you prick them, they bleed. His descriptions of villages, rivers, mountains, forests, *&c.*, are vivid and picturesque. The book is full of illustrations of his keen power of observation of Man and Nature. There is no weak sentimentalism or mock-heroic nonsense in the book : but there is true love, true womanliness and genuine manhood. Of all his characters, Mukundalal the Panjabi Bengali, is the most amusing, and perhaps the most original and inimitable in speech and manner, The novel gives a true insight into rural life in Bengal, We know law is a jealous mistress ; but nevertheless we hope she will allow the writer to lay more productions like this at the feet of the Muses.

Sati—By Dineschandra Sen, B. A. This charming little book tells in a glowing and poetic style the mythological story of the goddess SATI giving up her life in consequence of an insult offered by her father DAKSHA to her husband, the god Siva. The ideal of chastity and devotion of India's womanhood is unsurpassed in the world ; and SATI is a deified embodiment of that ideal. We love to dwell on that ideal. We adore it. But we forget that it has its counter-part in the husband's chastity and devotion to one wife, an ideal embodied in the god Siva of this story. The chastity of both husband and wife and their mutual single-hearted devotion,—that is the complete conjugal ideal which goes to make a pure society, and is one of the chief factors which make for national strength. We ought to recognise this fact, and strive to make the manhood of India as pure as its womanhood is. This little book is not didatic ; it is full of inspiration. The persons depicted herein have behind them a background of natural scenery of superhuman beauty and grandeur.

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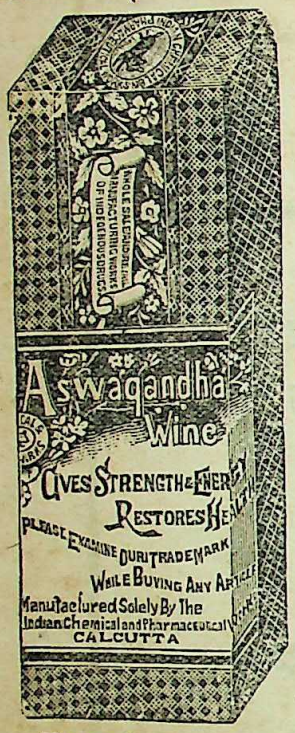

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THE MODERN REVIEW

A Monthly Review and Miscellany

Edited by Ramananda Chatterjee

FEBRUARY, 1908

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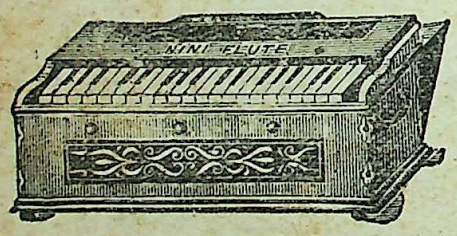

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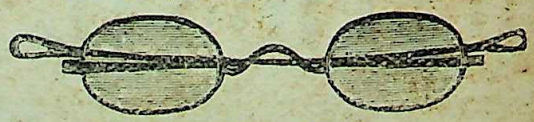

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THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. III FEBRUARY, 1908 No. 2

ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE ON THE INDIAN CRISIS

IN his peaceful and beautiful home at Broadstone, in Dorsetshire, one of England's keenest explorers, and most resolute seekers after truth, Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, is spending his last days in good health amongst the scenes he loves and in occupations that keep him in constant touch with nature;—a delightful life! But his mind is still occupied with our great social problems, and his world-wide sympathy with those who suffer and struggle is as ardent as ever.

Confident as to this, I approached him with reference to India, and especially with reference to the wide-spread and passionate longing for self-government. At first he hesitated. 'Many years ago,' he said, 'I knew a good deal about India, but at present my knowledge is limited, and not absolutely fresh.'

'But it is an old question that is now up for judgment,' was my reply. 'It is simply one more instance of a nation "rightly struggling to be free."'

'Yes,' he said, 'and so far as that goes, I am with the Indian patriots, and my full sympathy is with the people of India in their aspirations for self-government.'

'What then as to the attitude of the British Government?' I said. 'That does not seem to be very sympathetic: and, as to that, your knowledge must be fresh enough.'

'Quite so,' he replied, 'and I must say I am surprised and rather disgusted at the weakness and cowardice of John Morley of whom I had such hopes. One naturally expected from him something akin to sympathy with national aspirations, something at least more liberal than his reference to such aspirations as crying for the moon. The true way to redeem India is to begin at the bottom, to restore the village communities as self-governing bodies, under the supervision of thoroughly seasoned and sympathetic English or Native inspectors; to restore to the people their land and to make it inalienable, with all that is upon it. That will make an end of the money-lender and the lawyer.'

'But that will take time, probably a long time,' I said, 'especially if "the predominant partner" has to be persuaded. What could be done in the meantime?'

'Well,' he answered, 'considering what we owe to India financially, we might remit the land assessment for some years, to allow the cultivators to rise above perpetual starving point. That, and free irrigation, would probably almost, if not quite, make an end of the chronic famine, which is itself the condemnation of our rule.'

'Then you are in favour of a very large surrender of our rights and rewards as conquerors of India?' I said.

'Of a total surrender as quickly as is prudent: and I think we ought to rejoice just in so far as India wants self-government and is fit for it. Instead of deprecating it and fighting it, we ought to welcome and help it.'

In parting from my good old friend, I only wished that the breed of 'Fine old English gentleman' were more widely represented on English soil.

JOHN PAGE HOPPS.

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THE EVOLUTION OF THE EUROPEAN CITY

THIS, then, is the conception behind all civic development, the beloved communal personality dwelling in the sacred home. What the religious sect has been to the Indian youth of the past,—the mother who sends him out to do great deeds, the theatre that witnesses his achievement, and awards to him applause,—that the village, the country-side, or the city, must be in the future. Henceforth, it is our home that is supremely sacred to us, our home in which lies our hope. Henceforth, all born of one birth-place are brethren. Henceforth we are neither Mussulman nor Hindu; neither orthodox nor reformed; henceforth we are all Indian, all workers together for the *Swadesh*, sons of a common motherland.

But the history of the beloved is to all men a spring of wonder and delight. The life-story is the one sure and perfect expression of the individuality. Character is the brief epitome of history. That history cannot sleep, but remains ever dynamic, is a truth as true of all Humanity as of the individual, as applicable to the city as to the nation at large. What we have once been, it is always within our power to recover and take our stand upon, again.

It follows that no sooner do we begin to concentrate our attention upon the civic ideal, than the history of that ideal itself becomes unspeakably precious to us. We watch its emergence under different forms from age to age. In all alike, we witness the unmeasured strength that is wielded by man in combination. "I believe in the infinite power of human fellowship!" becomes the ejaculation on the lips of those who work. Co-operation is now seen as the highest duty. It is realised that if empire represents the combination of the few for the exploitation of the many, nationality, as its antithesis, demands the co-operation of all for the equal good of each. And all great and sincere forms of self-organisation, such as follow on the apprehension of national and civic ideals, have the effect on the individual who accepts them, of deepening immeasurably his personal power.

Any small German bath-town, with its *kurhaus*, will furnish a modern example of this. We find here a city, or even a village, in which no single family perhaps would be rich enough to live with splendour, possessing, nevertheless, a communal palace, the property of all. A small fee, or even more modest subscription, gives any who will the right of entrance. There are a few good servants to be seen in the well-ordered rooms, but no police. For the building is the *home* of the whole community, owned by itself, for its own benefit; not a privilege extended to it, on condition of obedience! Libraries, reading-rooms, writing-rooms, and great *salons* for the refinements of social intercourse, open one into another. The same roof covers concert-rooms, lecture-hall, and opera house. And by the combined efforts of their competent members, the people of a German municipality will often, in the course of the year, have the opportunity of hearing the finest music, the severest science, and the most learned art-criticism in the world, at their own *kurhaus*. So can combination raise the power of the individual to its third and even fourth dimensions! But the *kurhaus* is even more than a culture-centre, making the whole of a little township into a virtual university. It enables every act of hospitality given by those whose private resources might be inadequate, to shelter itself under the mantle of the civic dignity. The young woman, living the life of the solitary student, on enforced plain fare and high thought, is thus not altogether unable to mix with her equals. The refined and frugal home is not without its intellectual luxuries. And above all, every class of the community has the opportunity of coming into living touch with every other.

Throughout Continental Europe, again, we are impressed by the *Place* (French, pro. *plahss*), as the visible evidence of the civic unity. The *place* is an open space, with flower-beds, with statues, and may be with a fountain, round which, as the centre of the city, are concentrated its large public buildings. In Bruges (in Belgium) we have the Hotel de Ville (town-hall), the Palais de Justice (High Court), and an ancient Chapel of the Holy Grail, all grouped together in one priceless historic spot. Elsewhere, the market-hall will confront cathedral and town buildings.

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In Paris, the Isle of St. Louis, with its old world palaces, stands, as it were, at the knees of Notre Dame, parallel with the Louvre and the site of the Tuileries. Or, in the Place de la Concorde, the statues which symbolise the great cities of France, watch, in a silent circle, the scenes of the mightiest events of her past. And perhaps few things in the Europe of to-day are of more pathetic significance than the fact that in some important towns, the railway station and the general post office form features of the central *Place!* How eloquent is such an arrangement of the fact that home has been abandoned, in favour of a world of going and coming: a temporary foothold for the bird of passage!

Civic ownership is an obvious solution of many of the problems presented by the costliness of modern taste, and the vastness of the experience necessary to the modern sphere of thought. This is the fact that speaks in the museums, picture-galleries, and libraries which are the glory of so many English-speaking cities. The paintings that the people have lavished on its walls make the Free Library of Boston, Massachusetts, the most notable civic building of America. The Town Hall of Manchester in England has been glorified similarly by the local history of the city in the magnificent renderings of Ford Madox Brown. Within the entrance of the building sit the white marble statues of those two men of science, whose names are the glory of Manchester—while yet we are told that of these very two Joule lived so retired a life that on the day of the opening of the hall, no one remembered to send him an invitation! And finally, the great hall contains one of the finest organs in England, by means of which the people are feasted on music weekly. Liverpool, again, boasts in her civic centre, the great array of free library, picture-gallery, museums, town-hall, and even cathedral, in close proximity.

Such are some of the triumphs of the civic spirit in the most noted of the modern ganglia of commerce and labour. They are a kind of democratic university, made for the people by the people, out of their own mind and heart, as all that the people use and enjoy has a right to be. But they are not that serene and organic self-expression of all the people, and all their sentiments, which we find in certain earlier phases of the evolution of the city. In mediæval Europe, nascent nationalities found themselves cradled in the shadow of the Church. And it is not unfit that in London and Brussels, the cathedral crowns the hill, even as Rome is gathered about the portals of the Vatican, while streets of shops and warehouses radiate in all directions from the given centre.

We rarely recall to ourselves all that the cathedral or the parish-church meant, in the building, to the people of Europe. We are reminded of it again, when we are confronted by some great Indian temple, with its synthesis of occupations and significance. A dozen little industries flourish in its shadow. It has its collections of plate, jewels, and manuscripts. The wrestler, the *panda*, and the sweetmeat-seller are as vitally related to it as the *pujari*-Brahman. And the arts that went to the making of it, were innumerable! It was even so, in the great ages of their construction, with the cathedral and churches of Europe. The mason, the stone-carver, the artist in metal, the wood-carver, the glass-stainer, the organ-builder, the weaver and embroiderer are but a few of the craftsmen who were needed for this task. In the building of a cathedral lay the birth of the true city, for all occupations were there gathered together, in due relation and ardent co-operation. It was natural that when it had been builded, the parish church should form the civic centre; that town-business should be transacted in its porch, and that a proclamation should not be regarded as duly published till it had been pinned on its doors and read from its pulpit. In a sense, the very conception of the city lay at first in its relation to that larger life of mind and spirit which was symbolised by the church. The town gathered round its bishop and his cathedral, could regard with some indifference, in the strength of its numbers, its organisation, and its fortified walls, the feudal castle of prince or baron that kept the outlying country-folk in awe.

We must remember that while Christianity is composed doubtless of Asiatic ideas, yet the advancement of its interests lay, throughout the middle ages, in the hands of that race which had inherited the Roman power and habit of imperial organisation. It is the consciousness of this Roman organisation behind it, which to this day so differentiates the religious thought of Europe from its Asiatic compeers. It is this also which accounts for the beauty and splendour of Christian worship, the strength and narrowness of some of its most cherished convictions, and the dread and dislike which it inspires in those who are not of its fold. To outsiders, Christianity appears less as a faith than as a church, an imperialism, as it were, of the mind. Now in the thirteenth century of Europe, men's

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political relations were ill-defined. The dwelling place might fall under one jurisdiction or another, according to the victory of baron or duke. But the continent was netted, from end to end, with bishoprics and parishes, and every man knew how he stood to the Church. Thus the group of merchants and burghers could stand upon this relation. It gave them unity and an individuality. The church was the natural growing-centre of the city.

It may have been that the building of cathedrals in the thirteenth century gave a great impetus to the growth of the city guilds. It is certainly true that the boroughs or townships were gradually freeing themselves from the grasp of warring feudal potentates. And these facts, with others, must have contributed to that great outbrust of civic energy, which, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, created the magnificent *Hotels de Ville* of France and Belgium. Here was the home of the craft-guilds. Here were kept the town archives. Here was dispensed the civic hospitality. Here, often, were collected great works of art. The commune had become conscious of itself as an entity. In the German Margruce and in the English Durham, indeed, we have instances of the identification of the town with the church, in a small state; for the bishops of these were also princes, bishops-palatinate; and it would be interesting to study the effect of this identification on the evolution of the city. But for the most part, the cathedral, abbey, and college of the thirteenth century were succeeded by the *Hotel de Ville* or town-hall of the fourteenth and fifteenth, and these by the evolution of nationalities in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth. Till finally, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, came a blind Samson, a thunderbolt of Indra, by name Napoleon Bonaparte, who playfully pulled down all the pillars of the past, trying to unify Europe with his civil code, and thereby led each people to the sudden realisation of what it had assimilated through centuries of experience. The nations of the West became aware of themselves.

It is ever thus. The day in which we think a people have become new, is almost always the moment in which the scales fall from their eyes, and they suddenly see to what goal they have been approaching, through ages of silent growth and struggle. Napoleon did not *make* nationalities in Europe. That was done by languages, by history, by poetry, by cohesion of communities amongst themselves, and sharp definition as between them and others. But Napoleon provoked their self-realisation. He was the sharp reagent that moved through the colourless fluid, and caused the formation of dense precipitates. Nationalities were potential in Europe before he came. When he had gone, they were inevitable.

What cities have learnt in the past, the nations of Europe have yet to learn. Great combinations of men exist for the sake of the life of the human mind and spirit, not the reverse. One great truth found and given, one beautiful dream dreamt and made visible, would be enough to justify the whole existence of a people. It is in science,—the advancement of human knowledge,—in art—the democratising of beautiful vision—and in religion,—the largess of the soul's bread—that we find the goal of cities and of nations. Man has a body, in order to develop his mind. He has not a mind, as the West appears at present to assume, in order to compass the good of his body. The sanitation and even the adorning of a town would be nothing, unless the life of its people could overflow, freely and spontaneously, into the building of temples of the human spirit. And as with cities, so with nations. The luxury which results from a division of spoils is as much an incident of war, as the destruction of a farmstead. The peace of death that reigns in a town under martial law, or under police-rule, is as truly the result and promise of battle as the booming of the cannon, or the wringing-out of indemnity. And war is no function of Humanity. It destroys the nation that wages it as assuredly as that which suffers. To-day Europe is covered with a series of armed camps, miscalled nationalities. To-day, aggression seems to Western peoples the one proper corporate activity. That this, if it were true, would be but childish and base, it is for the wiser East to teach. But it is not true. It is a grotesque parody of truth. And this lesson will have to be enforced, not by the weakness, but by the strength, of an Eastern people.

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THE YELLOW GOD

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By H. Rider Haggard,

Author of "King Solomon's Mines," "She," "The Brethren," "Benita," &c.

CHAPTER III.

Jeeki Tells a Tale.

The Court, Mr. Champers-Haswell's place, was a very fine house indeed, of a sort. That is, it contained twenty-nine bedrooms, each of them with a bathroom attached, a large number of sitting-rooms, ample garages, stables and offices, the whole surrounded by several acres of newly-planted gardens. Incidentally it may be mentioned that it was built in the most atrocious taste, and looked like a suburban villa seen through a magnifying glass.

It was in this matter of taste that it differed from Sir Robert Aylward's home, Old Hall, a few miles away. Not that this was old either, for the original house had fallen down or been burnt a hundred years before. But Sir Robert, being gifted with artistic perception, had reared up in place of it a smaller but really beautiful dwelling of soft grey stone, long and low, and built in the Tudor style with many gables.

This house, charming as it was, could not of course compare with Yarleys, the ancient seat of the Vernons in the same neighbourhood. Yarleys was pure Elizabethan, although it contained an oak-roofed hall which was said to date back to the time of King John, a remnant of a former house. There were no electric light or other modern conveniences at Yarleys, yet it was a place that everyone went to see because of its exceeding beauty and its historical associations. The moat by which it was surrounded, the grass court within, for it was built on three sides of a square, the mullioned windows, the towered gateway of red brick, the low pannelled rooms hung with the portraits of departed Vernons, the sloping park and the splendid oaks that stood about, singly or in groups, were all of them perfect in their way. It was one of the most lovely of English homes, and, oddly enough, its neglected gardens and the air of decay that pervaded it, added to, rather than decreased, its charm.

But it is with the Court that we have to do at present, not with Yarleys. Mr. Champers-Haswell had a week-end party. There were ten guests, all men, and with the exception of Alan, who, it will be remembered, was one of them, all rich and in business. They included two French bankers and three Jews, everyone a prop of the original Sahara Syndicate, and deeply interested in the forthcoming flotation. To describe them is unnecessary, for they have no part in our story, being only financiers of a certain class, remarkable for the riches they had acquired, by means that for the most part would not bear examination. The riches were evident enough. Ever since the morning they had arrived by ones or twos with their costly motor cars, attended by smart chauffeurs and valets. Their fur coats, their jewelled studs and rings, something in their very faces all suggested money, which indeed was the bond that brought and held them together.

Alan did not come until it was time to dress for dinner, for he knew that Barbara would not appear before that meal, and it was her society he sought, not that of his host or fellow guests. Accompanied by his negro servant, Jeeki, for in a house like this it was necessary to have someone to wait upon him, he drove over from Yarleys, a distance of ten miles, arriving about eight o'clock.

"Mr. Haswell has gone up to dress, Major, and so have the other gentlemen," said the head butler, Mr. Smith, "but Miss Champers told me to give you this note and to say that dinner is at half-past eight."

Alan took the note and asked to be shown to his room. Once there, although he had only five-and-twenty minutes, he opened it eagerly, while Jeeki unpacked his bag.

"Dear Alan," it ran, "Don't be late for dinner or I may not be able to keep a place next to me. Of course Sir Robert takes me in. They are a worse lot than usual this time, odious—odious!—and I can't stand one on the left hand as well as on the right.—Yours, B.

"P.S.—What *have* you been doing? Our distinguished guests, to say nothing of my uncle, seem to be in a great fuss about you. I overheard them talking when I was pretending to arrange some flowers. One of them called you a sanctimonious prig and obstinate donkey,

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and another answered—I think it was Sir Robert—'No doubt, but obstinate donkeys can kick and have been known to upset other people's applecarts ere now.' Is the Sahara Syndicate the applecart? If so, I'll forgive you.

"P.P.S.—Remember that we will walk to church together to-morrow, but come down to breakfast in knickerbockers or something to put them off, and I'll do the same—I mean I'll dress as if I were going to golf. We can turn into Christians later. If we don't—dress like that I mean—they'll guess and all want to come to church, except the Jews, which would bring the judgment of heaven on us.

"P.P.P.S.—Don't be careless and leave this note lying about, for the under-footman who waits upon you reads all the letters. He steams them over a kettle. Smith the butler is the only respectable man in this house."

Alan laughed outright as he finished this peculiar and outspoken epistle, which somehow revived his spirits that, since the previous day, had been low enough. It refreshed him. It was like a breath of frosty air from an open window blowing clean and cold into a scented, over-heated room. He would have liked to keep it, but remembering Barbara's injunctions and the under-footman, threw it into the fire and watched it burn. Jeeki coughed to intimate that it was time for his master to dress, and Alan turned and looked at him in an absent-minded fashion.

He was worth looking at, was Jeeki. Let the reader imagine a very tall and powerfully-built negro with a skin as black as a well-polished boot, woolly hair as white as snow, a little tufted beard also white, a hand like a leg of mutton, but with long delicate fingers and pink filbert-shaped nails, an immovable countenance, but set in it, beneath a massive brow, two extraordinarily humorous and eloquent black eyes, which expressed every emotion passing through the brain behind them—that is, when their owner chose to allow them to do so. Such was Jeeki.

"Shall I unlace your boots, Major?" he said, in his full, melodious voice, and speaking the most perfect English. "I expect that the gong will sound in nine and a half minutes."

"Then let it sound, and be hanged to it," answered Alan. "No, I forgot—I must hurry. Jeeki, put that fire out, and open all the windows as soon as I go down. This room is like a hot-house."

"Yes, Major."

The guests were gathered in the hall drinking sherry and bitters, a proceeding that to Alan's mind set a stamp upon the house. His host, Mr. Champers-Haswell, came forward and greeted him with much affectionate enthusiasm, and Alan noticed that he looked very pale, also that his thoughts seemed to be wandering, for he introduced a French banker to him as a noted Jew, and the noted Jew as the French banker, although the distinction between them was obvious, and the gentlemen concerned evidently resented the mistake. Sir Robert Aylward, catching sight of him, came across the hall in his usual direct fashion, and shook him by the hand.

"Glad to see you, Vernon," he said, fixing his piercing eyes upon Alan as though he were trying to read his thoughts. "Pleasant change this from the City and all that eternal business, isn't it? Ah! you are thinking that one is not quite clear of business after all," and he glanced round at the company. "That's one of your cousin Haswell's faults; he can never shake himself free of the thing, never get any real recreation."

Then a French gentleman on Alan's left, having discovered that he was the engineer who had formulated the great flooding scheme, began to address him as "Cher maître," speaking so rapidly in his own language that Alan, whose French was none of the best, struggled after him in vain. Whilst he was trying to answer a question which he did not understand, the door at the end of the hall opened, and through it appeared Barbara Champers.

It was a large hall, and she was a long way off, which caused her to look small, who indeed was only of middle height. Yet even at that distance it was impossible to mistake the dignity of her appearance. A slim woman with brown hair, cheerful brown eyes, a well-modelled face, a rounded figure and an excellent complexion, such was Barbara. Ten thousand young ladies could be found as good, or even better looking, yet something about her differentiated her from the majority of her sex. There was determination in her step, and overflowing health and vigour in her every movement. Her eyes had a trick of looking straight into any other eyes they met, not boldly, but with a kind of virginal fearlessness and enterprise that people often found embarrassing. Indeed, she was extremely virginal and devoid of the usual fringe of feminine airs and graces, a nymph of the woods and waters, who although she was three and twenty, as yet recked little of men save as companions whom she liked or disliked according to her instincts. For the rest, she was sweetly dressed in a white robe

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with silver on it, and wore no ornaments save a row of small pearls about her throat and some lilies of the valley at her breast. Barbara came straight onwards, looking neither to the right nor to the left, till she reached her uncle, to whom she nodded. Then she walked to Alan and offering him her hand said,

"How do you do? Why did you not come over at lunch time? I wanted to play a round of golf with you this afternoon."

Alan answered something about being busy at Yarleys.

"Yarleys!" she replied. "I thought that you lived in the City now, making money out of speculations, like everyone else that I know."

"Why, Miss Champers," broke in Sir Robert reproachfully, "I asked you to play a round of golf before tea and you would not."

"No," she answered, "because I was waiting for my cousin. We are better matched, Sir Robert."

There was something in her voice, usually so soft and pleasant, as she spoke these words, something of steeliness and defiance, that caused Alan to feel at once happy and uncomfortable. Apparently also it caused Aylward to feel angry, for he flashed a glance at Alan over her head of which the purport could not be mistaken, though his pale face remained as immovable as ever. "We are enemies. I hate you," said that glance. Probably Barbara saw it; at any rate before either of them could speak again, she said,

"Thank goodness, there is dinner at last. Sir Robert, will you take me in, and, Alan, will you sit on the other side of me? My uncle will show the rest their places."

The meal was long and magnificient; the price of each dish of it would have kept a poor family for a month, and on the cost of the exquisite wines they might have lived for a year or two. Also the last were well patronised by everyone except Barbara, who drank water, and Alan, who since his severe fever took nothing but weak whisky and soda and a little claret. Even Aylward, a temperate person, absorbed a good deal of champagne. As a consequence the conversation grew animated, and under cover of it, while Sir Robert was arguing with his neighbour on the left, Barbara asked in a low voice,

"What is the row, Alan? Tell me, I can't wait any longer."

"I have quarrelled with them," he answered, staring at his mutton as though he were criticising it. "I mean, I have left the firm and have nothing more to do with the business."

Barbara's eyes lit up as she whispered back, "Glad of it. Best news I have heard for many a day. But, then, may I ask why you are here?"

"I came to see you," he replied humbly—"thought, perhaps, you wouldn't mind."

"Now that you are really clear of it, I am going for them," she said presently. "I have only restrained myself for your sake," and leaning back in her chair she stared at the ceiling, lost in meditation.

Then there came one of those silences which will fall upon dinner-parties at times, however excellent and plentiful the champagne.

"Sir Robert Aylward," said Barbara in that clear, carrying voice of hers, "will you, as an expert, instruct a very ignorant person? I want a little information."

"Miss Champers," he answered, "am I not always at your service?" and all listened to hear upon what point their hostess desired to be enlightened.

"Sir Robert," she went on calmly, "everyone here is, I believe, what is called a financier—that is, except myself and Major Vernon, who only tries to be and will, I am sure, fail, since Nature made him something else, a soldier and—what else did Nature make you, Alan?"

As he vouchsafed no answer to this question, although Sir Robert muttered an uncomplimentary one between his lips which Barbara heard, or read, she continued:

"And you are all very rich and successful, are you not, and going to be much richer and much more successful next week. Now, what I want to ask you is—how is it done?"

"Accepting the premises for the sake of argument, Miss Champers," replied Sir Robert, who felt that he could not refuse the challenge, "the answer is that it is done by finance."

"I am still in the dark," she said. "Finance, as I have heard of it, means floating companies, and companies are floated to earn money for those who invest in them. Now this afternoon, as I was dull, I got hold of a book called the 'Directory of Directors,' and looked up all your names in it, except those of the gentlemen from Paris, and the companies that you direct—I found about those in another book. Well, I could not make out that any of these companies have ever earned any money, a dividend, don't you call it? Therefore, how do you all grow so rich, and why do people invest in them?"

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Now Sir Robert frowned, Alan coloured, two or three of the company laughed outright, and one of the French gentlemen who understood English, and had already drunk as much as was good for him, remarked loudly to his neighbour. "Ah! she is charming. She do touch the spot, like that ointment you give me to-day. How do we grow rich, and why do the peoples invest? *Mon Dieu!* why do they invest? That is the great mystery. I say that cette belle demoiselle, votre niece, est ravissante. Elle a d'esprit, mon ami Haswell."

Apparently her uncle did not share these sentiments, for he turned red as any turkey-cock, and said across the great round table,

"My dear Barbara, I wish that you would leave matters which you do not understand alone. We are here to dine, not to talk about finance."

"Certainly, Uncle," she answered sweetly. "I stand, or rather sit, reproved. I suppose that I have put my foot into it, as usual, and the worst of it is," she added, turning to Sir Robert, "that I am just as ignorant as I was before."

"If you want to master these matters, Miss Champers," said Aylward, with a rather forced laugh, "you must go into training and worship at the shrine of"--he meant to say Mammon, then thinking that the word sounded unpleasant, substituted--"of the Yellow God, as we do."

At these words Alan, who had been studying his plate, looked up quickly, and her uncle's face turned from red to white. But the irrepressible Barbara seized upon them.

"The Yellow God", she repeated. "Do you mean money, or that fetish thing of Major Vernon's with the terrible woman's face that I saw at the office in the city? Well, to change the subject, tell us, Alan, what is that yellow god of yours, and where did it come from?"

"My uncle Austin, who was my mother's brother and a missionary, brought it from West Africa a great many years ago. He was the first to visit the tribe who worship it; in fact, I do not think that anyone has ever visited them since. But really, I do not know all the story. Jeeki can tell you about it if you want to know, for he is one of that people, and escaped with my uncle."

Now Jeeki having left the room some of the guests wished to send for him, but Mr. Champers-Haswell objected. The end of it was that a compromise was effected, Alan undertaking to produce his retainer afterwards when they went to play billiards or cards.

* * * * *

Dinner was over at length, and the diners, who had dined well, were gathered in the billiard room to smoke and amuse themselves as they wished. It was a very large room, sixty feet long indeed, with a wide space in the centre between the two tables, which was furnished as a lounge. When the gentlemen entered it they found Barbara standing by the great fireplace in this central space, a little shape of white and silver in its emptiness.

"Forgive me for intruding on you," she said, "and please do not stop smoking, for I like the smell. I have sat up expressly to hear Jeeki's story of the Yellow God. Alan, produce Jeeki, or I shall go to bed at once."

Her uncle made a movement as though to interfere, but Sir Robert said something to him which appeared to cause him to change his mind, while the rest in one way or another signified an enthusiastic assent. All of them were anxious to see this Jeeki and hear this tale, if he had one to tell. So Jeeki was sent for and presently arrived clad in the dress clothes which are common to all classes in England. There he stood before them, white-headed, ebony-faced, gigantic, imperturbable. There is no doubt that his appearance produced an effect, for it was unusual and, indeed, striking.

"You sent for me, Major?" he said, addressing his master, to whom he gave a military salute, for he had been Alan's servant when he was in the Army.

"Yes, Jeeki. Miss Barbara here and these gentlemen wish you to tell them all that you know about the Yellow God."

The negro started and rolled his round eyes upwards till the whites of them showed, then began in his school-book English.

"That is private subject, Major, upon which I should prefer not to discourse before this very public company."

A chorus of remonstrance arose, and one of the Jew gentlemen, approaching Jeeki, slipped a couple of sovereigns into his great hand, which he promptly transferred to his pocket without seeming to notice them.

"Jeeki," said Barbara, "don't disappoint us."

"Very well, Miss. I fall in with your wishes. The Yellow God that all these gentlemen worship is quite another god to that of which you desire that I should tell you. You know all about him. My god is of female sex."

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At this statement his audience burst into laughter, while Jeeki rolled his eyes and waited till they had finished. "My god," he went on presently, "I mean, gentlemen, the god I used to pray to, for I am good Christian now, has so much gold that she does not care for any more," and he paused.

"Then what does she care for?" asked someone.

"Blood," answered Jeeki. "She is God of Death. Her name is Little Bonsa or Small Swimming Head; she is wife of Big Bonsa or Great Swimming Head."

Again there was laughter, though less general. For instance, neither Sir Robert nor Mr. Champers-Haswell laughed. This merriment seemed to excite Jeeki. At any rate, it caused him to cease his stilted talk and relapse into the strange vernacular that is common to all negroes, tinctured with a racy slang that was all his own.

"You want to hear Yellow God palaver?" he said rapidly. "Very well, I tell you, you cocksure white men who think you know everything, but know nothing at all. My people, people of the Asiki, that mean people of Spirits, what you call ghosts and say you no believe in, but always look for behind door, they worship Yellow God, Bonsa Big and Bonsa Little, worship both and call them one; only Little Bonsa on trip to this country just now, and sit and think in City office. Yellow God live long way up a great river, then turn to the left and walk six days through big forest, where dwarf people shoot you with poisoned arrow. Then turn to the right, walk up stream where many wild beasts. Then turn to the left again and go in canoe through swamp where you die of fever, and across lake. Then walk over grassland and mountains. Then in kloof of the mountains where big black trees make a roof and river fall like thunder, find Asiki and gold house of the Yellow God. All that mountain gold, full of gold, and beneath gold house Yellow God afloat in water. She what you call Queen, priestess, live there also, always there, very beautiful woman with face like Yellow God, cruel, cruel! She take a husband every year, and every year he die because she always hunt for right man, but never find him. Oh! no, she no kill him, he kill himself at end of year, glad to get away from Asika and go to spirits. While he live he have very good time, plenty to eat, plenty wives, fine house, much gold as he likes, only nothing to spend it on, pretty necklace, nice paint for face. But Asika, little bit by little bit, she eat up his spirit. He see too many ghosts. The house where he sleep with dead men who once have his billet, full of ghosts, and every night there come more and sit with him, sit all round him, look at him with great eyes, just like you look at me, till at last when Asika finish eating up his spirit, he go crazy, he howl like man in hell, he throw away all the gold they give him, and then, sometimes after one week, sometimes after one month, sometimes after one year if he be strong, but never more, he run out at night and jump into canal where Yellow God float, and god get him, while Asiki sit on the bank and laugh, 'cause she hungry for new man to eat up his spirit too."

Jeeki's big voice died away to a whisper and ceased. There was a silence in the room, for even in the shine of the electric light, and through the fumes of champagne, in more than one imagination there rose a vision of that haunted water in which floated the great Yellow God, and of some mad being casting himself to his death beneath the moon, while his beautiful witch wife, who was "hungry for more spirits," sat upon its edge and laughed. Although his language was now commonplace enough, even ludicrous at times, the negro had undoubtedly the art of narration. His auditors felt that he spoke of what he knew, or had seen, that the very recollection of it frightened him, and therefore he frightened them.

Barbara broke the silence which she felt to be awkward.

"Why do more ghosts come every night to sit with the queen's husband, Jeeki?" she asked. "Where do they come from?"

"Out of the dead, Miss, dead husbands, of Asika from beginning of the world; what they call Munganas. Also, always they make sacrifice to Yellow God. From far, far away them poor niggers send people to be sacrifice that their house or tribe get luck. Sometimes they send kings, sometimes great men, sometimes doctors, sometimes women what have twin babies. Also the Asiki bring people what is witches, or have drunk poison stuff, which blacks call *muavi*, and not been sick, or perhaps son they love best to take curse off their roof. All these come to Yellow God. Then Asiki doctor, they have Death-palaver. On night of full moon they beat drum, and drum go, Wow! Wow! Wow! and doctors pick out those to die that month. Once they pick out me, oh! good Lord, they pick out *me*," and as he said these words he gasped, and with his great hand wiped off the sweat that started from his brow. "But Yellow God no take me that time; no want me, and I escape."

"How?" asked Sir Robert.

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"With my master, Major's uncle, Reverend Austin, he who come to try to make Asiki Christian. He snap his fingers, put on small mask of Yellow God which he prig, Little Bonsa herself, that same face which sit your office now," and he pointed to Sir Robert, "like one toad upon a stone. Priests think that god make herself into man, want holiday, take me out into forest to kill me and eat my life! So they let us go by, and we go just as though devil kick us—fast, fast, and never see the Asiki any more. But Little Bonsa I bring with me for luck, tell truth I no dare leave her behind, she not stand that; and now she sit in your office and think and make magic there. That why you grow so rich, because she know you worship her."

"That's a nice way for a baptized Christian to talk," broke in Barbara again, adding, "But, Jeeki, what do you mean when you say that the god did not take you!"

"I mean this, Miss; when victim offered to Big Yellow God, priest-men bring him to edge of canal where the great god float. Then, if Yellow God want him, it turn and swim across water."

"Swim across water! I thought you said it was only a mask of gold!"

"I don't know, Miss; perhaps man inside the mask, perhaps spirit. I say it swim and lift itself up and look in victim's face. Then priest take him away and kill him, sometimes one way, sometimes another. Or if he escape and they not kill him, all same for that Johnnie, he die in about one year, always die, no one ever live long if Yellow God swim to him and rise up and smile in his face. No matter if it Big Bonsa or Little Bonsa, for they man and wife joined in holy matrimony, and either do trick."

As these words left Jeeki's lips, Alan became aware of some unusual movement on his left, and looking round, saw that Mr. Champers-Haswell, who stood by him, had dropped the cigar which he held to the floor, and, white as a sheet, was swaying to and fro. Indeed, in another instant he would have fallen, had not Alan caught him in his arms and supported him till others came to his assistance, when between them they carried him to a sofa. On their way they passed a table where spirits and soda-water were set out, and to his astonishment Alan noticed that Sir Robert Aylward, looking little, if at all, better than his partner, had helped himself to half a tumblerful of cognac, which he was swallowing in great gulps. Then there was confusion, and someone went to telephone for the doctor, while the deep voice of Jeeki was heard exclaiming,

"That Yellow God at work—oh yes, Little Bonsa on the job. I a Christian man, but no doubt she very powerful fetish, and can do anything she like to them that worship her, and you see, she sit in the office of these gentlemen. 'Spect she make Reverend Austin and me bring her to England because she got eye on firm of Messrs. Aylward and Haswell, London, E.C. Oh, shouldn't wonder, at all, for Bonsa know everything."

"Oh, confound you and your fetish! Be off you old donkey," almost shouted Alan.

"Major," replied the offended Jeeki, assuming his grand manner and language, "it was not I who wished to narrate this history of bloodstained superstitions, of poor African. Mustn't blame old Jeeki if they make Christian gents sick as Channel steamer."

"Be off," repeated Alan, stamping his foot.

So Jeeki went, but outside the door, as it chanced, he encountered one of the Jew gentlemen, who also appeared to be a little "sick." An idea striking him, he touched his white hair with his finger and said,

"You like Jeeki's pretty story, sir? Well, Jeeki think that if you make little present to him, like your brother in there, it please Yellow God very much, and bring you plenty luck."

Then acting upon some unaccustomed impulse, that Jew became exceeding generous. In his pocket was a handful of sovereigns, which he had prepared to stake at bridge. He grasped them all and thrust them into Jeeki's outstretched palm, where they seemed to melt.

"Thank you, sir," said Jeeki. "Now I sure you have plenty luck, just like your grandpa Jacob in Book when he do his brudder in eye."

(To be continued.)

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TOKYO AS A STUDENT CENTRE

A NATION is made or marred as she succeeds or fails in discharging her duty by her rising generation. Children constitute the greatest asset of a country. Their labour will create wealth. Their morals will determine national character. Their ideals will uplift the people. Their progress will shape the destiny of the land. Their brains and brawn will advance a nation in times of peace; fight poverty and disease; successfully grapple with plagues and pestilences; throttle internal brigandage and repression; repel encroachments; win wars; restore past prestige; uphold national glory; earn the respect, applause and good-will of God and man. The slogan of modern civilization has come to be: "*The State in loco Parentis.*"

The most sagacious, richest and noblest people is the one that provides every male and female child opportunity to express itself the best it can in the channel in which its Creator designed it to work. If, through lack of educational or other facilities, a child is not allowed to evolve itself to the highest point it is capable of reaching, the nation to that extent suffers loss.

At the bottom of Japan's wonderful success lies the vigorous and wise pursuance of the policy "That education shall be so diffused that there may not be a village with an ignorant family or a family with an ignorant member," which the Imperial Rescript on education outlined at the beginning of Japan's era of Westernization. Japan's reorganization has been founded, to a large extent, on its Europe and America returned boys and girls. Japanese young men, educated in Western universities and workshops, formed the nucleus of Japan's present-day greatness. They, with the assistance of hired Europeans and Americans, accelerated Japan's evolution; guided the Japanese activities into national channels.

The entire Orient has awakened to this consciousness and is now following in the footsteps of the Japanese. Japan has inspired the East to a better appreciation of herself and her opportunities and the Metropolis of the Sunrise Kingdom already has become the rendezvous of young men and women from all parts of the Orient. They have gone there to learn the arts and crafts which made Japan what she is to-day. From China, Siam, Philippines and India they are flocking to that country in a mad rush. Nine out of every ten of these students bound for the Mikado's realm drift to Tokyo and gain admittance to the schools and factories of that city.

Each steamer that goes to Japan from the other Oriental countries carries to the Sunrise Kingdom its quota of students. The German mail liner "Sachsen" brought the writer in March, 1906, to the land of the Mikado. Aboard the same vessel were thirty-five Chinese students. They came from eight different provinces of the Celestial Empire. They were all sorts and conditions of men, from the families of the rich and of the poor. Some of them were past middle life; others were still in their teens. Seventy per cent. of them were sent by the provincial government or by enterprising, public-spirited Chinese citizens. Their coal-black hair was, some closely, some clumsily cut or hung in ungainly bumps about their heads. This signified the precipitate haste with which most of them had parted with their queues. some still had their queues and sought to hide them under their hats. They were an interesting lot; and were the subjects of close observation not unmixed with merriment on the part of other passengers. Hardly any among them had any definite idea what they were going to accomplish in the strange land to which they were bound. Few had any plans for the future. Their heads were filled with dim, hazy notions. A sort of abstract enthusiasm seemed to animate them as it did the crusaders of old. They felt that the present government was weak and short-sighted. They were eager to see their mother-country recognized by the white races as a world-power. They thought that the regeneration of their land might be accomplished in a short time by just a little conjurer's trick.

Like the Chinese, all Oriental students go to Japan with the same object in view. Within a very short time they commence to look like the Japanese students in outward form. Were it not for their cast of features it would be hard to tell them from the Japanese

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scholars. Their evolution from the "goggle-wearing, slow-going Oriental literati of yesterday" is striking. Their thirst for knowledge is genuine—positively volcanic in its intensity.

How much the late war had to do with the new enthusiasm animating the Orient is shown by a comparison of the number of Chinese students in Japan before and after the War. The first two Chinese students officially sent to Japan went there a little over eight years ago. Five years later the number was 591. Toward the end of 1904 it had increased to 2,406. Early in November, 1905, it was officially computed to be 8,620. In June, 1906, there were abot 10,000. Today it totals 20,000. The huge numbers in which China has sent its young men to Japan for the pursuit of knowledge during the past few years is a new phenomenon in the history of Asiatic nations.

As in the case of the Chinese, the number of Indian students in Japan has more than trebled since the War. Six Indians are studying in the Japanese Universities, seven in the technical schools and a number receive practical training in different arts and industries in factories and worksops. The Nepalese students sent to Japan by the Government of Nepal took along with them a large retinue of servants and attendants. It is intended that these attendants shall obtain admittance into factories of different sorts and thus profitably employ their leisure hours by learning trades.

Similarly the number of Siamese and Philipino students has considerably increased since the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War.

The Japanese student sets an invaluable example to these young folks from the different countries of Asia. He is of an independent turn of mind. The least coercion on the part of his instructors—especially of Occidental teachers—causes him to go on a strike. In these strikes, almost invariably the students win victory over the teachers—at any rate, very seldom do they suffer, particularly if justice is on their side. Furthermore, the Japanese student undergoes, cheerfully, the severest privations in order to secure an education. A large number of the "rik-shaws"—the two-wheeled vehicles drawn by coolies—at night are pulled by Japanese students. In the early mornings and late in the evenings the students deliver milk in small hand-wagons, from door to door, covering miles of territory on foot. Some run errands. Others work in restaurants. This the Japanese student does at home and abroad. In this manner he secures the wherewithal to pay his room-rent and board, tuition and admission fees, and buy his books and clothes. To secure proficiency and correct diction in foreign languages, the writer has known Japanese students to walk miles with a foreiguer, for the sake of talking with some one to whom the language is native.

Association with many such students, in itself constitutes a liberal education. Their example must influence for better the students from other Oriental nations.

The psychological effect of residence in a country where institutions are comparatively free, in itself forms the most valuable element in the evolution of Asiatic students. Coming, as most of them do, from countries where liberty of press and freedom of speech are merely myths, residence in a freer land, though liable, in its initial stages, to incline them to indulge in reckless license, in the long run has a salutary effect. Absence from home, from their own province, from their country, broadens and hardens them. Living in another land humanizes them. The prevalence of liberal institutions—their very abuse—invests them with a sense of responsibility. They go through a University of hard, swift kicks—and by the time they get their sheep-skins they have received enough knocks to sober them. Gradually they come to understand that liberty exists in proportion to wholesome restraint. This is an invaluable training, especiallly when supplemented by the knowledge imparted to them in the Japan academies.

Japan, of all the Oriental countries, alone has a woman's University, "Nippon Joshi Dai Gakko." In Tokyo there are several universities free from official red tape. Japan boasts of several technical institutes, the like of which no other Asiatic nation possesses. In Sappro, the Hokaido, the Japanese Government has established an agricultural college which rivals similar institutions in Europe and America. The military and naval academies are the peer of those in the Occident.

The Japanese Government schools, colleges and technical and industrial institutes are crowded to the limit of their accommodation. Worthy young Japanese men and women, through lack of facilities, are denied admittance every year. The Japanese educational authorities reserve a certain amount of accommodation for students from other parts of Asia. The rush of Oriental young men to Japan has greatly exceeded this allowance. Those who could not be accommodated in the

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A GROUP OF INDIAN STUDENTS IN JAPAN.

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AN INDIAN STUDENT WORKING IN A FELT-HAT FACTORY IN JAPAN.

SAINT NIHAL SING (IN 1905) LEARNING PENCIL-MAKING IN A JAPANESE FACTORY IN TOKYO.

TWO INDIAN STUDENTS IN JAPAN PLAYING HOCKEY.

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THE INDIAN PRESS, ALLAHABAD.

NONILAL DUTT SURES CHANDRA BANERJI

Two Indian students in Japan.

"The youngman sitting is Mr. Noni Lal Dutt who came down to Japan in April, 1906, and is at present studying "Sugar Refining" in the All-Japan Sugar Refining Co., Ld., the biggest of its kind in the Far East. He intends to go to the United States for further study on the subject. He is aged 22.

The youngman standing is Mr. Suresh Chandra Banerji who came down to Japan in January, 1906, and has been since then studying "Pharmacy" in the Tokyo Imperial University as a special student. In September last he was taken in as a regular student, he being the first Indian student to receive this distinction. He intends to run a further course of three years on the same subject. His age is 21.

D. S. RAO,

For *Secretary, Indo-Japanese Association, Tokyo.*"

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A. GHOSE. J. BOSE. S. ROY. J. KATAYAMA, (*Japanese.*) N. GUPTA. J. VIDYANTA. P. ROY.

G. N. POTDAR, (Indian in Japanese dress.) G. TSUANG, (Chinese.) S. LOONTHORN, (Siamese.) A. TSUANG, (Chinese.) U. IMAI, (Japanese.) H. SANG, (Korean.) DELEON, (Phillipino.)

TOKYO, JAPAN, *July, 1905.*

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Government schools have joined private academies. Many schools have been started with the express object of securing this foreign "trade."

Some anomalies have resulted from the difference in social conditions of the Japanese and other Asiatic nations. In many Oriental countries, for instance, seclusion of women is enforced. In Japan, on the contrary, woman is in great evidence both on the streets and in the boarding places. Tokyo, like other large towns in the Orient, abounds in temptations. Most of the young men find themselves away from home and parental guardianship for the first time in their lives. Not infrequently, therefore, they are preyed upon by unprincipled boarding-house-keepers.

Hitherto all other Oriental students save the Chinese have been spared all social obloquy. Editorials and caricatures bearing upon the life of the Chinese in Japan, with more or less frequency find their way into Japanese journals. Not only their private life has been criticised, but they are denounced as revolutionists.

This, however, hardly is to be wondered at. That among twenty thousand young people there should be a few whose morals are lax, can be easily imagined. Moreover, Japan is the refuge of many Oriental radical politicians and rabid revolutionaries. Their influence upon the impressionable character of the newcomers to Japan cannot by any means be said to be uniformly healthy.

There are some among the Oriental students in Japan who are revolutionary in spirit, men who take every opportunity to direct an attack against their government. Some lead far from irreproachable lives. The number of such, however, is a negligible quantity.

Very few of these young men have any settled religious beliefs. It is hard for them to cling to the old religions.

Physically the students look robust. A tinge of color shows against the yellow or brown cheeks of many of them. Their willingness to adjust themselves to the new conditions of life is remarkable. It is surprising to observe the ease with which the Oriental student becomes used to Japanese food and modes of living. In less than a year the average student acquires a wonderful vocabulary and speaks the Japanese language with fluency, grace and correct accent. Some of the students develop a fondness for music and acquire considerable ability in playing the organ and melodian.

It cannot be doubted that these men will wield an enormous influence on national affairs when they return home. Representatives, in the best sense of the word, they come from all grades of society, rich, poor, high and low. They are engaged in the study of every variety of subjects, enrolled in the military, naval, and public schools, in the commercial, industrial and technical institutes and in the schools of law, politics and economics.

Nor will their influence be confined to their respective countries. It is bound to be Asia-wide if not world-wide.

Recently fifty members of the Oriental Association met in Tokyo. Count Okuma—the Japanese statesman who always stands for the asserting of Oriental manhood—presided at the function. It was a remarkable gathering. Japan, Philippines, China, Siam, Malay, Straits Settlement, Burmah, Nepal and India were represented. Clad in their native costumes, they formed a picturesque gathering. Their speeches were calculated to inspire mutual appreciation of the various Asiatic nations. The President emphatically asserted: "It was Rome that conquered Rome; in the sense that no nation is conquered and subdued by a greater power until the internal corruption makes it a ready victim." He advised the Orientals present to "become self-conscious of the existing state of affairs in their countries and to effect such moral and religious improvements as to be worthy of the ambitious destiny they aspire to." All the people present, in the spirit of brotherliness, partook of cakes and candies served in papiermache dishes, and drank green Japanese tea, unsweetened and without cream, out of tiny China cups.

The Oriental students in Japan are not only acquiring knowledge that will render them of inestimable value both in a national and individual sense; but their contact with one another is educating their finer sensibilities, enlarging their sympathies, broadening their affections and teaching them the value of "pulling together." On their return home these young men are bound to work towards bettering the conditions of their own land in particular and Asia in general.

SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

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OUR INDUSTRIAL SITUATION AND HOW TO IMPROVE IT

Read at the Second South Indian Industrial Conference held at Vizagapatam on the 8th & 9th June, 1907, by Mr. Y. Narayenamurty Pantulu, B. A., of Waltair.

IT is a most remarkable sign of the times that public interest in India centres round the question of her industrial regeneration. The stimulus given by Government to an enquiry into our industrial situation, the awakening of the national sense to our economic needs, and the progress of scientific discovery and invention of late years, have conspired to push Indian Industrial problems much to the fore-front; and if we are still far from inaugurating a vigorous policy conducive to our elevation to the status now occupied by the great manufacturing countries of the civilized world, or to our restoration to the high state from which we are fallen, we have at least shaken off the inaction of ages in endeavouring to discover the causes of our economic depression in diagnosing the disease that has overtaken the arts and crafts of this country, and prescribing remedies by which it can be stopped and their health restored once again.

The decadence of Indian industries is the result of their unequal competition for more than a century with British manufactures, which, besides having a good start in the race in the development of steam power and mechanical skill, were favoured under a systematic scheme of 'Economic' Government with trade facilities which tended to throttle the outturn of indigenous labour in this country. In pursuance of a policy under which England in the 18th century treated all her colonies as 'Plantations' to grow and export raw produce to the mother country and receive it back in the shape of manufactured goods, the East India Company steadily repressed our export trade, over-flowed our markets with British manufactures, and thus set a premium on the decline of our industries. "The British manufacturer," in the words of the Historian, "employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms." India was thus reduced from a manufacturing into an agricultural country, from an exporter of the most varied and finished products of her looms into an exporter of her very life-blood in raw materials and articles of food, and a ready market for foreign luxuries; from a model of industrial enterprise, into a dumping ground for foreign exploitation. Now about half a century after the termination of the Company's rule, the spirit of its policy and the dire results consequent on it continue unabated. In the year 1906 we exported 158 crores worth of Indian produce of which 119 or more than 75 per cent was covered by articles of food and raw materials alone; even in the midst of the general industrial awakening of the last more than quarter of a century which led to the establishment of cotton, jute, woollen and paper mills, of tanneries, breweries, sugar and soap factories in various parts of the country, a great disproportion exists between our export and import trade in raw materials and manufactured goods. A glance at the statistics of Indian trade reveals the apalling fact that the bulk of our exports is covered by wheat, rice, raw cotton, raw jute, oil seeds, hides and skins and the bulk of our imports by cotton manufactures, metals, hardware, cutlery, oils and sugar. The foreign trade of the Madras Presidency, for one, for the year 1906-07 comprises:—

	Exports in lakhs of rupees.	Imports in lakhs of rupees.
Raw cotton	221	...
Yarn and twist	17	99
Cotton manufactures ...	76	251
Raw jute	39	...
Jute manufactures ...	...	6
Hides and skins	93	4
Hides tanned	208	...
Seeds	9	...
Oils	4	31
Grains and pulses chiefly rice and paddy... ...	218	...
Sugar	7	13
Mineral ores	8	...
Metals	8	72
Hardware and cutlery ...	9	25

What is more remarkable still a great portion of such trade as we carry on is in

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foreign hands, influenced by foreign capital and enterprise, and the profits go to enrich foreign countries. We thus manage to rob the indigenous to pay the foreign manufacture, we starve ourselves to feed foreign nations, and lose all elasticity against famine by exporting away all surplus food from the country! Says Sir Henry Cotton,

"An India supplying England with its raw products and in its turn dependent upon England for all its more important manufactures, is not a spectacle which is likely to reconcile an Indian patriot to the loss of the subtle and refined Oriental arts, the secret of which has passed away; to the disappearance of weavers who have perished from starvation or have sunk for ever to the lot of agricultural labourers; or to the sacrifice of that constructive genius and mechanical ability which designed the canal system of Upper India and the Taj at Agra."

And yet the country is, as she has always been, rich in natural resources, vast in extent, varied in its climate, abounding in industrial wealth and most favourably situated for industrial independence. Her people are thrifty and contented, her labouring classes simple and tractable, and her artisans intelligent, skilful, and, when properly instructed, capable in well-organized factories of holding their own against the utmost efforts of machine producers. In the midst of these natural advantages, is it not the saddest irony of fate that we should be a famished race, lingering between the barest subsistence and starvation and crowding the relief camp by the thousands at the slightest disturbance of atmospheric conditions!

The evil suggests the remedy which consists—

1. In weaning the surplus agricultural classes from the soil and finding them non-agricultural occupation in towns.

2. In keeping India's agricultural produce within the country itself to feed her own people.

3. In ceasing to export raw produce, and turning it into manufactured articles to the benefit of the trader on the one hand and thousands of working hands on the other.

4. In reviving the extinct industries of the country, fostering existing ones and introducing new ones to supplement and strengthen them.

An enterprise of this magnitude spreading all over the length and breadth of the land, and affecting the vital interests of the whole nation ought to be initiated and strenuously supported by the State with the earnest co-operation of the people. The State, therefore, on the one hand, and then under its guidance and patronage the capitalists, the educated classes, and the artisans on the other, ought to join hands towards the success of this undertaking. Let us now proceed to view the manner in which each of the above bodies can interest itself in the movement and contribute to its success. The Government besides being the natural protector of the material interests of the people, is the largest importer of manufactured goods and the largest purchaser in local markets. On it, therefore, primarily devolves the duty of seeing to the efficient development of the industries of the country. First and foremost of all, the Government should adopt a system of protective tariffs with a view to help local industries. An import duty should be levied on all foreign manufactured goods including the British and an export duty on raw materials and food stuffs with a view, first to prevent them from leaving the country and then to protect the dying industries and push the sales of the produce of indigenous labour. Australia and Canada have, by the imposition of an import duty of 15 to 20 per cent. on all foreign manufactures, not only proved independent of foreign imports, but in many instances eclipsed European industries. Mr. E. B. Havell in his evidence before the Industrial Education Committee put the case for India in these words :—

"It is desirable that the raw materials of the country should be converted into finished products in the country, and their value enhanced by the expenditure of labour upon them. On the other hand the country may be made to supply its own requirements and the internal trade fostered at the expense of the external. Hitherto this has not been largely done, and mainly because in the absence of protective tariffs it has been very difficult to set up an industry against the competition of the highly organized and splendidly equipped manufactories of England, America and the Continent. The United States of America and Japan afford excellent examples of what can be done in this direction under initially adverse circumstances. Protection of home industries has been the key-note of their policy, and it would be an easy matter to follow in their footsteps if such a remedy were possible in India."

Such a policy would have far-reaching consequences on industrial expansion in this country. It will place Indian industrialism on a sound basis, and once adopted will pave the way for many other wholesome industrial reforms. It is no doubt an ordeal which involves great sacrifice on the part of the British rulers of India, but it argues a noble spirit of righteousness if they grapple with a question of great national importance in this way. With her abundant natural resources, India is in a position to dispense

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with foreign imports for the necessaries as well as luxuries of life. But being obliged to depend solely on agriculture, she produces food stuffs enough to feed the world, while her industries have so far deteriorated and declined as to keep her always in need of foreign manufactures. The reverse is the case with England. She is the greatest manufacturing country in the world, but possessing a population of 32 millions, she can only "produce food for less than half the number depending on foreign trade for supplies necesary to keep the other half alive." To apply the principle of Free Trade to draw two such countries into a commercial union, would tend not to the benefit of the agricultural country, but decidedly and exclusively to that of the manufacturing.

Another service which the state owes to the cause of Indian industries, lies in the direction of a thorough investigation with a view to ascertain their local extent, their methods of production, commercial possibilities, existing supply and demand, and financial conditions. Col. Clibborn's report on industrial education dwells on the supreme necessity for an industrial survey before any scheme for industrial education can be developed. After this has been accomplished and the information thus obtained made accessible to the manufacturer and the trader, attempts should be made to encourage the investment of capital in industrial enterprises. The state should in the words of the late Mr. Justice Ranade,

"By the free use of its credit and superior organization, pioneer industrial undertaking, subsidize private co-operative effort, and guarantee minimum interest to Railway Companies. It should build up national, not merely state credit on broad foundations by helping people to acquire confidence in a free and largely ramified Banking system so advantageously worked in Europe under different forms. Lastly it should utilize resources and organize them in a way to produce in India in State Factories all products of skill which the State Departments require in the way of stores."

The bureau of commerce and industry recently established in Calcutta should ramify into all the provincial capitals for the purpose of disseminating improved knowledge on industrial matters and carrying out the policy of the State in regard to industrial expansion; and inspectors of local industries appointed to report from time to time on the means that can be adopted to improve the tone of the industries in order to make them popular, cheap in production and profitable in the market. This must be supplemented by a well-organized system of technical education to be given to boys who have received some degree of general education, which by the way, is indispensible as fitting them to be better handicraftsmen than without it, inasmuch as their training would teach them to use their brains in their work as well as their hands. Industrial schools established for this purpose should be supplemented by institutes for scientific research to turn out capable technologists and great inventors; and these should be accompanied by museums established at district head-quarters to exhibit every variety of industrial products and manufactures of the district. District museums of the sort that exist in all the important cities in the United Kingdom and on the Continent will serve the highly useful purpose of educating the public in the resources of the district, and stimulating imitation and invention among the artisans, while they operate as advertising mediums and connecting links between the producer and the consumer. Their importance cannot be over-estimated as industrial education and all that the Government and the people can do to stimulate industrial activity can go but half way without a tangible market being created for the talents of the workmen for whose benefit such efforts are directed.

There is yet another consideration whose neglect will tend to the retardation of any scheme for industrial education. The cry for technical education in this country is of a long standing. Patriotic Indian statesmen have urged it on the attention of Government. Young graduades at successive University Convocations have been exhorted to pursue it. Government and local bodies as well as private philanthropists have established institutions here and there for imparting it. But for all that could be done, it continues nearly in the same nebulous state as ever before. The reasons for this are quite manifest. Technical education has, under the present condition of Indian industries, no attraction in itself sufficient to supersede University education as a means of livelihood. In spite of their being overcrowded, Government service and the learned professions to which higher education has been a passport, afford a most covetable outlet for the talents of our young men. To quote from Sir Henry Cotton once more—

"The great drawback to technical education as it is now being urged in India is that it affords no sufficiently remunerative opening and no satisfactory outlet for an independent career. In the absence of capital the only support which will give life to the

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current movement is the guarantee of Government employment. There is of course no such guarantee.

A scheme for technical education, therefore, ought in strictness to follow, not precede a general industrial awakening in the country brought about by the State in the manner detailed above, though it may often be itself an agent for such an awakening. The organization of capital on the joint-stock system to run industrial concerns on an extensive scale by the establishment and support of large factories, has been suggested as a certain means for meeting the difficulty by creating a demand for technical talent.

This great desideratum ought to be supplied by the capitalist. He is of all parties likely to benefit most by a system of industrial expansion. Lord Curzon estimates the hoarded wealth of India at 825 crores of rupees. If this wealth could be utilized for the exploitation of India's latent possibilities, how near at hand would her economic millennium be! The fabulous profits realized by European mining syndicates from the development of the mineral resources of the country for one, and from the working of the Indian Railways, ought to serve as an efficient object lesson in the utilization of capital. But the Indian capitalist is a very timid creature. He has not benefited by the pregnant advice of the philosopher who says that "Riches taketh unto itself wings and flieth away; but sometimes it must be set on wings to bring in others." Wofully lacking in commercial education, he either speculates too boldly or circumscribes his business horizon too narrowly. He has often not the courage to repair a loss or the prudence to follow up again. The world of business around him too often presents a story of phenomenal bungling or dishonesty. Living in a country where the joint-stock system and co-operative credit are exotics, and unable himself to command the capital for investment in large industrial enterprise, he naturally prefers his wealth to take the shape of money, jewels, land or houses. These have the saving grace of being 'safe' investments, but while they tend to his own benefit leaving out of account his poorer countrymen whom he is capable of saving by his enterprise, the profits they bring in are as nothing when compared to the enormous returns which industrial exploitation will secure. Compare with him his European or American prototype who is never afraid to risk his money but employs it in developing the resources of the Nile, the Railway system of India, the gold mines of Klondyke or the diamond reefs of Cape Colony! Yet most of his faults are not of his own making. He owes them to the state of the country in which he lives, and under a policy of active sympathy on the part of the State, which, I contend, is a panacea for all our present industrial evils, he will soon fit in with the times and widen his sphere of usefulness to himself no less than to his country.

Another great service which the moneyed classes in India are in a position to render unto her is by using and encouraging the use of articles produced in this country. "What is wanted more than anything," says Mr. Alfred Chatterton, "is to educate our wealthy classes to a true appreciation of the worth of the artistic productions of their fellow-countrymen, to the abhorrence of French mirrors, musical boxes, glass chandeliers and gilt gimcracks." The Swadeshi movement, so long as it is not characterised by a spirit of aggressive hostility to foreign goods, is a highly legitimate, nay patriotic proceeding. It has all the effect of a policy of protection on Indian manufactures, and with the sincere co-operation of those who are in a position to buy them largely is in itself capable of effecting as it has already within the short time of its inception begun to effect, a revolution in the industrial situation of this country. Besides the above, there are a variety of ways in which the Indian capitalist can, if patriotically inclined, co-ordinate and strengthen the efforts of the State in reviving Indian industries. He can for instance open industrial schools where Government schools are wanting; he can finance some of the poorer but more useful industries within the range of his influence and encourage the establishment of Indian stores for local consumption or foreign export; he can by the use of his capital induce obscure rural manufacturers to open their business in towns for thir own benefit, and finally he can contribute largely towards the expenses of young men going to foreign countries for the acquisition of technical knowledge.

My next item of hope is the educated Indian who can use the vast opportunities at his command in opening the eyes of the nation to their hidden industrial wealth and indicating the lines along which it can be developed. He can impress upon the minds of the people the example of other countries which have benefited by an active industrial policy and purge the minds of the rising generation of all prejudice against manual labour. He can interpret the economic needs and aspirations of the country to the Government, and take the lead in active industrial development by directing

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and controlling the organization of capital by adapting the quality and quantity of production to the demand, and otherwise supplying the brains to the movement.

And last, but by no means the least important class that is capable of applying its shoulder to the wheel is that of the artisans. In them after all lies the whole future of Indian industrialism. They are the workers—others can only show the way and offer facilities. The industrial salvation of the country lies in the earnestness with which the Indian artisan goes into his business and the honesty of purpose with which he gives his wares to the world. But as things stand he is sadly deficient in commercial morality, several circumstances among which are his poverty and his desire to set off against the perfection of foreign imports by under-selling them, inevitably tending to this result. Such of his wares as are above blame are still holding the markets of the world, maintaining the prestige of his country, and raising great hopes of the ultimate success of Indian industries when placed under more favourable circumstances. He is, besides, lazy, unpunctual and slovenly, and, to crown all, is a terrible procrastinator. He is not anxious to extend the sphere of his custom or the usefulness of his profession. One great drawback in him is that he only works to order—seldom supplies unless there is a demand, seldom stimulates demand by his supply. Enterprising middle-men have managed to make capital out of his foibles and mulct him of the benefit of his skill. The *Times*' "Indian Affairs" correspondent, in a recent article, deplores the lack of labour organizations and captains of industry in this country and cites this as a reason for the deterioration of our arts and industries and our consequent poverty. This is to a great extent true. This applies pre-eminently to the case of our cottage industries which in their present condition are sadly in need of a division of labour into production, distribution and capitalisation. But the existence of middlemen or contractors, though wholesome within limits, often introduces, for instance in the case of our highly developed and already highly popular arts and crafts, a greater evil than it seeks to remove. It will tend to raise the prices of manufactures to the detriment of their popularity and of the well-being of the producer and not unfrequently of the consumer. It will land the country in social and industrial difficulties always incidental to capitalism, which Carlyle contemptuously describes as "working mammonism." Kingsley's "Alton Locke" is a most vehement protest against the pernicious system of middlemen, their practices, and the misery to which they subject the working tailors, in these indignant words:—"If the comfort of the few be for ever to be bought by the misery of the many, if civilization is to benefit any one but the producing class, then this world is truly the Devil's world," &c. Kingsley is admittedly speaking of the extreme case where the manufacture passed from "sweater" to "sweater" until it reached the consumer, considerably bloated in price, and the manufacturer, far from participating in the profits, was paid and fed most miserably, while the article itself was of necessity made of an inferior quality to admit of high profits being placed on it and to create a demand sufficient to keep pace with overproduction. In any case the manufacturer can, by his industry and commercial rectitude combined with a judicious system of advertisement, dispense with the middlemen largely, raise a small capital for outlay in his business and appropriate the whole profit of his labour to himself.

And how much can be accomplished by advertisement! The secret of the commercial success of Europe and America is advertisement. With the Western manufacturer it has developed into a fine art. There is no time, no place which does not lend itself to a laudation of his wares; no resource of language, no power of imagination, no excellence of the pictorial art which is not pressed into his service for the purpose. How much, alas! does he outdistance his Indian rival in this respect! Few know of his existence, fewer still of his wares. We are often so ignorant of the industrial activity of our own places that when the tyre of a carriage or a screw of a cycle goes out of order, we hardly know where to send them for repair and whether indeed they can be set right outside Madras or Calcutta. At the South Indian Industrial Exhibition opened at Vizagapatam 4 days ago, I was admiring a highly ornamented silver jug and some gold jewelry exhibited by a local goldsmith who was standing by and of whose existence at Vizagapatam I had had no idea till my attention was drawn to him by a friend of mine. Who ever indeed could have imagined till now that there was a statuary at Chicacole, or a finished ivory carver among the Uriyas of Chikati? Yet how many more such and superior artists may there not be in the country whose labours are confined to their little village but are capable of extorting admiration if brought out by such an accident as an Industrial Exhibition!

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These then are my suggestions for improving Indian industries. I would summarise them under sympathy on the part of Government, enterprise on the part of the capitalist and earnestness on the part of the artisan. These requisites are not by any means independent and self-sufficing. They are interdependent, and act and react on one another. Each of them stimulates the others and all form a tripod on which the industrial prosperity of the country rests.

FOREIGN MERCENARIES IN THE INDIAN ARMY

It is a truism to say that the whole of the Indian Army, whether the European or non-European portion of it, is composed of mercenaries. The European, that is white soldiers, come out to and serve in India from no other consideration than that of their pay. The non-European that is the black sepoys are called by all as mercenaries. They are not paid to defend their country but to obey the orders of their foreign masters. In that sense they are truly mercenaries.

It was with the help of the Indian sepoys that the British acquired India. But when the sepoys mutinied in 1857, the British tried to crush them and to replace them altogether by foreign mercenaries.

After the Indian Mutiny, the authorities both in England and in India, in whose hands was placed the administration of India, set themselves to work out a scheme which would keep the people of this country in perpetual subjection. It was considered necessary to altogether abolish the native Indian Army or to make the position of the black sepoys such as not to enable them again to try to assert their independence. With these objects in view the Government of India under the direction of the Court of Directors of the East India Company issued circular letters containing certain questions, to the well-known civil and military officers then serving in India. These circular letters were dated 21st May and 16th June 1858.

It was with the blood of the sepoys that the fabric of the British Indian Empire was cemented. So one of the sepoys told Mr. Colvin who was Lieutenant-Governor of these provinces during the Mutiny, that,

"It is *we* who have conquered India for you from Ceylon to Peshawar."

Regarding this plain truth, Mr. (afterward Sir William) Muir, wrote :—

"This is a notion which must never be possible again to grow up, if we are to govern the country with security and advantage."

Sir William Muir possessed the reputation of being a very pious Christian. If such were his views, it is easy to conceive the views of others who were not zealous Christians like him.

It was contemplated at that time to exclude natives of India altogether from the army and to raise corps for service in India from the colored tribes from other tropical countries of the world. The circular letters above referred to contained the following significant question :—

"Will it be expedient to enlist natives of other tropical countries equally qualified for service in India with the natives of the country ; and if so, should they be formed in separate regiments or in companies, or otherwise ?"

The answers which this question elicited are very interesting and instructive. There were many who supported the idea of having regiments in India composed solely of natives of foreign tropical countries. Colonel Davidson, who was Resident at Hyderabad, wrote in his letter of 7th June, 1858 :—

"So far as the difference of circumstances admits, we might do well to imitate the Roman policy, which jealously excluded the employment in their conquered provinces of troops native to the place, and substituted for them men having no local sympathies of country and kindred."

He seemed to have no faith in the loyalty ; of the Indian sepoys ; for he wrote :—

"The native governments have long since given us a practical lesson as to their opinion of the loyalty and fidelity of the sepoy soldiery of India. It will be found that their most trusted troops were always foreign mercenaries. The Nizam has at this moment in his employ 18,000 Arabs and about 5,000 Rohillas (Afghans), and many more of the latter tribe are in his territory seeking employment. Not a petty Rajah in Guzerat but has, or endeavours to have, his Arab or foreign guard, however small it may be numerically, for the protection of his person and treasury ; alleging they find the foreign mercenaries faithful, while their immediate subjects cannot be trusted."

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General Sir Hugh Rose—afterwards Lord Strathnairn and Commander-in-Chief in India, answered the question as follows:—

"I would raise regiments for service in India in all the British Colonies or possessions where the climate is hot, * * * * I have done duty in Malta, and can testify to the efficiency and good feeling of the Royal Malta Fencibles, who have frequently volunteered for foreign service. * * I have almost invariably found these Maltese well disposed towards the English, and ready to assist them in any difficulty. If the Maltese were properly paid and pensioned, I am sure that they would gladly serve in India. * * * *

"The Maltese are Arabs by origin, and their language and habits fit them for service in the East. * *

"It may be urged against the enlistment of natives of other tropical countries for Indian service that Great Britain has put down the troubles in India solely with British and Indian troops, and that she could do so again. But I cannot admit the correctness of this reasoning. Great Britain would in all probability, should troubles hereafter occur in India, never again be in such favourable circumstances for quelling them as during the last two years. She was in profound peace with all the world, free from not only troubles, but political agitation at home * * *

"It has been urged that the employment of foreign troops would hurt British prestige, because indicating a deficiency of British power. But I think, on the contrary, that the presence in India of British troops, subjects of the British Crown, from every quarter of the globe, would confirm the belief of the natives, that the sun never sets in Her Majesty's dominions, and that Her rule is as powerful as it is extensive."

Colonel Young, who was Judge Advocate-General of India, gave it as his opinion:—

"I think it will be very desirable to enlist natives of other tropical countries, and I would dispose of them as recommended for natives of India. * *

Colonel Burn, who was Superintendent of Army Clothing, wrote:—

"If natives of other tropical countries can be procured they ought certainly to be enlisted for service in India. I would form them in separate regiments."

"The Malays, Arabs and Kroomen all suggest themselves as the men best suited for soldiers. Afghans make excellent soldiers, and are enlisted to a large extent in the Punjab regiments. I have an idea that Chinamen, under discipline, would make good soldiers; they are strong athletic men, and would be more tractable than the Malays or Arabs."

Major-General J. B. Hearsey, father of the late Captain Hearsey, whom the *Pioneer* once called "the brown Captain," gave it as his opinion that none but Christians should be entertained in the army. He wrote:—

"*Christians* of all tropical countries, or of those countries which are subject to great heat of temperature, *viz.*, Malta, Sicily, Naples, the Grecian or Ionian islands, Madeira, Brazilians, natives of our West India islands, *Christian* Africans such as serve on board of our men-of-war or merchant vessels, all kinds and descriptions of *Christians* who from infancy have entured great or angri temperature, should be sought for and enlisted to serve in India as soldiers. These men could bear a campaign in the hot winds and rains without much mortality or sickness. * * * * Jews (there are many in the native ranks of the Bengal Army); or all Christians, no matter what Church whether *Nestorian or otherwise*, so as to be as independent as possible of Hindoos or Mahomedans; we must show them *practically* that we can rule them and keep them in subjection with armies of native Christians, as well as with British Europeans; that our recruiting districts for such men are inexhaustible, as well as for Englishmen. It would be good policy to do so."

But the gallant general forgot that he was advocating that very thing which it was the object of the government to thwart. All the *Christians* having one common religion, would have any day combined and been masters of the situation. Sir William Muir was as zealous and pious a Christian as the gallant general himself. But he could not depend on native Christians for loyalty. He wrote:—

"But as Christianity spreads, so as to include (as in Mysore) whole districts, the dependence of the native Christians upon our government will become weaker, and character of individuals less easily ascertainable. When these days come I would not recommend any extensive enlistment of Christians into the artillery service."

General Hearsey's views could not have been approved of by his compatriots and co-religionists.

Perhaps Brigadier Coke, who commanded Moradabad in 1858, sounded the true note which should guide the policy of the Indian Government when he wrote:—

"Our endeavour should be to uphold in full force the (for us fortunate) separation which exists between the different religions and races, not to endeavour to amalgamate them. "*Divide et impera*" should be the principle of Indian Government."

Lieutenant-Colonel Macpherson, who was Quarter-master General of the Army, was also in favor of the introduction of foreign mercenaries in the Indian Army. He wrote:—

"The more variety of race the better, and it might be practicable to get men from the Cape, from the Mozambique Coast, and from the Western Coast of the Red Sea, by establishing recruiting depots for the purpose. * * Africans from the Mozambique Coast are procured for sugar plantations, both at Mauritius and Bourbon. They are an able-bodied race of men, and ought to make good soldiers."

Brigadier Hill, commanding Hyderabad Contingent, gave as his opinion:—

"The only races qualified for the military service are the Malays and the South Africans. There is a difficulty in entertaining Malays even for the Ceylon rifles, and none could be expected therefore for the Madras army. Sierra Leone would be a wide recruiting field for the army, and an agency especially for that purpose would obtain such certain annual

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supplies of recruits as would, I conceive, render it very advisable to raise a few corps for the Madras Presidency of this particular race; as they are known to be excellent soldiers, expert marksmen, and would doubtless be true to the Government at all times, as they would enjoy the same advantages of pay and pensions as the native army are entitled to."

But the introduction of foreign mercenaries in the Indian Army was strongly opposed by many high officers in responsible situations, such as Sir John (afterward Lord) Lawrence, Mr. (afterward Sir Bartle) Frere, General John Jacob and several others.

Sir John Lawrence, Brigadier General Neville Chamberlain and Colonel Herbert B. Edwardes wrote:—

"Military service is one of the most powerful means of conciliation which the British Indian Government has at its disposal; but after we have given all the service that is available, it is still one of the popular complaints that we give so little. It is a necessity of our position in India that we must spend a large proportion of the revenues of the country on European soldiers, but no such necessity exists for bringing in Mahommadan, Hindoo, and Buddhist foreigners from other tropical countries. Such a policy would be felt to be oppressive, and would be departing from the benevolent desire we have ever had to rule India for the benefit of the Indians. Moreover, with the memories of 1857 still fresh, we doubt much whether the natives of India are not the most docile of coloured military races. Again, every foreign coloured soldier that you bring into India displaces an Indian soldier,—a soldier, too, by caste and profession,—who will take to no other livelihood. What would the advocates of foreign mercenaries propose to do with these displaced military classes? No statesman can ignore them. The wise policy is to feed, use, and control them."

Mr. Frere, at that time Commissioner in Sind, said:—

"Some tribes of negroes have, I believe, a sort of dog-like fidelity. But they have peculiarities of their own very dangerous to their employer, and as far as I can judge of races of whom my personal knowledge is very limited, Tartars, Chinese, or Malays, with whom your only bond of union must be the mercenary one of pay, would require an overpowering force of Europeans to ensure their fidelity."

Again he wrote:—

"I think it would be a very great, if not a fatal mistake, to look to other tropical countries out of India for recruits for the non-European portion of our Indian Army. I do not speak of what may be advisable in a sudden emergency, but as part of our ordinary system, I have heard of and I can imagine no single reason for such a step, except that such tropical foreigners will be found able to stand the sun as well as natives, and will be more trustworthy."

"As regards the first point, their capacity for standing the extreme heat of an Indian sun, I would admit, for the sake of argument, that if men of the tribes I have heard named, * * could be dropped down in the midst of a hot weather campaign, as few of them would be likely to die of mere solar heat as if they were natives of the country. But it is not heat alone which kills men in and after such a campaign, and I know of no reason for hoping that tropical foreigners would be more exempt than Europeans from the diseases which are caused by such heat, * * while they would be far more obnoxious to all that great and fatal class of diseases which are caused or aggravated by mental depression." * * *

"As to their superior fidelity, I think it will be more than doubtful if they are ever employed in numbers sufficient to make them a real counterpoise to the natives of India."

"They can have to us no single tie, but the mercenary one of pay, in which we may be at any time outbid. No sepoy in India can possibly be so purely and entirely mercenary as these tropical foreigners must be." * * * *

"The expedient of relying on such foreigners has again and again been tried by oriental despots, and is indeed a stereotyped part of their policy. A body guard of exotic mercenaries so pampered and indulged as to leave them nothing to gain by change, so hated by the people as to make their interests one with those of their master, and so small as to put independent action out of the question, has often shown exemplary fidelity to a tyrant. But when such a body outgrows the small dimensions which are essential characteristics of such a guard, it has invariably been found dangerous and generally fatal to its employer, and in no case has it ever afforded an example which the Government of British India would follow without certain danger, and hardly doubtful disgrace."
* * * *

"Every plan of the kind proceeds on the supposition, which I believe to be most erroneous, that natives of India are not to be trusted; but I hold entirely with General Jacob * *, that in the military races of India, we have the best possible material for a native Indian army, and that nothing whatever has failed us but our own bad workmanship. Every incident of the last two years seems to me to point to the same conclusion, and I feel convinced that had the same system been applied to any other materials, drawn from any other race with which I am acquainted, the progress of failure and ruin would have been much more rapid."

He did not believe that England held India by the sword. He wrote:—

"The most sceptical must now be convinced, that admitting the re-conquest of India over and over again to be within the power of England, no army which it can be worth our while to maintain, could hold India, unless we can revert to our old normal condition, when our subjects generally acquiesced passively in our rule, and when we were rarely reminded that it was necessary to use our army except against independent or semi-independent states." * *

"The material power of England was, no doubt ample, if properly directed, to have crushed the United States in the war of independence. We retired from the contest and gave up our colonies, not because we felt we were the weaker party, but because we felt we could not retain them without an expenditure of blood and treasure so vast, and the creation of feeling so bitter, as to render the price of retention greater than the value of the possession to be retained."

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"If we would avoid the necessity which obliged England to cast off her American colonies, we must continue to govern our own Indian province hereafter as we have generally done before, through the respect and with the consent of the natives, and to trust, for the general maintenance of internal peace, to our police. A conviction of our superior military power is one necessary element of real respect, but such respect derives its greatest strength from a belief in our superior wisdom, justice, and moderation, and is something very different from the simple conviction of our superior brute force, on which it is now so much the fashion to recommend reliance."

General John Jacob was a born leader of men. He was very eccentric in his habits and manners, but his eccentricities were the eccentricities of genius. He grasped the situation so well, and took such a statesmanlike view of the whole affair that leaving aside the question of the employment of mercenaries from foreign tropical countries, he was even opposed to the increasing of English soldiers in India. He wrote:—

"I would also remark, that it seems to me to be absolutely certain that we cannot hold India by an army chiefly, or in large proportions, composed of English soldiers, and that to attempt to do so must be attended with speedy and utter ruin.

"In the first place England could not supply the number of soldiers supposed, on the most moderate estimate, to be required for the purpose of maintaining such an army in the East.

"And again, it is clear to me, that if we could command even such a host of Europeans as the grand army with which Napoleon invaded Russia, the attempt to coerce India by such forces would only end in more complete and hopeless failure.

"The mere brute force of hundreds of thousands of men becomes powerless before that of hundreds of millions of such people as the nations of India. The whole force of the Moghul empire was never able to subdue even one of these nations—the Rajpoots.

"To attempt to govern India by the force of numbers of English soldiers must, it seems to me, alienate from us all of the best of the inhabitants of the country, who are now assuredly inclined to favor and to support our power; while those inclined to be dissatisfied with our rule, who have hitherto been effectually restrained by the knowledge that the feelings of the great body of the people were with us, would then be free to display their hostility.

"Whatever the numbers of European soldiers employed, if we found ourselves placed in opposition to the wishes of the people of India, composing all the classes above referred to, the result could not long be doubtful.

"We should, I conceive, speedily find ourselves in the position of a waggoner who, finding his horses unruly and troublesome, and perhaps getting a kick from one of the animals, should dispense with the services of the team, and place himself with one or two of his friends between the shafts. It is certain that though the men might break their hearts with their exertions, they would not move the load one inch. But let the driver, instead of finding fault with the poor horses, improve his own guiding power a little, let him handle his team more skilfully, and he would soon find all working together with irresistible power, quietly, steadily, and well.

"Thus I am convinced that this great Empire also can not be controlled by English bone and muscle, by numbers of English bodies; but it can be held in perfect safety and security by English mind, by English moral power; by the influence of a moderate number of cultivated English gentlemen, rather than by a multitude of rude soldiers.

"It is certain that the natives of India even of Hindoostan proper—habitually under proper treatment, and commanded as *men*, in accordance with living principles and natural laws, can be made as good, true, and faithful soldiers as any Europeans whatever." *

We commend the above to those who are never tired of repeating that England holds India by the sword.

Major General Sir Sydney Cotton, commanding Peshawar Division, also disapproved of the introduction of foreigners of colour as soldiers in India. He wrote:—

"I think they would become a great burden to the state when worn out, and perhaps very troublesome. Look at the Arabs in the Deccan in the service of the Nizam, and if I mistake not, the corps composed of Malays, Caffres, and sepoys in the British service in the Ceylon regiments in former days were not found to answer, * * "

Of course, it should be remembered that this gallant general, unlike his namesake the author of "New India," was no friend of the natives of this country whose salt he had eaten and out of the revenues of whose country, he had fed and clothed himself. For, he wrote:—

"The people of the vast Empire of India now under British rule, having been conquered by the sword,

* "The proposal to hold India by the bodily power of English soldiers, by force of muscles instead of by force of brains, which seems at present to be universally accepted, appears to me so enormously unwise, that I feel certain that if the attempt be actually made, it must result in the total ruin of the Empire. Nothing seems more certain than that we can only hold this great empire of India by our moral superiority. The inhabitants of India are not barbarians. Science, knowledge, social condition, administrative wisdom, &c. &c., were in India, under Akbar, very far in advance of the state of things in England under Elizabeth. *No amount of mere brute force could coerce two hundred millions of such people.* The influx of large numbers of the lowest class of Englishmen, of ten thousands of English bodies, with very little English minds in them, will more than anything else tend to destroy the reputation and the reality of our superiority as moral beings; coarse vice and brutal manners, as the Oriental esteems them, will be then chiefly apparent to the Asiatics as the characteristic attributes of Englishmen, who will thus very soon be hated and despised. The idea of holding India by an army of English private soldiers appears to me to be so intensely absurd, that it is difficult to deal with the question with becoming gravity, * * Without the assistance of large numbers of native Indian troops, an army of Europeans could not move or subsist in the field; the enemy would only have to keep a little out of the way at first, to leave the Englishmen to follow their own strange devices, and they would all die,—aided by knapsacks, cross-belts, and pipeclay, the sun and the climate would do the business most effectually."

[Extract from a private letter of General John Jacob to Sir C. Trevelyan, dated Jacobabad, March 24, 1858].

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must by that weapon be held in subjection; and the sword must be firmly grasped for the future, by the hand of the European soldier, throughout the length and breadth of the land; the Government of India must henceforward be more essentially military; * * "

His argument for excluding Indians from the artillery was because they make good artillery men. He wrote:—

"Some officers argue that natives make efficient artillery men and excellent drivers, and therefore recommend the continuance of the native artillery; but I maintain that their great efficiency is the very source of danger to be guarded against, and it forms, therefore, the most cogent reason for discontinuing the employment of natives with guns."

Colonel Mayhew, who was Adjutant General of the Army, said that:—

"The only foreign troops in India should be Europeans, * *. Black races will always make common cause against white races, and should not be trusted; they would probably be nearly as expensive as Europeans, and more difficult to keep up."

Brigadier Colin Troup, Commander at Bareilly, suggested the trial of an experiment with foreign troops. He wrote:—

"I do not think it would be expedient to enlist natives of other tropical countries, nor do I know of any equally qualified for service in India with the natives of the country; should it, however, be deemed advisable to try the experiment, there can be no doubt but Africans would be the best, but it is a question if they would stand the climate a bit better than our European soldiers, or if they are fit to be trusted one bit more than the natives of the country, for they are famed for being most treacherous, added to which they would be quite as expensive as the European soldier, in which case, I think, we are far better without them. The experiment, however, might be tested by raising one regiment of them on trial, and if after a fair trial it was found to answer, the number might be increased. They should, I think, be formed in separate regiment."

Colonel Green, Adjutant General, Bombay, was against enlisting natives of other tropical countries.

"I think such a measure would be fraught with evil, if we have to *import* such natives, as admitting that we distrust those upon whom we should and must rely. If such men (Africans and others) can be found in India and induced to enlist they should be entertained like any other eligible native."

Colonel Melvill, Secretary to the Governor of Bombay, did not think it

"expedient to enlist natives of other tropical countries for service in India so long as a sufficient body of European troops can be maintained."

*Sir Charles Elliott, the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, was so much struck by the deterioration of the *physique* of the Indian people, that he wrote:—

"The deterioration of the physique of the population is a matter of common observation among officials, and is telling on the productive capacity of the laborers, and also on the recruiting of the Indian army, compelling the government to obtain her soldiers among the Gurkhas of Nepaul and the Baluchs and other better-fed peoples of the native states."

The opinions of Lawrence, Edwardes, Frere and Jacob, prevailed and so India was saved the humiliation of being garrisoned by colored mercenaries of other tropical countries. But from time to time this proposal is brought forward by military officers serving in India. So it is not quite impossible or improbable that some day we may see regiments in India composed of Negroes, Mulattoes, Arabs, Hottentoes and of other non-descript races. Day after day, Indians are becoming emasculated and of poor *physique*,* due to political and economic causes. When the whole population is disarmed, it is idle to expect the existence of martial spirit to any great extent in the population of the country. Add to this the condition of chronic starvation to which millions of India are condemned owing to the economic causes introduced in this country by the British rule. The growth of a healthy body and healthy mind is, therefore, well-nigh impossible. These circumstances may force government some day to recruit mercenaries from other tropical countries. Even at present, Afridis, Bunerwals, Swatis, Dogras, Gurkhas, Mewatis, are enlisted, who are properly speaking not British Indian subjects. This fact shows that the fighting races in British India are not able to supply the wants of the Indian government.

The plague which counts several hundreds of thousands of victims every year will make it almost impossible for Government to get men of sufficient stamina for the army.

The industrial development of India also will interfere with the recruitment of the Indian Army. Able-bodied men are sure to take to employments in factories rather than in the Indian Army, where pay and future prospects are not by any means very tempting.

All the abovementioned causes may perhaps some day lead Government to reconsider the question of importing mercenaries from foreign tropical countries for service in the Indian Army.†

†"The Journal of the United Service Institution of India" for July, 1897, contains two papers on the best method of recruiting the Indian armies from the pen of Captain G. S. F. Napier, 2nd Battalion, Oxfordshire Light Infantry, and Captain G. P. Ranking, 24th Panjab Infantry. The authors of these papers have hinted at the remote contigency, if not the necessity, of some day employing natives of other tropical countries for military service in India. Captain Napier in the concluding portion of his paper writes:—

"As these two (Panjab and Bengal) armies contain the flower of the Indian races, the present writer has here limited his proposals to employing Chinese in Sapper, Pioneer, and Railway Corps, * *

"In the Bombay Army it is proposed to raise two battalions and four squadrons from the Lur races of South-West Persia, and one

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battalion of Arabs from the vicinity of Aden, in order to garrison the unpopular stations of Sind.

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"The Sudan and British East Africa have also been indicated as sources from which a well-nigh inexhaustible supply of excellent raw material might be drawn, should the necessity arise. * * * *

"* * An attempt has been made in these pages to show that India can command an almost unlimited supply of excellent fighting material from other portions of the British Empire, * * "

Captain Ranking writes :—

"The regiments that fought under Clive and Wellington are now no longer those on whom we depend; * * * * It is probable that those within our border will deteriorate, unless their hereditary instincts are kept up by fairly constant military service; * *

"The races that furnished us with recruits during the days of the East India Company have admittedly lost their fighting instincts, and we must therefore look further afield. * *

"My endeavour has been to show how our enlistment has year by year become more restricted, and how many of our fighting races have been eliminated from our ranks. * *

"That such elimination must end in these races losing their fighting powers is I think too obvious to need any demonstration. Every year of neglect will make it harder to revive this fighting spirit and in a few years, unless steps are taken to foster it, it will be extinct. * *

"Doubtless, by our present system of enlistment, we obtain the cream of the fighting races, but as our enlistment becomes more and more constricted year by year, it is not only easy to assume but to foresee that in a few years the gradually narrowing circle of tribes and classes to which we confine ourselves will be insufficient for our wants, while the fighting qualities of the tribes we formerly enlisted will have died out. *In that event we shall undoubtedly have to seek outside the limits of the Indian Empire foreign races to supplement, if not take the place of, our present first line.* * * * * * * *

"The day may come when such foreign troops will be necessary; * * * *

"Our present system of narrowing our circles of enlistment year by year will do more to hasten the advent of that day than anything else."

BACKERGUNGE, THE ONLY PROCLAIMED DISTRICT IN INDIA

THE unique distinction which has been conferred upon the district of Backergunge, better known as Barisal, by selecting it as the only area, where the notorious "Seditious Meetings Act," which disfigures the Indian Statute Book, has been made applicable, calls for a thorough and sifting inquiry into the real condition of this ill-fated district.

The trend of the official information supplied to His Excellency the Viceroy, will appear from the following significant words, which fell from his Excellency's lips, whilst winding up the debate on the "Seditious Meetings Bill" from his place in the Imperial Legislative Council of India:—

"We cannot afford to forget the events of the early spring—the riots at Lahore and gratuitous insults to Europeans, the Pindi riots, the serious view of the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab on the state of his province, the consequent arrest of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh, and the promulgation of the Ordinance and contemporaneously with all this, a daily story from Eastern Bengal of assault, of looting, of boycotting and general lawlessness encouraged by agitators who with an utter disregard of consequences, no matter how terrible, have by public addresses, by seditious leaflets and itinerant secret agents, lost no opportunity of inflaming the worst passions of racial feeling and have not hesitated to attempt to tamper with the loyalty of our magnificent Indian army. I hope that your Excellency as Commander-in-Chief will on my behalf as Viceroy and representative of the King-Emperor, convey to His Majesty's Indian troops my thanks for the contempt with which they have received the disgraceful *overtures* which I know have been unscrupulously scattered throughout India, even amongst the hills of the frontier tribes."

Turning to the speech of Sir Harvey Adamson, the member in charge of the Bill and its official godfather and apologist, I find the following utterances in justification of this most illeberal and un-English measure:—

"A similar flood of oratory was about the same time poured forth in Eastern Bengal inculcating, among other things, the *Boycott*. It excited the population of that province and culminated in the serious riots at Commilla and Magrahat and the neighbourhood in Tipperah district, and Nangalbund in Dacca, at Jamalpur, Bakshigunj, Kharma, Bhandurabad, Dewangunj, Tarakanda Hat, Defulya Hat and a number of other places in the Mymensingh district, at Solanga in Pabna and Kishorehat and Ekdala in Rajshahi. There were *also incipient disturbances elsewhere, but these were nipped in the bud by the fortunate presence of the Magistrate or the police.* In Madras which until the present year had been free from political disturbances, platform oratory of an inflammatory nature was carried on almost daily in the latter part of April and the beginning of May. The result was the outbreak of students of Rajmehndri, the serious riots at Kokanada in which the club was wrecked and a disturbance at Rajmehndri which necessitated the despatch of troops to that place. In Calcutta there had been meetings almost daily since the beginning of August and a stream of seditious oratory was poured forth on the town. The police was urged to forsake their duty. The public were incited to attack the police, especially the European police, and students were advised to arm themselves with *lathies*, an advice which they accepted. The result was that disturbances took place on August 7th, 9th, and 26th September and October 2nd to 5th which became so serious that the authorities were compelled to take extraordinary action under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code in restraint of public meetings."

Now the question is whether we can find any justification for the extraordinary step taken by the Government of India in selecting Backergunge, as the only district in this vast Indian Peninsula, where this legislative

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monstrosity can be allowed full play. What has Backergunge done to be the only proclaimed area? What claim has this ill-fated district to be chosen as the selected area where repressive measures of all kinds should have trial and operation? At any rate, from Sir Adamson's speech, we find nothing in Barisal for this unique distinction.

No serious riots, or any riot for the matter of that, occurred at Barisal. Barisal is not Commilla or Magrahat, nor Jamalpur, Bakshigunj, Kharma, Bhandurabad, Dewangunj, Tarakanda Hat, Defulya Hat, nor Nangalband, nor Solanga, nor Kishorehat or Ekdala. The district is far away from Tipperah, Mymen-Singh, Dacca, Pabna and Rajshahi. Those are not the districts which have been proclaimed. Sir Adamson quoted chapter and verse; but none of them apply to Backergunge. The only passage which may have the remotest and the slightest reference to Backergunge, is where the Hon'ble member spoke of "incipient disturbances which were nipped in the bud by the fortunate presence of the Magistrate or the police." Were there any incipient disturbances at Barisal? Before I proceed to answer the question, it is to be remarked that the place where such incipient disturbances can be nipped in the bud by the mere presence of the Magistrate or the police, cannot be a worse place than those where such disturbances actually took place, in spite of the presence of the Magistrate or the police.

When reports of outrages by Mahomedan hooligans upon Hindu temples, women and shops in the neighbouring districts began to reach the people of Barisal, when wild rumours about the circulation of "Red pamphlets" and of Maulvis going about preaching *Jehad* against the Hindus, began to circulate, the Hindu population, which is very much weaker numerically than the Mahomedans, was naturally seized with a panic, more particularly when the idea that the officials were winking at this rowdyism (rightly or wrongly) got abroad, the people became very nervous and apprehensive about the peace and safety of their hearths and homes. On one occasion, it was found upon investigation, that some mischief-makers, in order to create an alarm amongst the inhabitants in a suburban village, named Kashipur, yelled and shouted and that a few young men of the town of Barisal ran in the direction of the village, to render help to their evidently distressed (as they fancied) neighbours. Was this an incipient riot? The temple of a Hindu goddess in the same neighbourhood was desecrated, nobody knew how and by whom. When within a few days somebody raised an alarm in the dead of the night in that very quarter, and some ardent youths taking it for an attack on Hindu householders by Moslem rowdies, ran out in the public streets with sticks and *lathis*, it was on this occasion, that the Magistrate and the police came out to see what this was all about. The young men quietly returned to their homes, when it was found that a false alarm had been raised by some busybody bent upon mischief. Was this an incipient disturbance? No doubt, the calm and sober and the moderate portion of the public, who knew that the best of relations always existed between the Hindus and Mahomedans and that there was not the slightest room for any apprehension of any collision between the two communities, stayed at home and did not at all share the alarmists' view of the situation. If this was an incipient disturbance, calling for a drastic measure for gagging the people and depriving them of the time-honoured privilege of free speech, there was more necessity for adopting it in areas, where serious disturbance actually took place. The poor logic of the official sponsor of this legislative *freak*, is transparent even to a child.

To turn next to the sonorous periods of our level-headed Viceroy.

The daily stories of assault and of looting could not have emanated from Backergunge, they were manufactured by interested parties. Of course some *Swadeshi* cases cropped up here, as in other parts of the country, some of which were judicially found to be false, and a few true. But were they any way peculiar to Backergunge?

The whole situation can be put in a nutshell. If *Swadeshism* means an encouragement of home-industries and the eschewal as far as practicable, of foreign goods, Barisal, through good report and through evil report, stands foremost in its pure *Swadeshi* spirit, and this is no doubt due to the excellent propagandist work done by a number of patriotic youngmen, in the early days of this agitation. Our Government is never tired of professing its love for *honest Swadeshi*; but is it not for the *Swadeshi* spirit of the people of Barisal that this extraordinary piece of legislation has been made applicable to this district? What else can be laid at the door of the people of Barisal? There have been no Hindu-Mahomedan disturbances here as elsewhere. If agitators, by their public addresses, lost no opportunity of inflaming the worst passions of racial feeling, why were they not prosecuted or bound down? If they circulated seditious leaflets, why were not measures

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adopted to stop their circulation? We are not aware of any seditious leaflets having been circulated. In the early days of the Partition agitation, one leaflet urging the people to encourage home-industries, was circulated and the authorities were pleased to describe it as "Seditious." One of the signatories brought a suit for damages against the Magistrate. The court found that the leaflet was not at all *seditious* and awarded damages to the plaintiff against the defendant, for libelling him by calling the leaflet "Seditious." The finding of the court has not been challenged even in appeal *vide* the judgment in Aswini Kumar Dutt *vs.* J. C. Jack, Magistrate and Collector). Had His Excellency this particular leaflet in his mind, when he made those weighty utterances in the Council Chamber at Simla? We challenge any body to produce any other leaflet issued by any person in Backergunge, which can be called "Seditious" or "inflammatory." It was His Excellency, who, on repeated representations to put down the gratuitous assaults on the people by the police in the *Fullerian* regime in East Bengal, asked the people to seek the protection of the law courts. The findings of the law courts do not at all support the theory that Backergunge is in a state of mutiny. Barisal is no military station. No portion of His Majesty's *magnificent Indian Army is quartered here.* Certainly there could be no attempt to tamper with the loyalty of the *Indian Army* on the part of the Barisal agitators. If there is any evidence of any such attempt, why are not such culprits brought to book? The Indian Penal Code provides for punishing such offenders, *i.e.*, those who attempt to seduce any officer, soldier or sailor of His Majesty's Army or Navy from his allegiance or his duty, with transportation for life, &c. (*Vide* Section 131 of Act XLV of 1860). There can be no more serious offence than this and it is desirable in the interests of the public, that such offenders should be brought to book. It is useless to make assertions without evidence. Of course, His Excellency depended upon "reports" of "men on the spot," who in their turn have to rely upon informers who think and think very rightly, that their occupation would be gone, if sensational information of this kind were not supplied. This is why informers and spies have always been treated with such contempt in all ages and climes.

His Excellency spoke of "itinerant secret agents." There is nothing secret and nothing clandestine about the Swadeshi agitation. Wherever there is any organisation for the dissemination of Swadeshi ideas, there must be agents who must necessarily be itinerant for the propaganda; Barisal is no exception to the rule. The Barisal "Swadeshi Bandhab Samiti," an organisation for Swadeshi work, has a few agents who visit the branches of the association and exhort people to use Swadeshi goods. These agents are known to the authorities; how then can they be styled "Secret"?

The one sure and unmistakable indication of inflaming the worst passions of racial feeling, is certainly the racial feuds, riots and skirmishes themselves. We are not aware of any outburst of such racial feeling in Backergunge. Hence on a close analysis of His Excellency's speech, we do not find any justification for singling out Backergunge for this extraordinary treatment. The truth evidently lies somewhere else. Backergunge, since long before this partition agitation, has been Swadeshi in action as well as in spirit. The agitation simply kindled the dormant fire. Of all places in Bengal, Swadeshism has, from all accounts, its stronghold in Backergunge. The reason is not far to seek. The people, though not so much educated as the people of other districts, have a fund of commonsense and earnestness which have stood them in good stead amidst the roar and thunder of Governmental repressive measures.

It has been said and said with great emphasis and some plausibility, that the ratio of Hindu and Mahomedan populations in Backergunge, being 2 to 1, the partition agitation was mainly got up by the Hindus. But partition or no partition, the Swadeshi could not have been so deep-rooted in Backergunge, if it were merely a sectional movement. The lower class Mahomedans, who constitute the bulk of the people, are and have ever been more Swadeshi than the Hindus of other districts.

Has Backergunge then been punished and deprived of the privilege of free speech for the unpardonable sin of her children being staunch Swadeshites?

This is the firm conviction of all. If there is any other reason, let the Government speak out.

Next, to recapitulate all that Backergunge has suffered and is still suffering for her Swadeshi proclivities.

Sir Bampfylde Fuller of pious memory lost the balance of his mind, when the people of different districts in Eastern Bengal, refused to vote addresses of welcome to him. He threw all deceney and dignity to the winds by openly insulting the leaders, and by openly introducing the doctrine of a "favourite

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wife." The entire bureaucracy took the cue from him, and a rupture between the two communities (Hindus and Mahomedans) was thus fomented, which had such disastrous effects. This short-sighted policy led to those riots and affrays in other districts, to which both His Excellency the Viceroy and Sir Adamson referred.

In Barisal, civil government was in a manner suspended and replaced by police rule. Sir Bampfylde Fuller quartered a contingent of military Gurkha Police at Barisal. There was the historic Gurkha *sortie*. Many innocent passers-by were assaulted and a pleader was almost done to death. In villages where the Swadeshi spirit was very strong, and where school-boys showed the slightest disrespect towards any official, punitive police, maintained at the cost of the inhabitants, were quartered.

The "Bande Mataram" song was prohibited and meetings in public places proscribed by executive orders. Things went on very merrily in this fashion; and a fresh coup was effected by the executive when the police forcibly dispersed an orderly meeting of the representative men of Bengal and murderously assaulted a number of young men as they had the audacity to proceed in an orderly fashion to the meeting place! There was no justification in the name of law, both divine and human, for this flagrant act of oppression. The matter was dragged into the law courts, and the result was a shameful exposure of the high-handed proceedings of the executive (*vide* the proceedings in the cases of Emperor *vs.* Surendra Nath Banerjee). Even that prancing proconsul, Sir Fuller, was compelled to admit that the people of Backergunge displayed great patience and self-restraint under the most trying circumstances (*vide* his Circular Letter withdrawing the Bande Mataram Circular).

The obnoxious circulars were withdrawn, the military police removed, and the people in villages sighed sighs of relief and began to breathe more freely when the punitive police were removed to head-quarters. There were everywhere signs of returning good sense and peace.

But this was not to be. In an auspicious moment, the most liberal minister of the liberal ministry, Mr. John Morley, was pleased to call the Indian patriots "enemies" and ever since they are being treated as such, by the most relentless bureaucracy. And from that time, a regular system of *espionage* has been set on foot, a regular army of spies and informers organised and the whole country has been given over to police rule.

The police began to hunt out the Swadeshites and what are known as Swadeshi picketting cases began to crop up in hundreds. Many judicial farces were enacted in the trials of so-called Swadeshi cases. Young men by scores, began to swell the ranks of "thieves, robbers and murderers" in our jails. With regard to the events in other parts of India, we need not concern ourselves very much, except so far that this kind of police rule has become almost infectious all over the country. With the deportation of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh without trial, with the incarceration of the Pindi lawyers and other incidents and with the promulgation of the Ordinance, the precursor of the Seditious Meetings Act, a reign of terror was inaugurated.

When the bureaucracy, who had all along a lurking suspicion that the Liberal Government might undo the Partition, was reassured by the flat denial of Mr. Morley to disturb a "settled fact" by undoing the partition and when they got a sort of sanction for stifling the growing national life by the introduction of repressive measures to put down the "enemies," they began to rule the country in a manner in which it has never before been ruled.

It was indeed very good and kind of the Viceroy to say:—

> "The Government of India would be blind indeed to shut its eyes to the awakening wave which is sweeping over the Eastern world overwhelming old traditions and bearing on its crest a flood of new ideas. We cannot check its flow, we can but endeavour to direct it into such channels as may benefit the generations that are to come. We may repress sedition—we will repress it with a strong hand. *But the restlessness of new-born and advancing thought we cannot repress.* We must be prepared to meet it with help and guidance.

These are words of wisdom indeed. If the Government of India is so far-sighted and statesmanlike, how can it afford to tolerate the foolish attempts of the subordinate executive to stifle this new-born and advancing thought? And if there is a wave of "Seditious thought" sweeping over the country, how can it be effectively checked? To go to Lord Bacon, that beacon-light of political wisdom and sagacity:—

> "The first remedy, or prevention, is to remove, by all means possible, that material cause of sedition whereof we spoke, which is, *want and poverty in the estate*, to which purpose serveth the opening and well-balancing of trade, the *cherishing of manufactures*, the banishing of idleness; the repressing of

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waste and excess, by sumptuary laws; the improvement and husbanding of the soil, the regulating of prices of things vendible; the moderating of taxes and tributes and the like."

Is the deprivation of the privilege of free speech a means to this end? Let us again turn to this repository of wisdom:—

"To give moderate liberty for griefs and discontentment to evaporate in a safe way, for he that turneth the humours back and make the wound bleed inwards, engender the malign ulcers and pernicious imposthumations (abscesses)."

Is not the 'Seditious Meetings Act' calculated to turn the humours back and to make the wound bleed inwards? And is it not calculated to engender malign ulcers nnd abscesses? We have been told by a highly cultured and sympathetic Englishman, who interviewed the local *ma bap*, that he gave him, as the reason for this step, 'the *holding of secret meetings*.' What if secret meetings are held, when the people are debarred from holding public meetings and from ventilating their grievances? But who gave him the *khabar* of such secret meetings—the informers and the detectives? Were these meetings the meetings of "moonlighters" and "Fenians"? This is really trembling at a shadow. The rumour about the local Government's recommendation for deporting a Barisal leader, may or may not be well-founded. But it gets some sort of plausibility from the way in which the whole Swadeshi movement in Barisal has been misrepresented. With regard to this particular Swadeshi leader, it seems that the local authorities are afraid of the very great influence which he exercises over the local people. His is a name to conjure with. He has won the affection and love of the people, by a lifelong devotion to their cause, by his high character, by his educational work, and recently by his efforts to alleviate the miseries of a hunger and famine-stricken people.

To quote the words of an independent and sympathetic observer, Miss Margaret Noble:—

"The energising effect of political vigour on all civic and corporate action was never better seen than in Barisal during the last months of the year 1906. The name of the place has become famous in India and in England, for the manly tone adopted by its people in protest against the partition of Bengal, the Gurkha occupation, and the methods of Fuller as Lieutenant Governor. But few probably have realized that had it not been for this agitation, and for the determined spirit of co-operation evoked by it, thousands of helpless people who have now been aided and relieved, must have been swept out of the ranks of the living by the ruthless hand of famine during the past year."

And Miss Noble, well-known in this country as Sister Nivedita, thus speaks of the organisation for famine relief:—

"Amongst voluntary organisations, unrecognised by State or Government, and taking place spontaneously in face of the need with which they were to deal, this for rapidity of formation, loyalty to its leaders, cohesion, efficiency, might well, I think, claim to be unprecedented in any country....Altogether in the course of the month that followed, and until the work closed in December,—Aswini Kumar Dutt and his workers were able to distribute Rs. 31,172, 5,766 maunds of rice and 3,510 pieces of cloth."

Further down she says with reference to the relief work organised by the people themselves:—

"This I think, we have the right to regard as the greatest thing ever done in Bengal. Had the political agitation of the previous months ended with the withdrawal of Fuller or had it been incapable of bearing fruit beyond the walls of the city, then the people of Barisal might have deserved the taunts which those who love them not have levelled against them. But the end of all politics is the feeding of the people and the soundness, sincerity and appropriateness of this particular political movement, has thus been attested to the full."

Sister Nivedita, as an eye-witness of a pathetic scene in a village, thus writes about the confidence of even peasant women in this arch-sedition-monger (!) Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt:—

"The weeping woman dried her eyes and silently strove for self-control, for was this not the word of Aswini Kumar Dutt, and was he not even as the father of the people?"

Is the mighty British Government jealous of the influence of this single individual? Why did the Government by withdrawing from famine-relief, in Backergunge, afford this "enemy" of the "British Raj" an opportunity to win the hearts of the people by his seductive smiles and winsome manners?

As a matter of fact, Babu Aswini Kumar is neither a seditionist nor an enemy of the British Raj. In spite of his leanings towards the New Party, he has a "sweet reasonableness" about him, which endears him even to the "Moderates."

We know how a great social, religious and political reformer with a loveable heart and exterior was deported without a trial on account of a tissue of misrepresentations that was woven round his blameless career as a public man. It is not unlikely that a series of false or overdrawn reports emanating from an over-credulous or mischievously inclined local official hierarchy, who depend upon informers and spies for all their "reliable informations," sealed the fate of Backergunge

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A deportation being out of the question after the shameful exposures in the Panish trials, Backergunge has been put under a *ban* by the Seditious Meetings Act and made a peg on which to hang this legislative monstrosity.

The Right Hon'ble John Morley expressed a pious wish that "the moderates might rally to the side of Government." Is this the most approved method of carrying out that pious wish? All the people of Backergunge cannot be revolutionaries. 66 per cent. of the inhabitants are Mahomedans, who must necessarily be "loyal." Of the remaining 34 per cent. every one does not belong to the school of politics to which Aswini Babu pays homage (assuming that he is one of the "irreconcilables" and Mr. Morley's "enemies"). Has this measure been made applicable to Backergunge on the same ethical principle on which the cost of punitive police is levied on all and sundry, irrespective of their innocence or guilt?

Barisal is under a cloud. Repressive measures of all kinds have been adopted to teach the inhabitants a lesson—a lesson in what? Patience? Military and ordinary *extra* police have been drafted here. Punitive police have been quartered in several places. Hindu officers have been replaced by Mahomedan officers. Harmless passers-by have been assaulted by the police. The cry of "Bande-Mataram" has been proscribed. Orderly meetings and processions have been stopped. Swadeshi workers and speakers have been 'shadowed.' Young men and students have been treated like ordinary felons. The whole district has been overrun by spies and informers. Leaders have been openly insulted. One additional Magistrate has been posted and lastly the Seditious Meetings Act has been enforced.

But how have the people of Barisal sinned? They have been Swadeshites and have been suffering patiently and quietly from the effects of all the legislative and executive measures that have been forged by our sympathetic Government. This is indeed a sight for the gods.

Our Government is anxious to allay the unrest. But are not such measures sufficient to embitter the feelings of any people? Are they calculated to make them "loyal," "law-abiding" and "contented"?

What with a succession of bad seasons and what on account of the "settlement operations," the people of Backergunge, who are mostly agriculturists, have been reduced to most terrible straits. Their cup of misery is now full; as what little of life's enjoyment remained to them, is being destroyed by this policy of distrust and repression.

Is there no statesman in India who can see things in their true colours? There is no possible chance of any rebellion, any mutiny, or any disturbance. There may be unrest. Remove the causes of unrest and take the people into confidence. Let an honest effort be made to make the lot of the poor toiling millions of India a little brighter and happier.

NIBARAN CHANDRA DAS GUPTA.

THE FREE INFLUX OF ENGLISHMEN INTO INDIA

We have seen how under the pretext of civilising India a one-sided free trade was imposed upon her by Englishmen about a century ago for extending their trade. Another means the natives of England devised for improving their trade in India was the free influx of their co-religionists and compatriots into that country. Europeans were not freely allowed to sojourn or settle in the territories in India then under the jurisdiction of the East India Company. The Britishers wished to remove these restrictions so as to enable their kith and kin to go in large numbers to India. They believed that this would expand their commerce and increase the sale of English goods. They knew full well that the step which they proposed was not the one calculated to promote the happiness of the natives of India. Indeed, on this point almost all the witnesses examined before the Select Committees of both the houses were unanimous. We reproduce below the evidence of some of those who were competent to speak with authority on the subject.

Mr. Warren Hastings, examined before the Lords' Committee, said :—

"It is impossible that the English character should coalesce with the natives in the same state of society. In the higher class of the British subjects this effect may not be deduced; but if Europeans are admitted generally to go into the country to mix with the

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inhabitants and to form establishments amongst them, the consequences must certainly and inevitably prove the ruin of the country; they will insult, plunder, and oppress the natives because they can do it with impunity; no laws that can be enacted from hence can at such a distance, and under the cover of so many circumstances as will occur in that country, prevent them from committing acts of licentiousness of every kind with impunity; the arrogance and boldness of their spirit will encourage them too far to do everything that their own interests may prompt them to. In India at a distance from the capital settlements, the name of an Englishman is his protection, and a sanction for many offences which he would not dare to commit at home. * * * * There a tacit idea prevails universally in the minds of all British subjects not only in India, but I believe with a feebler or deeper impression even at home, the idea of common participation which every British subject possesses in the sovereignty of the Company:—'Since *we* became masters of the country,' '*our* native subjects,' and other phrases of a similar import constantly occur in our books, in our writings, as well as in the language of familiar conversation. These ideas in the lower orders of British subjects rise to the height of despotism, and are liable to all the excesses of despotism, whenever the prerogatives annexed to it can be asserted with impunity; with such a disparity, the aggrieved Indian loses his confidence; he is timid by nature, and not easily provoked to resistance where danger may be apprehended; but though this is a part of their individual character, cases may be supposed in which the provocation of a general grievance may excite the whole people, or detached members of them, to all the ferocities of insurrection; this, however, is not very liable to happen, and I hope never will. Very great and almost insuperable will be the difficulties of obtaining redress should the native Indian be under a necessity of appealing for it to the courts of justice established in the country; these will always be at a great distance from the complainant, because he cannot afford the loss of a day's labour, which procures him his daily subsistence, in appealing to them. The same difficulties will occur in collecting witnesses, and procuring their attendance; and these combined will be more likely to prevent his complaining at all, than a too quick sense of injury to give occasion for his complaining without sufficient reason. * * * *

"If a free trade were authorised by law between this country and British India, and Englishmen were allowed to fix their residence in any part of our Indian possessions according to their pleasure, and without restraint, is it your opinion that any ill consequences from such permission would ensue to the tranquility and happiness of the natives of India under the Government of the Company?—I answer confidently, that it would prove ruinous to the country, and very injurious to the peace of the inhabitants.

"Are you of opinion that ill consequences would follow from such permission to the stability of the British Empire in India?—I am indeed. * * * *

"If there were any considerable increase in the intercourse of Englishmen with the natives of India, are you of opinion that it would have an ill effect upon the opinions of the natives of India relative to the character of Englishmen?—Most undoubtedly they would naturally draw their opinion of the character of the country from the conduct of those with whom they were immediately conversant, and every act of injustice, for which they could receive no redress, would dwell upon their minds, with a strong prejudice against the Government itself, supposing it to permit them.

"Are you of opinion that such an idea so generated in the minds of the natives might eventually be prejudicial to the stability of the British Government in India?—A strong armed force may be sufficient to suppress and keep down any spirit of revolt arising in the minds of the people. We must always keep up a strong standing force in that country; but so much depends for the peace of the country and the stability of the Government upon the attachment of the people, that it would be very unsafe and impolitic to trust to that security only. * * In short, I do not believe that any nation upon earth is safe from the worst effects which may follow from a general discontent of its people."

In his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, Mr. Warren Hastings said:—

"Twety years ago when the present Charter was under consideration, I addressed a letter to the Chairman, or Chairmen for the time being of the Court of Directors upon this very subject; in which, so far as I can trust to my recollection, I strongly urged the necessity of providing against the irruption of British adventurers into India, and beyond the bounds of our settlements; arguing from it, that they would molest and oppress the people, and plunder the country; and I believe I expressed a wish that some provision should be made against it in the Charter then depending. I have either lost or mislaid the letter, so that I have no access to any copy of it: therefore I can only speak to its identity, and to the general import of it. I mention this to show that it is not a novel doctrine which I humbly deliver to this honourable House. My letter, I know, was seen, and I have a pleasure in thinking that it was approved, by the gentleman that then presided over the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India; a man, who certainly, if it could be said of any man, required no light from the judgment of another to aid his own; and, therefore, it would be the height of arrogance in me to suppose that I had any share of merit in the event which followed. I have mentioned the fact only to show, how early my opinion was formed, and with what anxiety and earnestness I acted upon it. A clause was inserted by Mr. Dundas, in the Act of Parliament, and in the Charter constituted from it, by which it was enacted, 'that no British subject not being a servant of the East India Company should be allowed to reside in India, except at the principal settlements; unless by a special license from the Company or the Governors of India.' This license I thought defeated the essential purpose of the prohibitory clause; but I waited till another occasion induced me again to address the Court of Directors through the similar official channel of the Chairman and deputy Chairman of that body; which I did, in a letter dated the 12th of March 1802, strongly remonstrating against this exception to the general clause, as liable to be productive of greater mischiefs from the few favoured Europeans who were allowed the benefit of it than if all men indiscriminatively were allowed to possess

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the same privilege. Again, on the 28th of April last, I a third time took up the same subject, and addressed a letter upon it to the present Chairman of the Court of Directors, re-iterating my former objections, and the arguments connected with them, and proposing as a means of preventing the deprecated abuses, certain restrictions to which I have alluded in my answer to one of the first questions proposed to me. This letter contains all that I had written upon the same subject in my preceding letter of March 1802, in a quotation from it. This will, and the first letter which I have mentioned, would (if I could produce it), strongly prove that such always was my opinion. This honourable House will have ample means of knowing, from more recent testimony than mine, whether the mischiefs which I apprehended have actually come to pass, and the records of the Court of Directors will afford a more authentic evidence still of their existence, if they have existed. I have the permission of the Court of Directors, in whose possession the last letter is, and I humbly refer this honorable House to it: and if this shall appear to be clearly the case, the inferences that I drew, so long ago as twenty years past, of the connexion between the allowance of British adventurers in India, not in the service of the Company, with its influence on the peace of it, and the re-iteration of the same opinion through so long a series of time, are no longer argumentative: they are predictive; and in that sense are an irrefragable proof, that such consequences must inevitably follow such premises."

Mr. William Cowper told the Lords' Committee that:—

"Uninformed as the European must be of every thing that it was important to him to know of the habits, the customs, the prejudices, the peculiarities, the laws, and the religion, both of the Mahomedan and Hindoo inhabitants, he would ignorantly in a thousand ways be exposed to violate some and give offence in others; it cannot be supposed that some violences would not be committed by the European: this would tend to exasperate both the Hindoo and Mussalman population, and supposing that those adventurers were multiplied to the extent that the question I imagine intends, would lead to universal disorder, anarchy and confusion in the interior, infallibly as I should think."

Sir John Malcolm, as a witness before the Lords' Committee was examined as follows:—

"Is it your opinion that much less danger is likely to arise to the peace and happiness of the inhabitants of British India from intercourse with Englishmen, who, from their long residence in that country, are acquainted with their manners and prejudices, than with persons coming from this country unacquainted with any of their manners and prejudices, and therefore from ignorance likely to offend them?—No doubt. * * * *

"In case then any act of violence should be committed by any free trader or his agent, at the distance of several hundred miles from Calcutta, do you conceive it possible that the natives can have adequate justice against such trader or his agent?—It would be attended with very great delay and inconvenience, no doubt."

Lord Teignmouth in his evidence before the Lords' Committee, said:—

"An unrestrained admission of Europeans into the country, * * would certainly in my opinion be attented with very great inconvenience and embarassment to the Government of the country, and might probably be attended with mischievous and dangerous consequences. * *

"The admission of a number of Europeans into the interior of Bengal, of people unacquainted with the habits and customs of the natives of that country and many of them entertaining a contempt for them, would probably be attended with this inconvenience, that they would often violate the prejudices of the natives by their conduct, and excite a considerable degree of irritation in the natives by such conduct; but whether it would be attended with evil consequences to the peace of the country, generally speaking, I feel some hesitation in giving any positive opinion; there is another instance in which I think the unrestrained admission of Europeans * * would also be attended with bad consequences, that it would tend to lower the British character in the estimate of the natives; and that might be deemed a dangerous effect, when the great disproportion between the inhabitants of India and the number of Europeans is taken into consideration.* * * *

"Supposing that irritation which your Lordship has supposed would take place in the minds of the natives, from unrestrained intercourse with Europeans, and supposing that degradation of European character in their opinion which your Lordship has alluded to, do you not think it might ultimately affect the stability of the British Empire in India?—A long course of irritation, and an increasing sentiment of degradation, might lead to such an effect."

Major General Alexander Kyd's evidence before the Lords' Committee is so important, that copious extracts from it are reproduced below.

"From the experience you have had on this subject, are you able to form a conjecture with respect to the probable effect of an unrestrained intercourse between British persons and the native inhabitants of India?—I think from my own observation it would be fraught with very dangerous consequences, * * *

"On what observed peculiarities in the character or usages of the natives do you found that opinion?—It is an unfortunate circumstance, but it is certainly true, that the character of the lower class of Europeans is, to hold in utter contempt and to despise the character of the natives; and on all occasions, where I have observed they have had the smallest authority, they never fail to treat them ill. There is another circumstance that is equally unfortunate, that almost all the lower classes of Europeans are addicted to spirituous liquors when they can get them. Spirituous liquors are to be got in every village or market in the country at a trifling price, and therefore they naturally will indulge in them, and in their intemperance ill treat the natives.

"Do you remember having seen instances in which this observation was verified?—In my own experience I had occasion to employ a vast number of European overseers, which in general were taken from the military, and were recommended to me as men of the

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best character, but in the end I found that it was impossible to delegate to them the smallest power, and I was obliged to leave off the employment of Europeans, from their habit of ill-treating the natives, and to take to native superintendents, in the works I was carrying on * * * *

"Supposing traders to go from this country with British crews, would any abuses happen with respect to the native vessels of which you have spoken, and of which the crews and captains and owners are exclusively natives?—Upon that subject I own I have some opinions that may probably appear strange; but I very much fear that several of those disappointed traders would most likely wish to make good their losses, and might be induced to commit depredations upon those defenceless vessels; and in consequence this free and open communication of ships of all descriptions might frequently lead to those depredations; I am almost certain it would do it.

"Do you found that opinion upon any historical fact?—We know there have been traders in former times, who even went the length of a regular system of piracy." * * * *

"You have stated that in the public works carried on under your direction in India, you latterly preferred the employment of natives, as superintendents, to Europeans; what opinion has that enabled you to form respecting the capacity of the natives when so instructed and employed?—The capacity of the natives respecting carrying on all works of ingenuity, is beyond what people in general can conceive. I have executed, with natives alone, buildings of all descriptions, made up furniture of every kind, in short directed them to cast cannon; there is nothing that I understood myself, but what I could get the native artificers to execute, and in a very superior manner; they are a very ingenious and a very intelligent people."

Yet the natives of India were represented as savages, whom it was considered the duty of England to civilize.

Mr. Thomas Graham was examined before the Lords' Committee.

"Supposing a considerable and indiscriminate influx of Europeans, in consequence of an open trade from every port in the United Kingdom to every port within the limits of the Company's Charter, what political or other consequences would you apprehend from such increased and indiscrimate influx?—I do not conceive that it would be practicable for the regulators of the government there to restrain them from those communications which might lead to commotion.

"Will you describe the kinds of communication which you apprehend might lead to such commotion?—The trespasses which they might commit upon their religious prejudices."

According to Sir Thomas Munro

"the general intercourse of Europeans with such a country (India) would certainly be productive of very bad consequences. * * I think that men recently arrived from Europe, without any knowledge of the language or manners of the people, would be too much accustomed to exercise acts of violence to their religious and civil feeling and prejudices, and by that means to excite discontent at, and occasion constant affrays and appeals to, the authorities established here.

Further on, Sir Thomas Munro corrected himself by saying:—

"When I spoke of European merchants lately arrived from Europe committing acts of violence against the inhabitants and natives, I did not mean to confine my remarks entirely to merchants, I extend it to all Europeans, civil and military, Company's servants and King's: when they first land, from their ignorance of the manners of the natives, from seeing them apparently so mild, they are apt to treat them with contempt, and to commit acts of outrage that they would not do in their own country: they consider themselves in India as part of a nation of conquerors, and they are very apt to act as such in their own persons."

The questions which were put to Mr. William Young, and the answers which he gave to those questions in his evidence before the Lords' committee are reproduced below:—

"What do you conceive would be the effect of an unrestrained intercourse between the natives of that country and the natives of this?—I should think it would lead to very disagreeable consequences.

"Will you describe in what way you conceive those disagreeable consequences would arise?—I think that they would arise from their interference with the manners, customs, usages, and religious prejudices of the people." * * * *

"Do you apprehend then, that an unlimited influx of Europeans into that country would produce consequences dangerous to the happiness of the natives and the stability of the British Government?—I think, that unless very great restrictions indeed were imposed upon them, it would."

Mr. John Stracey told the Lords' Committee,

"I should certainly think if British subjects are allowed to go when and where they please, through the different provinces, the greatest injury would arise in every respect; and if they are to go in an unlimited manner, and to be under no restraint to the different courts established in the provinces, I think they would all of them, or at least most of them, be guilty of the greatest excesses and enormities."

Then he was asked:—

"Do you not believe that if such a state of circumstances were to take place as has been just supposed, it would create great disturbance in the native population against the English Government?—I certainly think it would.

"Are you of opinion that if such enormities were committed, they would materially tend to lower the character of the English in the eyes of the natives?—If they could not obtain redress, I should certainly think it would.

"Supposing it were practicable to establish provincial jurisdiction in that country, to which the English might be subject, are you of opinion that the frequent punishment of Englishmen by such jurisdiction would tend to degrade the character of the nation in the eyes of the natives?—I think it possibly may; but that is so general a question, the effect of it I cannot speak to; I am of opinion that no Europeans should be allowed in the interior of the country,

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except British subjects, and those British subjects to go under a specific licence from the different Governments, as is the case at present."

It is unnecessary to give the opinion of other witnesses examined before the Select Committees of the two houses of Parliament. As said before they were all agreed that it was undesirable to allow a free influx of Europeans into India.

But in the face of these testimonies the natives of England persisted in inducing the Indian authorities to permit their co-religionists and compatriots a free access without let or hindrance to every part of India. They were told that this would not promote the happiness of the people of India. But what did they care for the happiness of the heathens of that country? They only cared for that which would put money into their own pockets. For, they believed that the measure which they proposed was the one calculated to prove beneficial to their commerce. Why, the larger the European population in India, the greater would be the consumption of European goods by them. Mr. Robert Morris was examined as a witness before the Lords' Committee. He said that there was no prospect of an extension of an export trade from England to India, unless there were a greater number of Europeans in that country to consume them. He was asked:—

"Do you conceive there is much prospect of an extension of an export trade of the articles described?—Not under the present circumstances of the country, I mean unless there are a greater number of Europeans to consume them.

"Supposing it to be a fact, that the exports of European articles to India have, of late years, been considerably augmented, do you conceive that such augmentation has been owing to any increased consumption of European commodities amongst the natives of India?—I do not; or in a very small degree, probably some few articles, such as fine glassware for ornaments, for their houses, but of no others that I am acquainted with."

The evidence of Mr. William Fairlie was also to the same purport. Being examined before the Lords' Committee:—

"Do you know whether, during the last twenty years, there has not been an increased export of European articles and manufactures to India?—A very great one, I think; but chiefly, I should think, owing to the increased number of Europeans now in the service of the Company; the Company's Military and Civil Service have greatly increased, the King's regiments have greatly increased, and the number of Europeans is twenty or thirty to one, as compared to the time I went, thirty years ago."

The presence of a large number of Europeans in India would *directly* lead to a greater consumption of European goods, and also *indirectly* lead to the same end by making the natives imitate European manners and thus become customers of European goods. It was also supposed that the intercourse of natives with Europeans would induce them to consume European goods.

Mr. David Vanderhayden, M. P. was examined before the Lords' Committee.

"Can you state whether, at the presidency of Calcutta, any growing conformity was discoverable, on the part of the natives, to European fashions or habits?—None to European habits; in some degree it may be with respect to fashions amongst the highest class of the people, I mean in the use of carriages or articles of furniture, such as looking glasses or glassware in a very moderate degree.

"Do you ascribe this slight progress of European fashions among natives of distinction to their intercourse with Europeans or to any other cause?—*Of course it must have arisen from their intercourse with Europeans.*

"Do you apprehend, that in the interior of the country, on the supposition that no great intercourse should be allowed to Europeans with natives, the consumption of European manufactures could be materially promoted?—I do not think that under any circumstances the consumption of European commodities in the interior is likely to be increased, for the reasons I have before stated."

Yes, whatever demand there arose for European goods amongst natives was due to their intercourse with Europeans. And it was, therefore, considered necessary to permit Europeans to penetrate into the interior of India in order to promote the commerce in European goods.

Then again the free influx of a large number of Europeans into India brought into existence that class of hybrids known as half-castes or Eurasians, thus leading to an increased consumption of European goods. Major General Alexander Kyd was examined before the Lords' Committee.

"Is it therefore likely, in your opinion, that under any circumstances or any system whatever, the manufactures of this country can obtain a very increased sale among the great mass of the Indian population?—In considering that question, I have been long of opinion, that it is not possible to increase the consumption of European articles to a much greater degree than it is at present among the natives; but *it will go on progressively with our success in India, and with the increase of Europeans, and their children (half-castes)*, whose manners and habits are the same, and therefore use the same articles as their fathers."*

These were the considerations which led the natives of England, a nation of shop-keepers, to demand the free influx of Europeans into

* In the course of their letter dated East India House, 27th February, 1818, Messrs. John Bebb and James Pattison wrote to the Right Hon'ble George Canning:—

"The half-caste will increase in numbers more rapidly in proportion as facilities are extended to Europeans to settle in India."

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every part of India. Although some English natives would have been glad to see India converted into a colony, yet perhaps the thinking portion of them did not consider it good for them to see India colonised by their compatriots. Why? Because that might have diminished the export trade of England to India, instead of increasing it. Sir John Malcolm in his evidence before the Lords' Committee said:—

"The facility of intercourse with India, from leading to the establishment in that country of a great number of European artisans and mechanics, will, I conceive, lead to a diminution of the exports of a great number of European articles. The manufacture of leather, lately established in Madras, has already not only furnished European accoutrements, but all species of articles down to ladies' gloves. Carriages and other conveyances are made by European artisans at Calcutta, all kinds of furniture, all kinds of silver work, and in short, everything they can. The cheapness of the labour of natives, whom they teach to work under the superintendence of Europeans, in those arts, not only enables them to sell these articles cheaper, but is likely to be one means of introducing all such articles to more general use in the country, as they will become more within the compass of the means of the natives to purchase."

But India was not going to be made into a colony and the English people were taking steps to crush Indian industries rather than to encourage them and make India a thriving and prosperous country. So the fears of Sir John Malcolm were groundless. The Europeans who were to be allowed free access to India were to play the part of "birds of prey and passage" in India. They were meant to promote the interest of the English people and not of India. Thus Sir Thomas Munro was asked by the Select Committee of the House of Commons:—

"Are you not of opinion that if easier access to India were allowed to persons bred to the cotton trade, and more practised and skilled than general merchants in distinguishing the different kinds of cotton used in British manufactures, such would soon discover the situations most favorable for the growth of each sort of cotton, the best means of cultivating them, and of keeping the finer separate from the coarser cottons?"

In answer Sir Thomas Munro said:—

"I should have no doubt that if persons skilled in cotton were admitted into the interior of India, they would probably find the means of improving the quality of the cotton."

The free influx of the Christian natives of England into India was meant for the exploitation of India.

We have already reproduced above the statements of the several witnesses examined before the Committees of the two Houses who were almost unanimous in declaring that the free influx of Europeans would produce confusion, and disorder in India and the natives of that country would be oppressed and ill-treated by the white Christian adventurers and sojourners. The Right Honorable Lords, and the honourable members of the Lower House constituting the special Committees, heard calmly the tale of sorrows that would befall the heathen natives by granting permission to their co-religionists and compatriots to freely resort to India. But what did they do? They perhaps did not believe in the proverb which says that "Prevention is better than cure." No, had they done so, they would have at once taken steps to make the regulations which existed at that time against the influx of Europeans into India more strict. No relaxation of those Regulations was desirable or advisable. Yet the free influx of Europeans into India, being a settled thing, it was proposed to make such regulations as would deter white sojourners in India from committing excesses on its inhabitants. This looked something like inflicting a wound first and then applying some balm to relieve its pain and smarting.

But no regulations could have prevented the ill-treatment of Indians by the white Christian adventurers. Lord Teignmouth in his evidence before the Lords' Committee, said:—

"I do not think any regulations of Government could altogether prevent acts of injustice or oppression by Europeans in the interior, but that regulations might be so framed as to bring the offender to punishment, in which case some of the evils would be mitigated."

But the discontent of natives engendered by ill-treatment at the hands of the white sojourners was not to be removed by any regulations. Sir Thomas Munro on being examined before the Lords' Committee was asked:—

"If any violences were committed by such persons upon the natives, would it not be extremely difficult for them to obtain any adequate redress?"

He said:—

"I should think that even the granting them adequate redress would not exactly remove the causes of discontent."

Similar was the testimony of several other witnesses.

But it was difficult, nay, almost impossible for any native to obtain redress when the offending party was a Christian white European. No Christian white criminal was subject to the jurisdiction of any mofussil court in the interior. The British subjects were triable only in the Supreme Court of judicature established at the presidency. Mr.

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Thomas Cockburn, as a witness before the Lords' Committee, was asked :—

"Are you aware that British subjects, for offences committed against the natives, are triable only in the Supreme Court of judicature established at the presidency ?"

In reply, he said :—

"I am aware of that being the case, and I consider it one of the great grievances under which our Indian subjects labour. It is not only in respect to assaults or irregularities affecting their persons, but in respect to their property ; a European, a British subject resident in the interior, licensed by the Government, by some construction of the law as it now stands, is considered even in regard to matters of property only amenable to the Supreme Courts ; but as the act of going into the interior is one of his own seeking, and suffered by the license of Government, he enters into a bond to allow himself to be prosecuted in the courts established under the regulations of Government to the extent of 500 rupees, while the European has the power to prosecute a native subject of Great Britain to any extent to which his dealings may extend ; but if the native has larger demands upon the European than 500 rupees, he must proceed to the Supreme Court to prosecute him at the distance of sometimes hundreds, and in Bengal one thousand miles, at an expense not only ruinous, but he must leave his family, his pursuits, and I may say everything that is dear to him, and which he has been accustomed to, for the purpose of obtaining redress at the presidencies, while other Europeans not British subjects, are considered amenable to the country courts : * * and this exception in favor of the British appears to me to give great reason for the natives to doubt the impartiality, if not the justice of the English Government. In criminal matters, a European, if informed against before a magistrate, is liable to be taken up by that magistrate, and the witnesses are bound over to proceed to the Supreme Court wherever established, for the purpose of prosecution for the offence ; of course subject to the same inconveniences already described, except that in case of poverty, an allowance of two annas ($3\frac{3}{4}d$) a day, I believe, is allowed to the witnesses to bear their expenses on such occasions, and in some particular cases, I believe, Government defray the expense of the prosecution."

Then he was asked :—

"Could British subjects be made generally amenable to those district courts without offence to their national feelings and prejudices."

He answered :—

"In cases of life and death, I do not think it possible, either consistent with British laws or British feeling, that they should be amenable to the country courts ; but in all other cases whatsoever, I cannot but think it would be just to the people of India, that those Europeans, who for their own advantage seek a residence among them, with the licence and protection of the Company, should be equally amenable to the country courts, I mean the circuit courts, where European judges preside, as the natives among whom they reside and whom it is the bounden duty, as is prescribed by the law, that the British Government should protect in their religion, their usages, and even their prejudices."

He was further questioned :—

"Were British subjects made amenable to the jurisdiction of the country courts, however consonant the frequent excercise of that jurisdiction might be to the dictates of justice, would it be in fact agreeable to the natural feelings and prejudices of Englishmen ?"

Mr. Cockburn truly observed :—

"As justice is the first principle in the heart of an Englishman, and as Englishmen place themselves in the situation described voluntarily, it is for themselves to consider whether they will do so, knowing that they will be amenable to trial by their countrymen, who preside in the courts to which I allude."

As the law stood in those days, the Christian white sojourners often considered it good fun to take the life of a heathen black or brown native of this country. If they were in the interior of the country, by the committal of such a crime, they would at the expense of the State, be sent to the Presidency to take their trial before the Supreme Court. This gave them an opportunity to see the Presidency and thus relieve the monotonous life which they led in the mofussil often several hundreds of miles distant from the Presidency town. The author of *Fifteen Years in India* mentions an anecdote which is worth transcribing here, for it adorns a tale and points a moral.

"One great defect in the judicial establishments in India, however, is, that the supreme criminal courts have such a vast extent of jurisdiction over Europeans, and the perpetrators of crimes have to be brought from such a distance for trial, before punishment can be inflicted, that the salutary effect of it in prevention is in a great measure lost. A short anecdote will illustrate this: His Majesty's 17th regiment of foot was for a long time stationed on the northen frontier, upwards of one thousand miles from Calcutta, and many of the soldiers began to despair of ever more seeing the presidency ; from this feeling, seven of them entered into a conspiracy to murder a black man, under the impression that only one of them would be hanged for the crime, and that in the meantime they would all have a pleasant trip to Calcutta ; accordingly, a musket was loaded, and lots were drawn, and they proceeded together a little way from the cantonment in search of their victim, who was ploughing his field, when he received a bullet through his heart, from the hand that had been armed for his protection. Five of the seven were executed in Calcutta for the murder ; and it is probable, that if a criminal court, having jurisdiction over Europeans, had been near the spot where it was committed, six lives would have been saved to the community, and an enormity prevented which must necessarily have produced disgust and horror among the native population of the place." (*Fifteen Years in India*, pp. 99 and 100).

But the authorities did not do much to remove the grievances of the natives. All that they did, was contained in the section 105 of the Charter Act of 1813. This section

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empowered magistrates in the provinces to have jurisdiction in cases of assault and trespass committed by British subjects on natives of India. As said before, this did not go far enough to deter British subjects from oppressing natives.

May it not be that it was the policy of the natives of England to allow a free influx of their countrymen into India so that they might insult, assault and oppress its inhabitants in order to provoke hostilities? The natives of Great Britain wanted to colonize India. But the East India Company stood in their way. It was not the interest of the Company to encourage the colonization of India by their countrymen. They propagated certain myths as to the unsuitability of India for purposes of colonization. India moreover was a populous country and its inhabitants an industrious people. Before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in his examination as a witness, Sir Thomas Munro was asked:—

"Do you think it possible that any considerable portion of Europeans can maintain themselves in India, so as to colonize that country?"

In reply he said:—

"The Europeans at present, by law, cannot become proprietors of land in India; they cannot be manufacturers, on account of the superior skill and economy of the natives; they are therefore excluded from almost every other means of subsisting themselves, except by trade; and I therefore conceive that their numbers never could augment so greatly as to make them what might be called a colony."

Colonization means displacement. Unless the heathen natives were displaced, there could be no room for Christian Europeans to colonize India. This permission of the free influx of the Europeans was the introduction of the thin end of the wedge into Indian politics to accomplish their desired end. There was sure to be friction between Europeans and Indians. Of course, justice was very seldom to be meted out to the latter. Their rising against the Europeans in order to defend themselves from the ill-treatment of the latter would be the justification for Englishmen to crush them. This is not quite hypothetical. This was the tactics adopted by the white Christians in their dealings with the non-Christians all over the world, as we propose to show in some future number. Scheming and designing as the English people are, there is no wonder if they looked upon the free influx of their compatriots as a means that would lead to the colonization of India. Surely, that would produce the desired effect of the displacement of natives and thus facilitate colonization.

We may look into this question of the free influx of Europeans into India from any point of view we like, but we cannot help coming to the conclusion that it was meant for the benefit of the natives of England, and was certainly not calculated to promote the happiness and comfort of the people of India.

In the letter from Messrs. John Bebb and James Pattison, on behalf of the East India Company, to the Right Hon. George Canning, dated 27th February, 1818, it is stated that the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Committees of the two Houses of Parliament, preparatory to the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1813, clearly establish the following propositions:—

"That the natives of India, though, generally speaking, weak in body and timid in spirit, are very susceptible of resentment, and of peculiarly quick sensibility in all that regards their religion and women.

"That Europeans, particularly on their first arrival in India, are occasionally liable, from ignorance, to give involuntary offence to the natives.

"That Englishmen, especially those of the lower order, are addicted to excesses disgusting to the natives, and which frequently lead to acts of violence and outrage; and that, in general, they are prone to domineer over and oppress the natives from a sense of their own personal and national superiority.

"That the natives, if they have not the ready means of obtaining legal redress for the injuries which they sustain, will be disposed to take the law into their own hands.

"That the natives, when aggrieved, will often be deterred from seeking legal redress by the distance of the courts, the expenses attendant upon prosecutions, the difficulty of procuring the attendance of witnesses, and the delays of judgment.

"That when legal redress is sought for injuries inflicted, the affinity of the country, language, manners and dress of the Judge with those of the person against whom the complaint is lodged, and possibly the social intercourse subsisting between them, will somewhat shake the confidence of the prosecutor in the justice of the sentence, when it does not exactly accord with his wishes and expectations.

"That the frequent punishment of Europeans, although it may give to the administration of justice an air of impartiality, will tend to degrade their character in the eyes of the natives, and greatly diminish the respect in which it has been hitherto held.

"That among the British residents in India there is a strong disposition to assert what they conceive to be their constitutional and indefeasible rights, a general leaning towards each other, and a common jealousy of the authority of Government.

"That an unrestrained ingress of Englishmen into the interior of the country would be productive of the most baneful effects upon the comfort of the inhabitants and the peace of society, and would be fatally injurious to the British name and interests.

"That the number of Europeans who gain admission into the interior, whether clandestinely or from

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misplaced indulgence on the part of the local Governments, will always be proportioned to the number who are permitted to proceed from England or elsewhere to India.

"That, notwithstanding the stipulation which has been introduced into most of the treaties subsisting between the Company and the principal native powers in India, by which the latter have agreed not to engage Europeans in their service without the consent of the Company's Goverment, it is very probable that inferior chieftains and jaghirdars, and even princes of more note, may employ such persons without its coming to the knowledge of the Company's residents, and very possible that Europeans may make their way into the native States in spite of all the restraints which can be devised. And lastly,

"That colonization, and even a large indiscriminate resort of British settlers to India, would, by gradually lessening the deference and respect in which Europeans are held, tend to shake the opinion entertained by the natives of the superiority of our character, and might excite them to an effort for the subversion and utter extinction of our power."

THE NATION AND THE STATE—BLUNTSCHLI'S THEORY—ITS APPLICATION TO INDIA

THE modern conception of the State and the Nation is new to the Indian people. The idea of Kingship in ancient India was of the nature of the relation between father and children. The King considered himself to be bound by obligations to his subjects which consisted in their protection against internal disorder and foreign invasion. The King was more a territorial chief than a constitutional ruler. As in all ancient civilized countries, in India the form of Government was Theocracy which involved the preponderent influence of the priests. The King was no doubt the origin and head of the executive power. But the right to make laws and to interpret them belonged to the priests or Brahmans. He was surrounded by ministers who were mostly of this class, and whose advice he was bound to take in all matters. A certain divinity was considered to pertain to his position. According to the Laws of Manu, the King's body was pure and holy. God created him for the preservation of all beings. No one might scorn him or speak disparagingly of him. He was responsible only to God, and his guide was the Sastras as interpreted by Brahmans. He was enjoined in the most solemn language to have regard for the happiness and comfort of his subjects. But neither the rights of the people nor the responsibilities of the King were precisely defined. The Laws of Manu only remind him "that the foolish Monarch who oppresses his subjects unjustly will speedily lose both kingdom and life, he and his whole family." In later times, the idea of sovereignty developed and to some extent the Brahmans lost their predominant influence. A certain constitutional system came to prevail, and whenever peace endured for a sufficiently long time without dynastic revolutions or foreign invasions, there was a guarantee against the freaks of the King and his oppression. But the people had no direct and regular voice in legislation or administration, though their right to depose oppressive Kings was recognised. They paid the taxes, and all the requirements of peace and order within the limits of their village, were secured under the well-known communal system of the village.

Even in Western countries, the modern conception of the State and its relations to the people is of comparatively recent origin. According to Bluntschli, the well-known author of the "Theory of the State," the modern era commences from the year 1740. He writes:—

"The rise of the Prussian Kingdom, Joseph the Second's reforms in Austria, the foundation of the United States of North America, the changes of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Empire, the transplanting of Constitutional Monarchy (from England) to the Continent, the attempt of introduction of representation, democracy, the foundation of National State, the gradual removal of religious privileges and disabilities in public law, the separation of Church and State or at least the clear demarcation between their spheres, the abolition of Feudalism and of all privileged orders, the rise of a conception of National Unity, the recognition of freedom of Society, all these are the achievements or at least the attempts of the modern States."

The modern characteristics of the State are (1) permanent relation of the people to the soil, (2) their unity as a whole and (3) cohesion. It is necessary that the community should form a coherent whole in its internal organisation,

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and should appear and act as a unit in external relations.

The State is a living and organised being. It is not a product of nature; therefore, it is not a natural organism like an animal or plant. It is indirectly the work of man. The tendency to political life is to be found in human nature, and so far the State has a natural basis. But the realization of the political tendency has been left to human labours and human arrangements, and so far the State is a product of human activity, and its organism is a copy of the natural organism.

The organism of the State is a union of soul and body, that is, of material elements and vital force. It has members which are animated by special motives and capacities in order to satisfy in various ways the varying needs of the whole self. The organism developes itself from within outwards, and has an eternal growth.

Nations and States have both a development and growth of their own, which differ from those of animals and plants. They are subject to the influence of human force. The State is a moral and spiritual organism.

It is a combination of men in the form of a Government and governed on a definite theory united together into a moral organised masculine personality, or more shortly, is a politically organised national person of a definite country.

The True End of the State.

Gladstone once defined the prime end of the State to be to enable the people to live well. But Bluntschli gives a more detailed definition. He says the proper and direct end of the State may be formulated as the development of the national capacities, the perfecting of the national life, and finally its completion; provided, of course, that the process of the moral and political development shall not be opposed to the destiny of humanity. The life-task of every individual is to develop his capacities and to manifest his essence. So, too, the duty of a State-person is to develop the latent powers of the nation and to manifest its capacities. Thus the State has a double function, firstly, the maintenance of the national powers, and secondly, their development. It must secure the conquests of the past and it must extend them in the future.

The Citizen.

In the modern State all privileged classes have either disappeared or are disappearing. The clergy and the nobility have lost their special claim, or, where they still retain it, it exists in a weak and unstable form. They are the remnants of the mediæval organisation which the modern nations have out-grown. Speaking generally, in India as well as in other countries, four main classes may be distinguished; (1) The governing class, princes and officials, (2) the aristocratic class, (3) the educated classes, (4) the people or the great working classes.

While, in other countries, the sovereign and the governing class constitute a part of the nation at large, in India they are foreigners. The sovereign lives in a distant land and is known to his subjects only in their imagination. He has not the personal and emotional attachment of the people as a British or Japanese sovereign has. The governing class is also foreign and is similarly estranged from the affections of the people. The alien character of the governing class, its ignorance of the language and history of the people, its necessary aloofness and the special privileges it enjoys, constitute a disturbing element in the natural evolution of nationality in India.

The clergy and the aristocracy have no longer any political status in India. The ruling chiefs have indeed a certain obligation to the State, based on the treaties between them and the paramount power. They as well as a section of the landed class, the Zemindars, who do not possess ruling powers, are remnants of the old feudal tendencies in India, but unlike the aristocracy in England and in some European countries, they have no special position in the constitution of the State. It is not improbable that in the immediate development of our national institutions, some such position may be given to them. It is believed that Mr. Morley has an idea of providing for a representation of this class in our reformed Legislative Councils; * but should any second chamber after a Western model be introduced here, it would consist only of the ruling princes and the landed aristocracy, but not of the clergy. Whether a second chamber is necessary in India, is doubtful. Its function in the Western countries, namely to moderate the claims of the monarchy and to restrain the methods of the democracy, is fulfilled by the foreign executive authorities of Government.

The educated middle classes constitute the most important factor in the constitution of all modern States. In India where the ancient traditions are represented in the Government system, the educated classes who have

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most assimilated Western ideas and proved most responsive to Western influences are in fact the only factor of any importance in the national growth. They are less numerous than the fourth estate, that is, the working classes. They work with the brain rather than with the hands, and devote themselves less to the material needs of life than to the higher intellectual efforts. They consist of persons of diverse occupation and rank, namely of (1) subordinate officials, (2) clergy and teaching class generally, (3) lawyers, physicians and chemists, students and men of letters, (4) artists, engineers and members of higher technical professions, (5) merchants and manufacturers, (6) the highest class of handicraftsmen, (7) capitalists, (8) great land-owners not belonging to the aristocracy. This is Bluntschli's classification having reference to the European countries. In India the third estate is not so diversified or so many-sided; but in course of time, it will develop in this direction.

The working classes form the great majority of the population: they comprise the following groups: (1) the mass of peasants who work by themselves as petty land-owners or as tenants working for the land-owners. (2) All labourers including fishermen, miners, etc., whose work brings them into immediate contact with nature. (3) Lower industrial classes such as weavers, smiths, etc. (4) The lower employees of the State or of professional men, soldiers, etc. (5) The class of day-labourers. All these groups have this much in common, namely, that they are engaged in bodily labour and they supply material wants. It is of course impossible to draw a hard and fast line between brain-work and hand-work, for, as a rule, each is impotent without the other; but the distinction is a sound and intelligible one. Brain work requires a higher intellectual training and a higher standard of life, whereas mechanical work is possessed of a minimum of education and a simple rudimentary way of life. Hence they naturally fall into different classes. The fourth estate or the working classes of India are the most neglected section of the population. They are virtually a class of illiterate men living a life of unrelieved poverty. The social revolution caused by the British rule has wrecked the old arrangements under which every class was assured of a stable means of livelihood. But on their ruin has yet to be erected the new modern industrial system which gives the working men employment in towns and under which they acquire education and power of self-protection. This modern system, however, is unsuited to a large agricultural country like India. It is curious that, in the opinion of many Englishmen, such transplantation would be the real salvation of India, whereas the transplantation of the political institutions of the West would prove disastrous. Indian opinion is just the reverse. The fourth estate or the working classes in India must continue to live in the villages as at present.

The conception of a *People* is a union of masses of men of different occupations and social strata in a hereditary society of a common spirit, feeling and race, a common civilization which gives them a sense of unity and distinction from all foreigners quite apart from the bond of the State.

A NATION on the other hand, is a society of all members of a State as united and organised in the State. It is the consciousness more or less developed of political connection and unity which lifts the Nation above the People.

As everybody knows, foreign observers often deny the existence of an Indian *People*, not to speak of an Indian Nation. A people is a less organised and less self-conscious body than a nation. But even this former existence is denied to us.

"What we call India is, in one aspect, an assemblage of a vast number of races, tribes and castes; in another aspect, a group of numerous countries divided into Provinces and States. India is no more inhabited by one people than Europe is, if by "one people" we mean millions of individuals animated by a common feeling of nationality. There is probably as much difference between a Hindustani and a Kunbi of the Deccan, as there is between a Pole and a French peasant; there is probably more difference between a Bengalee and a Panjabee Sikh than there is between a Greek and a Highlander..... The distinctive characteristic of Indian Society is not nationality but castes...If any one supposes that the two hundred and twenty millions of British Indians can or ought to be made into one nation, he entertains what is, in my humble opinion, an impracticable ideal. I think such an ideal is shown to be illusory by general history, by the present structure of Indian society and by the history of India itself."

The above opinion was expressed by Charles Louis Tupper of the Indian Civil Service in his what is supposed to be a standard work, "Our Indian Protectorate," which was published fifteen years ago. Probably the opinion had been formed many years previously, that is to say, more than twenty years ago. I have no hesitation in characterising his opinion, an opinion universally entertained by the ruling classes in India, supposed to be interested in our progress and often said to be the only true instruments of it, to be entirely erroneous, founded on ignorance of the true history of the Indian people, and on a narrow view of the capacities of human nature.

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Perhaps Tupper's opinion is a case of wish being father to the thought. I do not know whether Tupper is alive or dead. I hope he is alive. Whether he would modify his opinion in view of the recent developments in Indian public life, I do not know. But nobody can question that changes are taking place in India more rapidly than the class of people to whom Mr. Tupper belongs expect or wish. It is absurd to deny that the latent and living germs of nationality in India are undergoing at the moment a wonderful development. And the obstacles perceived by witnesses and critics, often not disinterested, are disappearing with a marvellous quickness at the magical touch of India's modern spirit.

Whatever might have been the conditions of Indian Society in former times, especially in times which immediately preceded the establishment of British supremacy, the Indian people are now conscious that only a solid national life can save them. They are conscious of a common destiny, and are animated by a great faith in their future. Foreign critics often make the mistake that the Indian people have always been the same meek helpless multitude that they were during the period when European nations were striving for supremacy here. They do not pay sufficient regard to, nor show sufficient knowledge of, the character and spirit of the Hindus in ancient and mediæval times. Amidst the favourable conditions of modern times, the Hindus have discovered within themselves a sudden consciousness of their unity as a people and of the distinctness of their past history and future destiny. Whatever their internal divisions, they are as a whole distinct from other races of the world. A Bengali and a Sikh suddenly meeting together in the Transvaal, for instance, will realise their fraternity, and separateness against the local whiteman or Kaffir. They have besides the advantage of standing on the common bedrock of common inheritances and traditions. They are bound together at present by common disabilities, by common wrongs and sorrows, by common interests and by common future aspirations. Whatever differences continue to separate them are being rapidly removed by the common rule to which they are subject and the common internal and external forces that govern their progress. If a nationality were impossible in India, the Indian National Congress would have been impossible, and such successful and trusted leaders as Dadabhai Naoroji, Gokhale, Mehta, Banerji and Tilak would have been impossible also.

The Indian people have great talent and capacities as their past history demonstrates. If the development of the national capacities, the perfecting of the national life, and finally, its completion, is the proper and direct end of the State, then the State in India is an imperfect personality, full of flaws and weakness. It must be better organised, more highly inspired, and pursue loftier and broader ends. It must concede full freedom and complete autonomy to the people.

As Mr. Haldane said in his rectoral address, at the University of Edinburgh, "sometime even to a nation the revelation comes suddenly. It awakens from its dogmatic slumber, is awakened perhaps by the sense of impending calamity and proves at a bound what is the measure of its latent capacity. So it was with England under Cromwell, with France under Napoleon, with the United States under Washington, with Germany under her great leaders. Their intellectual awakening of thought and action has been in response to the higher command where it really had made itself manifest. He who wields it may be humble. If the divine fire of genius has inspired him, no barrier can hold him from the high recognition, that recognition which is founded on the popular conviction that, at last in this particular sphere of thought or action, the truth has been made evident. Sometimes, perhaps more often than not, this command is wielded too by no single man. It may take the form of a great doctrine—the foundation of a penetrating faith, inculcated and enforced by a group of leaders in co-operation, no one of whom would have been great enough to be the head of a nation. This was so with Germany at the commencement of the last century, and it seems to have been so in the recent instance of Japan. The moral is that, given an inspiring faith, moral or intellectual, and a sufficiency of men imbued with it, and fit to teach and to preach it, no nation need languish for want of a single great leader. The higher command is there all the same, it is only differently expressed and made manifest."

To say that the Indian people are not capable of a national life, is to say that they are incapable of progress. Progress means a goal. What is this goal! The goal has been proclaimed by our great leaders to be *Swaraj*. If we are not doomed to eternal subjection, we are destined to rise, progress and govern ourselves. The *Indian* people cannot stagnate in their present condition of dependence and degradation. It cannot be true, as an Anglo-Indian writer, Meredith

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Townsend says in a work on "Asia and Europe," that "some strange fiat of arrest, probably due to mental exhaustion, has condemned the brown men and yellow men to eternal reproduction of old ideas." Such a verdict I take to be the suggestion of religious or race bigotry. Sometime ago, the German Emperor said that only Christians could be good soldiers, in strange oblivion of the countless battle-fields where soldiers wholly destitute of any tincture of Christianity have gladly laid down their lives. There is a notion that the Christian religion is a necessary factor in the national development of a would-be progressive people. And this accounts for the difficulty of inducing Christian nations to believe that Christianity and civilization are not necessarily interdependent. Japan to-day, the Mahomedan Empire of a thousand years ago and the history of the Hindus in still more ancient times, show conclusively that arts, science, and literature may flourish, and that statesmen and patriots may plan, and heroes may accomplish what has been planned, without any sort of assistance or countenance from any branch of the Christian faith.

The prejudice of the white races against what are called the inferior races of the world also accounts for the notion that the Indians and other Asiatic races are incapable of progress and of organised national existence. This is, of course, contradicted by the achievement of Japan, by what Russia is in the course of achieving, and by what even the Mahomedan countries of Persia and Egypt have apparently made up their minds to achieve. Still these countries have not had the same advantage that India has had, of being governed by an enlightened and progressive nation like the British. In his presidential address of the last session of the Congress, our veteran and respected leader, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, referred to repeated declarations of British statesmen acknowledging our birth-rights not only as British subjects but as a part of the human race. He quoted an extract from the grant to the East India Company of the island of Bombay, dated 27th March, 1669. In that grant it was declared—

"That all persons being His Majesty's subjects inhabiting within the said island and their children and their posterity born within the limits thereof, shall be deemed free denizens and natural subjects as if living and born in England."

Mr. Dadabhai also pointed out that all the terms of the first grant are extended in it to all future British acquisitions. Thus the claim of Indians to be free and to all the rights of British natural subjects, as if living and born in England, is directly acknowledged and declared from the very first political connection with England.

In pursuing our thoughts on the theory of "The Nation and the State" and its application to the conditions of India, we must bear in mind the difference in the respective conceptions of the People, the Nation and the State. I shall repeat Bluntschli's enunciation of these conceptions. The essence of a people lies in its distinct civilisation. Its inner cohesion and its separation from foreign peoples spring mainly from development in civilisation, and express themselves chiefly in influencing its conditions. It may be called an organism, in so far as its character has received a visible expression in the physique of the race and in language and manners.

"But it is not, as the nation is, in the higher sense, a personality. The sense of association and the disposition to unity are there, but there is no unity of legal will and of act, and there is no legal personality unless it has become a state and nation." "The conception of a nation may be thus defined: It is a union of masses of men of different occupations and social strata in a hereditary society of common spirit, feeling and race, bound together, especially by language and customs in a common combination which gives them a sense of unity and distinction from all foreigners, quite apart from the bond of the state."

By a nation we generally understand a society of all the members of a State as united and organised in the State. It is the consciousness more or less developed, of political connection and unity which lifts the nation above the people. So far the idea of a nation always bears a necessary relation to the State. We do not usually give the name of a nation to a merely passive governed body of people without political rights. Despotism knows nothing of nations; only of subjects.

The State itself is an organised manifestation of the will, the spirit, and the public life of the nation. Its proper and true end is the development of the national capacities, the perfecting of the national life, and, finally, its completion. The life task of every individual is to develop his capacities and to manifest his essence. So, too, the duty of the State-person is to develop the latent powers of the nation and to manifest its capacities. Thus the State has a double function. Firstly, the maintenance of the national powers, and, secondly, their development. It must secure the conquests of the past, and it must extend them in the future.

Let us now proceed to apply these several conceptions to the conditions of our country.

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Do the inhabitants of India, at least the Hindu majority of them, constitute a people? Have they risen to the stage of a nation? Does British rule in India constitute a State? Have the inhabitants of India political rights; are they merely the *subjects* of a despotism? Have they a common will, a common spirit, and a common public life?

Ordinarily, the distinction between a people and a nation, as understood above, is not kept in view, the two expressions being used indiscriminately. But the distinction is clear, and applying the definitions to India, I think it will be conceded that the Hindus are a people, inasmuch as they have inherited a common civilisation and are marked by distinct characteristics as against other peoples in the world. Our rulers cannot deny this, although using the word in the sense of a nation, they do so. The chief point that distinguishes a nation from a people is that in the former the community of rights is developed in a more marked degree and is raised to the point of participation in the conduct of the State, and the capacity of expressing a common will and maintaining it has acquired the proper organs in the constitution of the State. In a word it is collective personality, legal and political. In this sense we cannot say that the Indian people are a nation, nor is the institution which directs and manages its affairs a State. Yet it is only a Nation and a State in their developed and mature condition, that can be denied. Because British rule is not despotism in the sense in which Moghal rule was, nor the people mere subjects of despotism without legal and political rights of any kind. The Indian people have passed the stage of mere subjects, have acquired some community of rights and some measure of participation in the conduct of the Government. These are no doubt yet in a crude state. But they are fairly set in the track of an organic career, though their public and political personality is not the Government that collects taxes from them and administers the taxes for public purposes. India being under an absentee foreign rule, there is a gulf between the two, between the will, the spirit and public life of the people and the institution which should give legal and political expression to them. We accordingly behold a nation, at all events the constituents of a nation, struggling at the initial stage of a united and organised life, without a State. It is the Indian National Congress and the allied assemblies that meet every year at the same time and at the same place and that give collective expression to the wants and aspirations of the people, that supply in a sense the place of the State.

A nation is growing in our country without a State to manifest its collective personality. Mr. Morley said that, as far as his imagination could pierce into the future, the Government of India should remain absolute without representative institutions on the model of the West. In the King's speech in opening Parliament on February last, it was said in reference to India: "In India, while firmly guarding the strength and unity of executive power unimpaired, I look forward to a steadfast effort to provide means of widening the base of peace, order and good government among the vast populations committed to my charge." This is characteristically vague; nor does the light which Lord Ripon sought to throw on it help us much. If the speech was in response to a universal desire in India for a political advance, it might have contained hints as to the nature and extent of this advance. In spite of Mr. Morley's preference for absolute rule in India, and in spite of the vagueness of the King's speech, it may be hoped that the Indian people, like all civilised peoples, will grow in knowledge and capacity, and the gulf between them and the rulers will be gradually closed until British rule, which is at present a strange exotic despotism, detached from the people, merge, in the Nation and become the organised manifestation of its will, spirit and public life.

G. SUBRAMANIA IYER.

A CHAT WITH A RUSSIAN ABOUT RUSSIA

A CORRESPONDENT writes from London, *à propos* of the great Russian revolutionist, Prince Kropotkin, author of *Mutual Aid*—a work which should always be read immediately after Darwin's *Origin of Species*,—*The Conquest of Bread*, *Fields, Factories, and Workshops*, and *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*:—

We found Kropotkin cheerfully and hospitably installed at High Gate. In spite of the

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sorrows of Russia, and the fact that these sorrows are to him and his household a thousand-fold worse than death itself, there is no presence that can convey the hope and gladness of the New Year, like his. In these Russian hearts there seems always to be room for the needs of other lands. Their passion is not for one political party or another. It is for the People, and they know that the People, the world over, are one.

"The village is the Russian unit," says Kropotkin, "and it is also the Indian. How much there is in common between villages, in spite of small differences of speech and costume, although one is in Russia, and another in India!"

"And *why* is the peasant so full of common sense?" he asks, catching up a remark that falls suddenly on his ear. "No! it is not merely because he labours with his hands, and his experience, consequently, is deep-in-wrought. It is still more because *he is in contact with the communal mind.* Look at my next-door neighbour and myself. We are isolated from each other. We know scarcely each other's names, certainly not our respective affairs. We have common interests doubtless, but we are unaware of them. This is the civilisation of the modern city. The peasant's reasoning power is the product of communal intelligence. Ours is the product of personal intelligence." The remark is illuminating. It lights up long vistas of history, during which we watched the *growth* of national civilisations, in countries where the village-consciousness is predominant; and brings these ages into sharp contrast with the Modern Period, in which civilisation seems always to be spending, never to be continuing the accumulations of the past. But we are here to enquire, not to dream. Thinking may come afterwards. We turn, therefore, to the affairs of Russia, and ask what is the nett result of the past two years of struggle. "The result," answers Kropotkin, with his face a-glow, "is that a new nation has been born. A new school of literature has sprung up. My own 'Memoirs of a Revolutionist,' for instance, has sold 70,000 copies, as fast as they could be printed. Here again is a book of Biblical criticism, published by a scholar who has been twenty-three years in prison. While there, he came across the Christian Apocalypse, and is able to show that it is nothing but a poetic account, in terms of astronomy, of a great earth-quake, which occured in the Island of Patmos, in the year 395 A.D. At the end, there is a political pamphlet inserted, attacking Rome, as the Imperial Church. The Apocalypse, therefore, is an early Protestant document! Books like this were never before read in Russia. To-day, they are being devoured."

"An extension of freedom, then, has been given to the Press?" we ask, blunderingly.

"'Freedom *given*!'" says our host, rebukingly. "Freedom is never 'given'! It is always *taken*! The people have to some extent realised and asserted their own freedom!"

"What was the origin of this change that has swept over Russia?" is our next question. "Was it the war?"

"No," answers Kropotkin, "the war, on the contrary, was its result. The Tsar was made to declare war,—of course they expected to be victorious--because there was no other way of delaying the Revolution. The assassination of M. Plehwe, during the course of the war, was entirely unforeseen."

"Then what *has* been the cause of the Revolution?"

"The fifty years of work that we have done in the villages!" replied Kropotkin, without hesitation. "I have learnt from these events that not one word, not one thought, devoted to Humanity, is ever lost. Bad things, anti-social acts, are dissipated; but no good effort ever dies. Some ripples may be slower than others. But all are permanent. Hence, in spite of exile and imprisonment, in spite of tortures and executions, the Russian peasant, to-day, has political intelligence."

"And what was the fundamental idea, by means of which you brought about this condition of general education?" we ask.

"Our first lesson to the peasant was," says Kropotkin, "'Whose land is this? **It is yours.** It was **your** fathers and ancestors who cleared the soil and tilled it; who watered and ploughed; who sowed the crops and reaped them. It is not you who should pay rent to the Over-lord, but he to you, for permission to dwell on it!' This is the idea that has sunk into their hearts and minds. They see the land as their own, and the Authorities as by right their servants."

"Then what is it that delays a universal rising, of all the peasant-folk, in every province at once, which must be successful?"

"Ah! That is a large question!" says Kropotkin, smiling. "To begin with, we are 170,000,000. It is not easy to organise an unanimous movement on the part of 170 millions! Then again, the revolution of the landed classes, who want a Constitution, is complicated by the socialistic revolt of the

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peasants, who want Communal lands. Unless the landlords determine to support the peasants, nothing will come of either."

"Is there any hope of this?"

"There **must** be!" says our host warmly. "The same thing happened in the French Revolution, and it is the glory of France that in 1793, the French middle classes gave landed rights to the peasantry to their own loss. It was this, however, that made the Revolution national, ensured it success. All revolutions turn on the question of what promises they can make to the People. Our Russian peasantry are quite willing to buy the land on which they live, even at high prices, to become their own in twenty, thirty, or fifty years. They do not ask for it as a gift. Only they must have reasonable facilities offered for its gradual purchase. No revolution can ever succeed without some promise of emancipation to the lowly and the oppressed."

"The middle classes are highly articulate in Russia," says Kropotkin, "for they are all bound together in professional unions, villages midwives, doctors, teachers, lawyers, engineers and the rest. To-day, 'the students' have gained the absolute confidence and respect of all the villagers. The three weeks' strike was the most wonderful thing that ever happened. Trains at a standstill. Mountains of food accumulating in the provinces but no one to carry it into St. Petersburg. Midnight darkness in every street at nightfall, for all the electricians had stopped work. In the midst of all this, Nicholas signs the Constitution, and sends secret orders to the Police to set it at nought. If we had not been exiled in such numbers, every one of us would have given a certain number of years to being teachers in the villages. This means women, as well as men, of course. Then, success would have been quicker certainly. But courage, my friends, courage! In no case can freedom be long delayed!"

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UTOPIA

THE fall of the Eastern Empire on the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, was bewailed throughout Europe as the greatest calamity that the world had ever seen. But it was really the beginning of a newer and nobler life in the Christian world. Out of the ashes of the last remnant of the Roman Empire was destined to spring up a newer and nobler empire for Europe, the empire of thought, which gave to Christian Europe greater strength, quicker progress, and nobler powers, than what the success of the Turks had taken away. From the fall of Constantinople dates the Renascence or New Birth.

A New Birth indeed it was. The scholars of Constantinople, in their flight from the pagan barbarians, carried with them to every civilized court in Europe the seeds from which the intellectual tree of Europe was destined to develop and to go on developing till man shall cease to exist. The dispersion of the scholars was also the dispersion of Greek literature.

The wonderful civilization and culture which had flourished in Greece had been arrested for ever by the progress of Roman arms and the triumph of early Christianity. From the time of the over-running of the Western Roman Empire by the Barbarians, Greek literature had ceased to be known anywhere except in the courts of the Latin conquerors of Constantinople. The works of Aristotle, indeed, had been made known to Western Europe by the energy and genius of the doctors of Granada, but it was only in a garbled, mutilated, foreign form.

The stores which the Byzantine scholars brought to Western Europe in 1453, were a revelation. It seemed as if Europe opened her eyes and saw lying before her untold and unimagined treasures. And this sight was as a new life to her. A newer, fairer, and greater world opened before her than any that she had yet known. Christianity ceased to exert *her* exclusive influence and Mediæval Christianity ceased to exert her gloomy influence on the minds of men. The two chief powers of the Middle Ages, the chivalric knight and the ascetic monk, now felt their sceptres dropping out of their hands. Men saw that there could be learned men who were not "clerks"; that Christianity had not monopolized all the intellectual wealth of the world; that there had been a state of civilization, where men were equal, where no feudal homage seemed a necessary condition of society, and yet where a higher and more

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attractive culture flourished; and that there were other conceptions of the universe of which they knew nothing.

This was the teaching of the Renascence. It turned the eyes of men from Platonic abstractions and mystic asceticism, to the world and the glories thereof. An overflowing sense of beauty took possession of all hearts. The world no longer seemed evil, but enjoyable. All felt "it is good for us to be here." The cares and sorrows, the joys and pleasures, of this world seemed more worthy of consideration than they had ever been, more worthy of consideration than the future world where all the wrongs and injuries, mistakes and blunders, of this world would be rectified and repaired. Beauty came to be no longer regarded as a Satanic bait to catch the souls of men. Pleasure was no longer held to mean the loss of God's grace. Gratitude to the Giver found a vent in the enjoyment of His gifts. The world and the flesh were no longer held to be kin to the devil.

Man and his destiny on earth were exalted to the position of themes of philosophy. Men no longer felt that they were mere wayfarers, mere sojourners, in this world.

The world and man having been thus elevated in the minds of the great thinkers of the time, it was not long before schemes came to be devised for their improvement. In Italy, indeed, the Renascence took the form of mere voluptuous fancy, mere gay trifling. But among the dwellers of the cold North, among the stern and melancholy Teutons, it took a more earnest, more practical form. There this newly-awakened intelligence and energy were devoted to the service of humanity. Social reform, religious reform, educational reform, political reform, these were the thoughts that filled the hearts of Erasmus, Collet, and More.

Thomas More was born in 1472, and plunged so deeply into the New Learning that he graduated at the early age of eighteen. An excellent father, a loving husband, and a studious scholar, he yet entered into the political world, but it was only as a humble member of a humble Parliament and an Undersheriff. For a long time, and particularly in 1516, he declined to enter the service of the King—Henry VIII,—which was then the only means of prospering in the world.

Thoughts far other than those of thriving in the world filled his mind, as indeed they did of the minds of all the leaders of the New Learning. They had all an infinite belief in the capacity of the human race for progress and culture, in the virtues of education, in the chance of an unity of religions, and in the dreams of universal peace.

The condition of Europe was then far from cheerful, and nowhere less so than in England under Henry VII. That crafty monarch had been slowly strengthening his hands at the expense of the constitutional safeguards of the people, and enriching his coffers at the expense of their happiness and prosperity. Under the pretence of wars which he never meant to wage, he levied heavy taxes and benevolences. By reviving obsolete and inconvenient laws he created a double source of revenue—the sale of immunities and the imposition of fines on their infringers. And in these measures the crown lawyers Empson and Dudley bettered their instructions.

Meantime the people had been groaning under various other evils. The extension of sheep-farming had increased the price of food by a diminution of its supply, and thrown the majority of labourers out of work. Monopolies had increased the price of all commodities to an incredible extent. The enhancement of rent by the avaricious nobles had spread misery in the ranks of hitherto thriving farmers and yeomen.

Crime had increased immensely. The innumerable labourers thrown out of employment, swelled the ranks of highwaymen and vagabonds; and every insurrection—such as that of Perkin, Warbeck or of Lambert Simnel—found in them ready materials. The large number of serving men whom the rich kept and of the soldiers retained even in peace-time, by increasing the ranks of idle men, increased the ranks of highwaymen and vagabonds. Draconian laws were passed to put down the evil but they were powerless against it.

Such was the world out of joint which the leaders of the New Learning felt it their duty and their glory to set right. Collet had been establishing grammar-schools, Erasmus spreading a true knowledge of Christianity, and More meditating on political reform, when all turned with eager hopes of success to the new King who came to the throne in 1509. Young, enthusiastic, generous, learned, and amiable, Henry VIII, seemed to be the ideal leader of the great movement for human improvement which then numbered every noble mind among its supporters. With a philosopher on the throne it seemed as if Plato's Republic would be realized in England. War was to cease, learning to spread, and improvements to be carried out in every department of life.

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Great was the hope of the New Learning and great was the fall of it. Soon, too soon, did Henry show himself the man that he really was. While the hearts of Erasmus and More were yet high with hopes of an universal peace, the ideal King showed his love of "the pomp and circumstance of glorious war," and rushed into a contest with France.

It was a bitter disenchantment—this of the reformers of society. Erasmus in the first heat of anger dashed off his "Praise of Folly" in which he admirably painted the hopes of the New Learning and the triumph of injustice and barbarism. More turned to a more serious and more lasting work.

Under a tyrant of the stamp into which Henry was quickly developing himself, it would have been little efficacious and less safe to speak openly. More, therefore, veiled his schemes of social and political reform under the mask of the disclosures of the travelled foreigner Raphael Hythlodaye.

The First book of *Utopia*, which was written in 1516, one year *after* the Second, constitutes the framework or setting for the Second, in which is given the description of Utopia and the Utopians.

It was at Amsterdam, then the focus of European commercial activity, that More represents himself to have been introduced to the companion of Vespucci, the philosophical and experienced Raphael Hythlodaye. They fall into a conversation in the midst of which More very adroitly draws Raphael into an account of his impressions of England. Thus cleverly disguised More pours forth his invectives and satires and suggests his remedies of the degraded and miserable condition of the English of which we have already spoken.

From the actual and miserable England More turns to his ideal "Nowhere" [Utopia.] "Nonsense" [Gr. *hythlos*] describes how, when abandoned by Vespucci in his fourth voyage, he had found his way to the island of Utopia, the government of which he held up as a model to the states of Europe. His hearer inquires eagerly what sort of commonwealth it was, and Hythlodaye's answer forms the Second Book.

Utopia was really England as More wished it to become. Both Utopia and England are islands; in both the government is representative; the chief city of Utopia, Amaurote, resembles London, not indeed as London then was but as More wished it to be made; the river Anyder with its arched stone bridge stands for the Thames with its London Bridge.

In Utopia, every man is bound to labour. But by doing away with the custom of keeping servants, by wearing clothes more durable than showy, and by building houses of such substances that they admit much light and air and yet last long, the amount of labour is greatly diminished. So that it frequently happens that proclamations are issued lessening the hours of labour, which never exceed nine. The time thus gained they spend in the free cultivation of their minds; for they hold it a shame that men should work from sunrise to sunset like brute beasts. The incorrigibly lazy are banished from the commonwealth.

The population live in towns which are situated at a "mean distance" from each other. The streets are wide and kept well-cleared of filth. The houses have gardens at the back, to which the inmates retire when work is over. Ventilation is strictly observed; glass or oil-cloth windows are used; and over-crowding is prevented.

The family lives under the rule of the father, every thirty families under that of a philarche, and every ten philarches under that of a chief philarche. In every city the population is not allowed to exceed or fall below 6,000; the surplus population being sent out to form colonies. The people elect four persons for the office of the chief, and out of these the philarches select one "by a secret vote." He reigns for life.

Every man is forced to learn a trade. The population lives in towns (*i.e.*, leading a manufacturing life) and in viliages (*i. e.*, leading an agricultural life) alternately for two years, by rotation. Thus every disagreeable work is shared by all, and, therefore, no jealousies are created.

They have very few laws, for they hold it a folly to create a multitude of laws which confuse ordinary men by their intricacy, and lead to their infringement, for no man can easily know what they mean. Legal technicalities and chicanery being thus banished from the island, men are judged according to reason. The end of punishment they hold to be curative, not vindictive. They utterly abhor such punishments as those by which men were executed in England for simple theft; for, they hold that such punishments defeat their own objects by their over-severity, and only succeed in inducing thieves to procure safety by murder. Moreover, such punishments prevent a man from being led back from wickedness. They, therefore, never kill their criminals but keep them as slaves, so that their work is not lost to the community, and also give them hopes of freedom if they mend

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their lives. They also educate every child, so that nobody can become a criminal through want of education, as many were in England; for they hold that not to educate a man and yet to kill him when he becomes a thief is "to make a thief and then punish him."

Slaves they have among them; but to this class belong only the worst criminals and captives taken in those wars in which they are personally engaged. They are well treated, and never executed except for repeated crimes or attempts to escape.

As every thing is enjoyed in common, no man feels any desire of hoarding anything. Gold and silver and precious stones are utterly valueless among the Utopians, and are generally used as the badges of slavery or the ornaments of infants.

In their trades they are most liberal and often give away their things to poor nationalities for nothing. But the gold that they get, they hoard up in the State Treasury for times of war.

Wars they utterly abhor, and never engage in unless on the strongest provocation to themselves or to their neighbours. In wars they prefer mercenaries to their free citizens, arts to brute force. For this reason they try to create desertions and mutiny in their enemies' ranks by offering large bribes. But in those wars in which they personally join they show the greatest valour and the cleverest stratagems, and exact the severest vengeance.

They never contract treaties with their neighbours; for they have found out the utter hollowness of written agreements between nations. Here More satirizes with the keenest wit the violations of good faith among the Christian princes of Europe, not excluding the head of the Christian Church himself.

In learning the Utopians preferred the exact sciences to the subtleties of metaphysics.

Perfect toleration prevailed in Utopia in matters of conscience. No man was persecuted for his religion, and everyman was left free to propagate his, except by violence and abuse. "It is in no man's power," held these wise Republicans, "to believe what he list." They had large cathedrals in which all the people assembled on the last and the first days of each month and year. The services performed and the prayers offered were of the most general character and included the essentials in which all religions agreed.

They all believed in one God—whom they called Mythra, and who was held to be the creator, giver and doer of everything. But those who did not believe in a God were excluded from holding public offices, for they were deemed unworthy to govern in a noble temper.

Felicity was their *summum bonum*, but it was of the kind that postpones the immediate pleasure for the remote, the less for the greater, and the pleasure of the individual for that of the community. The active good of mankind, and not cloister-virtues, held sway over their minds; and pleasure was regarded as a pure delight, while self-mortification and penances were held to be mere signs of a weak mind. They had monks and ascetics among them but these were all ministers of active good. The priests were few and could be of either sex. Confessions were heard by the head of the family and sectarian worship performed at home.

Such, briefly, was the ideal commonwealth which More held up to the imitation of Europe. In going through the scheme nearly four hundred years after it was written, we cannot decide whether we are to give the palm to More's goodness of heart or to his keenness of intellect. It is not too much to say that almost every one of the recent advances in political, social, criminal, and educational reform had been anticipated by the wonderful genius and insight of More. Nothing but history can show so well how marvellously he was in advance of his age. Two hundred years before William III recognised the great principle of Toleration, More had proclaimed its justice. Three hundred years before Romilly, he had discovered that the object of criminal law was to prevent crimes and not to exact barbarous vengeance. The modern Criminal Code Revision, Public Education Boards, Public Health Laws, are all transcripts from More's *Utopia*. We have been but working out what he taught so many centuries ago.

He longed to better the condition of the poorer and labouring classes. He wished better care to be taken of their health and of the sanitation of large towns, that education were diffused through all ranks, that wars ceased and that the petty persecutions of men by men came to an end. And we are but actuated by the same longings, striving for the same ideals.

But though the broad principles laid down in More's commonwealth have received the truest proof of their correctness, *viz.*, realization in actual life, most of his minor points are utterly impracticable and do greater credit to his heart than to his head. His scheme of communism has been tried in France and has failed. Such a scheme requires a higher

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order of beings than men to realise it. To work for others where there is no fear of loss to one's self from idleness requires an angelic self-sacrifice and an angelic sense of duty. But men will always retain the imperfections of their sinful nature. Labour and self-denial will always appear painful to the children of Adam. Of these imperfections More takes no account in building up his society. "Those that swear and lie are hanged by the honest men. Then the liars and swearers are fools, for there are liars and swearers enough to beat the honest men and hang up them," says Macduff's son. And these traitors and liars would soon get the mastery over the honest men in a Re-public like More's, where all restraints and checks are taken off from the criminal and lazy classes.

Moreover, a government like that of Utopia requires an unlimited extent of fertile land to provide for the growing population, and also *very* peaceful neighbours.

"When her tens are thousands, and her thousands millions, then—
All her harvest all too narrow—who can fancy warless men?
War will die out late then. Will it ever? late or soon?"

asks the hero of *Locksley Hall*, and this question More never put to himself.

But with all its faults, the society pictured by More is eminently practical, eminently a production of the English mind. He busied himself only with the material welfare of his people and with their moral welfare only so far as it affected their *earthly* condition and life. He did not, like Plato in his *Republic*, confound Ethics with Politics, merge the individual in the community, make idealistic development and spiritual perfection the sole end of government, and devise a theoretical and visionary society with philosophers for kings, soldiers for guardians, and ignorant people for drudges.

Nor did he, like Harrington in his *Oceana*, try to construct a paper-government, refine away the facts of life and split constitutional hairs, and show greater care for the theory and form of government than for the "spirit of laws," the soul and purpose of all political institutions, the good of the community.

"There are things in the commonwealth of Utopia which I more wish than expect to see followed in our States." These were the melancholy and despondent notes in which More spoke of his ideal State and Society. Apparently, indeed, it seemed as if the book shared the fate of other equally charitable dreams. The condition of England and the Continent became the reverse of the bright picture of More. Henry VIII. developed his tyrannic propensities to a more monstrous extent than men had pictured in their worst fears. Tender women like Anne Boleyn and Katherine, sage councillors like More himself, highly cultivated souls like "Surrey of the deathless lay," fell on the scaffold to gratify the tyrant's whim. Instead of universal peace the fiercest wars raged on the Continent. In England the people groaned under the tyranny of the King's ministers and sank deeper and deeper in the mire of ignorance, while the light of the New Learning and the hopes of its leaders became extinguished, as it seemed, for ever. Instead of the unity of religious, to whose dreams More and others had clung to the last, Luther kindled a fire in the spiritual world of Europe, which, after producing irreconcilable discord there, introduced an anarchy and war in the material world that ended only a century and a half afterwards. (1648).

Really, however, More's work was not a failure. The seed he sowed took root and sprung up into a mighty tree in the 19th century, as we have already said. Even in his own generation all the great minds hailed this embodiment of their aspirations and their dreams. *Utopia* was soon translated into many languages. Friendly critics urged half laughingly that it should have been called Eutopia [=good land], and not Utopia [=nowhere.] But whether we pronounce it a success or a failure, the work will remain as one of the crowning glories of the English mind and of English literature. And whenever we review in our thought the long and brilliant line of those heroic souls that had fought for humanity, whether storming the citadel of ignorance and injustice, or filling up the ditch with their dead bodies for the benefit of their successors, we are sure that not the least brilliant or the least cheering of them will be Sir Thomas More, the author of *Utopia*.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

(1892)

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PAN-ISLAMISM

".....And to-day wherever Islam exists there is a Pan-Islamic party, generally small, but always having as its leaders the most enlightened and most advanced men. Under the guidance of these men Pan-Islamism is essentially a defensive and not an aggressive movement—for the elevation of the people, and therefore an intellectual and peace-promoting, and not a military or war-provoking one."—Browne's *Bonaparte in Egypt.*

THE Greco-Arabic word "Pan-Islamism" was, as far as I know, first used in its true and correct sense by Abdullah al-Ma'mūn Suhrawardy, when he transformed an almost defunct society, "The Anjuman-i-Islam of London," into the now world-renowned Pan-Islamic Society* of the English metropolis. In the year 1903 came into existence this Society with its novel and uncommon name, and its birth was trumpeted abroad by the friends as well as the enemies of Islam. The European people made a great fuss over it and terrorising forebodings were given out by them, so much so that some of those Muslims of India whose spirits have been crushed and in whose opinion flattery is the best policy as distinguished from the policy of agitation which the educated Hindus have adopted, got awfully frightened and took exception to the use of the word Pan-Islamism.

The reason why the use of the word "Pan" with Islam gave rise to such a vehement outburst of opposition among the Christian people is not far to seek. The glorious past of Islam accounts for it. Islam once defied the mighty Empires of Rome and Persia, Greece and Egypt and succeeded at last in extending its influence over all the known world. It has also defied successfully the armed, fanatical and aggressive opposition of the combined forces of Christendom during the crusades, and as a religion, in spite of the innumerable odds against it, it stands not only unvanquished but even progressive and victorious. It spread with lightning speed from one corner of the world to another, east and west, north and south, on account of its innate life-giving qualities and morally exalted and practicable principles, and there is no reason why the great moral force within it should not conquer the world again, if the brutal force and the military superiority of the peoples professing another religion be not incessantly applied to make up for the weaknesses of that faith which has been doing its best to annihilate Islam, and if the followers of Islam once more adhere in practice to the principles of their great faith which made the nomads of the desert of Arabia the civilisers of Europe. The far-sighted European peoples know well their own weakness and the mighty latent force of Islam. Hence any effort on the part of Musalmans to revive the inherent expanding spirit of Islam by bringing the Musalmans of different parts of the world more in touch with one another, by educating the Musalmans in their past history and bringing into play the mighty force of the "Pen" to counteract the force of blood-thirsty weapons of warfare and other modern instruments of destruction used so much these days and with such deadly effect by the followers of the Prince of Peace, cannot naturally be welcome to them.

The recent epidemic of articles on *Pan-Islamism*, *Khilafat* and so-called "*Fanaticism*," has been wilder and more virulent than that which raged three years ago when Abdullah al-Ma'mūn Suhrawardy attached the modern word "Pan" which denotes expansion and union, to the old word Islam. A heated controversy has been going on in almost all the leading European papers and especially in those of England and France as to the meaning and the future of that movement. But Pan-Islamism from a Muslim point of view has not been fully explained yet and it is my object in this paper to offer that explanation.

Many a learned writer has given His Imperial Majesty the Sultan of Turkey the credit of being the originator of this spirit of Pan-Islamism. Many have assigned it to the efforts of al-Sanūsī (Senoussi) and others, but in my opinion none of these surmises is correct. The originator of the spirit of Pan-Islamism was Muhammad himself, that greatest of great men, who preached Islam. The great prophet inspired his followers with a genuine spirit of common brotherhood and with

* Owing to certain circumstances which cannot be detailed here it has been recently decided to call this Association "The Islamic Society" in future. Mr. Amir Ali, C.I.E., late Judge of the Calcutta High Court, succeeds A. al-Ma'mun Suhrawardy as the President. The *Theosophist* for November, 1907, gives a sympathetic account of the Pan-Islamic Society and its aims and aspirations.

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an intense love for the faith. The Friday prayers every week or those of 'Id-ul-Fitr and 'Id-uz-Zuha twice a year, in which thousands of Musalmans congregate at one place, offer their prayers under the leadership of one man and embrace each other with brotherly amity and good-will, were instituted on none but Pan-Islamic principles, and that masterly idea of bringing together at one place in one kind of dress hundreds of thousands of Musalmans every year from every corner of the world had as its essential object the advancement of Pan-Islamism and a true Socialism. The advantages that can be derived, and that shall be derived, *Insha Allah* (God willing), in the very near future, from those annual gatherings of pilgrims in Mecca, are immense and make glowingly bright the future of Islam. The idea of establishing practically the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God by that great and true Socialist is the germ and the basis of Pan-Islamism, while the unconcealable truth that embodies the first principles of Islam is a fire that burns in the heart of every true Musalman and is bound to do its work of kindling others with the same flame. The fact is that whether a Musalman openly styles himself a Pan-Islamist or not, he is in spirit and at heart a Pan-Islamist and is sure to be ready to serve the cause of Islam and even to spread it howsoever he can. Any one who reads the history of Islam can learn that the spirit with which that faith inspired its followers was almost supernaturally irresistible and strong. That spirit distinctly produced even physical vigour and made Muslims extremely brave and undaunted as well as self-confident and strong. Every Musalman became an ardent advocate and a keen lover of Islam and ready to risk even his life to further its cause.

That spirit of Islam which, as I have said, inspired the weak with strength, was, without much loss of time, used for political purposes and was utilised for their own objects by people full of ambition to help them in acquiring leaderships, kingships and in conquering distant countries. Only a few years after Muhammad's death, the Koran was seen hanging from a military banner in a war which unfortunately broke out between the Musalmans themselves. Ameer Mu'awiyah then secured for himself and his descendants a kind of kingship through a very ingenious handling of this spirit among the Musalmans. Others followed him in the same path and in fact many succeeding Musalman kings and Caliphs began to use Islam for almost the same purposes for which the Christian Powers use Christianity in these days, *i. e.*, a means of aggression in foreign countries. All Europe shows its sympathy towards the Christian people when they revolt against "the Turkish Yoke." It fosters intrigue and encourages rebellion among the Christian subjects of Turkey. It made Servia, Roumania, Bulgaria and Crete free from the despotic rule of the Turks, because the Turks were not Christians. But it lets Christian Russia or even Roumania have its own way and massacre Jews, and it also shows no sympathy to either Indians or Egyptians when they clamour for the same freedom and independence which Europe has given to Servia, Bulgaria and even to turbulent Crete. Missionaries in non-Christian countries are sent over to preach Christianity and they go with the Bible in one hand and the Bottle of whisky in the other and when the "heathens" reject them and want to turn them out, the Bayonet intervenes and crushing indemnities are demanded and even concessions acquired under the guise of redressing wrongs. Though differing in degree yet somewhat similar was the case with enterprising Muslims of the earlier centuries of Islam. They used religion for political purposes. Mahmud of Ghazni gave a colour of religion to his invasions of India and destroyed idols and Hindu temples on conquering parts of the country. So also did the great Muhammad II, the conquerer of Constantinople, inspire his troops with valour by basing his desire to conquer that invincible town on a saying of the Prophet. Tarik, the intrepid invader of Spain, to whose valour the Rock of Gibraltar (*Jabal-al-Tarik*) is still a standing monument, declared the spread of the Grand Truth, *La ilaha ill' Allah*—there is no god but the only God—to be his only ambition. The shrewd and clever Alamgir of India, gave a religious tinge to the change he brought about in the policy of Akbar, which he thought had weakened the prestige of Musalman rulers, as the English people to-day think that regard for the wishes of the people or yielding to their agitation will affect the prestige of the British Raj. In fact it was this use of the spirit of Pan-Islamism for political purposes that has made the adverse critics of Islam say that it owes its expansion to the sword. But this statement is far from being true. No doubt the ambitious leaders who had any military foresight in them found in the spirit of Pan-Islamism a great power to excite the enthusiasm of the soldiers and to prepare them for a reckless sacrifice of their lives. They also found

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a very strong tie to unite people of different races and colours and so they gave their invasions and wars a religious tinge. But forced conversion to Islam has been expressly prohibited by the Koran. The fanatical and ungrateful policy adopted by Christian Spain as regards Musalmans and Jews was never adopted by Islam even when the spirit of Pan-Islamism was in its full vigour. There was shown not even so much prejudice against non-Muslims as the so-called liberal and socialistic Americans show towards Orientals and people of dark colour, or as the so-called civilised Australians and Transvaalers show towards people who are not of white colour (in the Western technical sense) even if they be their own fellow-subjects under the same sovereign. Even to-day the country which is most free from racial and colour prejudices, bigotry and fanaticism is Turkey. People of almost every race and nation and colour in their particular and peculiar dresses walk about in the streets of Constantinople more freely than a Turk in his national head-gear can in any other European town.

On following the history of Islam closely, we find that at first, in theory at least, there was recognised to be only one King of Islam or Khalifa, though Islam had spread to Egypt, India, Spain and Central Asia. The kings of the above-mentioned places used to seek permission of the central Khalifa who had the relics of the Prophet and the custody of the holy places to have their names repeated in the *Khutbah*. So the other kings were as it were vicegerents of the Caliph. But this union did not last long. Each kingdom became not only unconnected with the central authority but quite isolated and exclusive. There was no more any idea of Pan-Islamism. The bigotry of Spain, when she turned out of her domains all the Musalmans, was exhibited in the teeth of other Muslim powers that were strong at the time, and could, if they cared, have helped their brothers in Spain. In fact, that very sad event—the ultimate result of which was the expulsion of all the Musalmans from Spain, the total destruction of a magnificent civilisation, and putting back by many centuries the progress of modern civilisation—would never have happened had there been any of that spirit of Pan-Islamism, which united all Musalmans, left among the Muslim Powers. The onslaught of Russia on Muslim kingdoms was made when there were in existence Muslim Powers to check it, and the extinction of the Muslim rule in India occurred when the Ottoman Empire was at the zenith of its power. Islamic history is entirely lacking in any combined offensive wars like the crusades against any people for any religious purpose. The coalition or concert of many powers of one religion against another of a different religion, has no parallel in the history of Islam. In fact it was the spirit of Pan-Islamism latent in Islam itself that made it spread in the world. It owed nothing to any combination or organised efforts on the part of the Muslim Powers. The Muslim Powers never made a common cause, and unfortunately even to-day the weakened and ill-used Muslim kingdoms do not combine together to present a strong united front to the merciless blows of united Christendom. The downfall of the Musalmans from the commanding position they had won for themselves to their present wretched condition, can well be attributed to their failure in latter days to understand the true spirit of their great faith and to their becoming indifferent to the importance of the spirit of Pan-Islamism. Had they acted according to the dictates of their religion, they would not have allowed the Western nations, who were once their pupils, to surpass them in learning, science and inventions of great practical value. They forgot the warning of the Koran that God never alters the condition of any people unless they bring it about themselves, and they allowed their once magnificent and civilised domains to come to their present wretched plight, which gives a right of interference in their affairs to progressive nations. Had they brought the spirit of Pan-Islamism to their help when they were harassed by their opponents, and had united to keep their own supremacy they would not have fallen to this state which is revolting to the very nature of Islam, and would make even the most optimistic Musalman lose heart. It seems that there is no hope in the near future of any political ascendency of Islam, and so the Pan-Islamic revival, from a political point of view, is a little too late in coming. Still Pan-Islamism has a future. The political condition of Musalmans is bad, no doubt. The military efficiency of Christendom makes her too powerful for any physical struggle with her. But how hopelessly weak was the political condition of Muhammad or of his few followers when Islam came into existence as a codified religion! How much physically stronger were the people, who were prepared to shed their last drop of blood to extinguish that tiny little spark of the Grand Truth that fired at first the heart of one man and began to spread fast on all sides soon after! Still Muhammad did triumph and the Truth did prevail. The hope of Pan-Islamism

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to-day is not in the sword or the bayonet. It is, as ever it was, in the Koran and in Islam. The one religion that can stand the progress of rationalism is Islam, and so the one religion that has any chance of surviving the present scepticism is Islam. In these few Koranic words "Inna lillahi-wa inna ilaihi-rajiūn" (from God we are and to Him we return) is summed up not only the "monism" of more than 2,000 years of great Vedanta philosophers but also the most modern and scientific monism of Haeckel. Those who believe in evolution must believe that Islam was evolved from the religions that preceded it and can well claim to be more developed than all its predecessors. So far as the belief in God is concerned, the most developed form of that belief is found in Islam. Belief in a plurality of gods failed thousands of years ago. It was only a savage belief. The deification of man also failed and all the "incarnations" have been brought again to their proper places and recognised as nothing more than human beings. Supernaturalism and mystic philosophy offer sometimes a long resistance to the encroachment of reason but in the long run they, too, are vanquished. Krishna of immaculate birth and an Incarnation of God is now recognised to be nothing more than a man of extraordinary greatness and in the very near future the mystical and unreasonable belief in the divinity of Christ, whose birth was as mysterious as that of Krishna, is bound to be superseded by a more rational belief. The spread of Unitarianism is an unmistakable sign of the times and so are the ever-growing monotheistic movements among the Hindus. So ultimately the belief in one and only one God—without a companion, without a co-sharer in His Divinity, will be *the* religious belief of the world and it will be a triumph of Islam and mean the success of Pan-Islamism.

Not only this; as the substitution of matter and energy for God has failed before, so will that now, and these materialists will ultimately perceive as the Koran points out that "all *creatures* in heaven and earth praise God and the birds also." Then will they begin to argue within their hearts thus: "Were they created by nothing? or are they the creators of themselves? Created they heaven and earth? Nay, rather they have no faith. Hold they thy Lord's treasures? Bear they the rule supreme?" And the reply to these pertinent questions will again be as it has been, in the negative. They will find that this universe as it exists and as it works on, neither can be the sole product of matter nor of energy. The *matter* had some One to give it its form, to ordain for it fixed design which is found in this beautiful Universe, in these brilliant stars, and the *energy* had some One to guide it to work so correctly and scientifically as the huge solar system works. To *matter* and *energy* apply these verses of the Koran:—

> Verily, they whom ye call besides God, cannot create a fly though they assemble for it, and if the fly carry off aught from them they cannot take it away from it. Weak, the suppliant and the supplicated. Unworthy the estimate they form of God! for God is right powerful and mighty."

So matter and energy will again give place to the Great First Cause whom Huxley could not deny and which even MacCabe and Haeckel believe is "One" and "Eternal" and "Infinite" and it will be a triumph of the Koran and mean the success of Pan-Islamism. Not only this, there are other social and moral matters in which Pan-Islamism has a chance. There is no other moral code that has so forcibly run down intemperance, gambling and incontinence and so wonderfully succeeded in eradicating these vices, which Canon Taylor calls the three curses of Christian civilisation. Unfortunately for the morality of the world and the godliness of man all these vices are taking great strides and are increasing day by day as it were under the influence of materialism in those countries which claim to be greatly advanced in civilisation. How much money is spent every year in England on alcohol or in corrupt amusements and excitements! How large is the number of illegitimate children born every year in England! How shocking are the revelations made in the Divorce Courts! The condition of France in these matters is still worse. Marriage, an institution so beneficial for the social happiness of all mankind, is coming to be recognised in practice at least as a useless, costly and unnecessary tie, and the population of France is stationary.

At present the European conscience is almost dead to the enormity of this phase of its civilisation, but as we believe that man has in his essence godliness, it may be hoped that even the European people will realise before long that these vices are a curse, ruinous not only to his moral life, but also to his social political and physical life and that will be a triumph of Islam and mean the success of Pan-Islamism. Arabia of old, in these matters was almost in the same stage of degradation when one man swept it clean of all of them. Europe also shall be cleaned of them and there is a chance for Islam to do it again. The very increase in all the European countries of the number of those women whose existence

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is a curse and outrage on our humanity and a disgrace to civilisation demands Islamic laws which made such an increase impossible, and so Pan-Islamism has a great chance in this social line to effect improvement and to save humanity from further disgrace.

There is one other cause where Islam is destined to play an important part. It is in recognising the equality between man and man regardless of colour and of race. Universal brotherhood shall be establised, all the prejudices of race and colour and creed shall vanish when man will take up this verse of the Koran as his guide, as a warrant of his happiness and peace :—

"Whether a Believer, a Jew, a Christian or a Sabian, he who believes in God and the Last Day and *acts* aright, his reward becomes due upon his Creator, he should neither fear anything nor be depressed."

This again will be a triumph of Islam and mean the success of Pan-Islamism. In fact Christianity has tried for many centuries now to establish a common brotherhood between the human races, to elevate the morals of the people and to bring peace into the world, but it has completely failed to achieve any of those grand and noble objects, It is the Christian, white, "discoloured," European people who are fanatically prejudiced against the "coloured" and Asiatic races and so it is they who constantly disturb the amity and fraternity that should exist and which did exist under the true Islamic civilisation between man and man. Under the Islamic civilisation, the "black men" of Abyssinia, the white of Spain, the yellow of China and the brown of Asiatic countries loved one another like brothers and treated each other on terms of perfect equality and so they do even to-day if they are Musalmans. Christianity has also failed to elevate the morals of people. Wine, women of ill fame, and gambling are the three great curses of Christian countries, while Islamic countries, under Islamic law, can neither tolerate prostitution, nor wine, nor gambling. Christianity has failed altogether in bringing peace. It is the Christian people who have shed the greatest quantity of human blood in the past and who are still bent on their bloody pursuits.

So the time shall come when Islam will be given a trial again to achieve those grand objects which Christianity has failed to achieve and it shall be a success for Pan-Islamism.

It must have become clear from my foregoing remarks that Pan-Islamism is something quite different from fanaticism. But this word "fanaticism" has become a by-word in Europe generally and among Englishmen particularly when they talk of Musalmans. If a Musalman gives up his life for the love of his religion, his country or his liberty, he is branded as a fanatic; if a Christian does it, he is idolised as a hero. It is not only this word "fanaticism" that has its relative meaning. When Australia, the Transvaal and California show colour bigotry and racial prejudice, excuses are found out for this narrowmindedness of theirs; but if Tibet, China or Morocco show any hatred towards the white colour and do not like to have among themselves those rather meddlesome and ambitious people, they have their subjects massacred, their cities bombarded and their towns ransacked as a punishment for their audacity in disliking the people of white colour. Fanaticism in the same way, is only objectionable in Musalmans and not in white nations even though the latter might show it in forms more crude and disgraceful. However, I do not mean to say that there are not fanatics among Musalmans but so there are in every religion, in every race and in every walk of life. I can name a great statesman of England who was as fanatically against the Turkish Government as some Egyptians are against the English occupation of their country. There is a little difference between Musalman and Christian fanaticism. Musalman fanaticism can be found only amongst uneducated people, but among the Christian people you sometimes find men of learning and education more fanatical than the illiterate Musalmans. Go in a fez to some country-place of England or give a lecture on Islam at any place out of London and very probably you will require a police force for your protection. Read any book on Islam or Muhammad written by a Christian and you will find the proof of the basest fanaticism in the abuses that have been piled upon them. Also the vituperations that are poured with Christian charity upon the Sultan of Turkey by even decent English papers are glaring signs of fanaticism among the educated class. While the Muslim monarch of Turkey has patronised many a non-Muslim institution, the Christian King of England, who has perhaps more Musalmans under him than Christians, would have to abdicate if he were to accept the patronage of, say, the London Mosque Fund.

The unfortunate incident at Denshawai is a good illustration of both kinds of fanaticism. Granting that the assault made by the uneducated Egyptians on the Englishman who provoked them was fanatical, the anger of the educated English people which that incident aroused was the more fanatical, the

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spiteful revenge, under the name of justice, still more fanatical, and the alarmist speech of Sir Edward Grey, and the spurious letter published by Lord Cromer, which had no other object than to inflame the fanatical spirit of his countrymen and to fabricate an excuse for the inhuman punishments, were not very sober acts. The latter acts can well be called acts of civilised fanaticism but there are also instances of barbarous fanaticism found amongst these "civilised" people. The desecration of the Mahdi's tomb in the Soudan, an act which even a savage would hesitate to do, and the severance of Bambata's head in right savage fashion, are flagrant and shocking instances of the barbarous fanaticism of Christian, white and "civilised" people. The Pan-Islamists look at these acts of fanaticism with as great disgust and abhorrence as any fanaticism among the illiterate Musalmans, and it is one of their great objects to protest against such fanaticism in whatever quarter it may exist. They fully realise the danger to which Muslim fanaticism can expose the whole community. They have seen that fanaticism is met by a stronger fanaticism and as they are weaker the fight cannot be to their advantage. So they want to suppress fanaticism among their uneducated co-religionists as it has been suppressed among the "cultured" Musalmans, and to divert the same energy to more profitable channels.

I have acknowledged that there are fanatics among Musalmans and I will also admit that they are very reckless. The reason of this is that Islam is extremely dear to every Musalman, and when a Musalman is given reason to think that he serves his religion by any act of self-sacrifice he will never hesitate to give up even his life for that purpose. To a true Musalman wealth or life is not dearer than his religion. Khalid, the "Sword of God," when invading Persia invited the mighty Emperor of Persia to submit to the orders of the Khalifa of Islam, otherwise he would send against him men who loved death in the cause of their religion even as the Persians loved life and its luxuries. This was no arrogant threat, but a real fact. This very spirit in uneducated Musalmans, who do not understand what would be a real service to Islam, becomes dangerous fanaticism when they get enthusiastic and disdain death even on supposed insults to their faith. They love Islam passionately and so grow wild over any injury to it, real or imaginary. But this spirit, this staunch adherence to one object, this undaunted support of one cause served the purpose of many a statesman and general in the olden days, and in the not very remote past excited the admiration of great military geniuses of Europe like Napoleon. I am also inclined to think that that military monarch who sits on the throne of Germany and Prussia has realised the fact that this spirit of fearlessness is a powerful weapon in the hands of one who knows how to wield it, and this explains the Emperor William's memorable words of friendship for Musalmans spoken at Damascus.

The greatest opportunity any alien people could have of enlisting Musalman sympathies as well as of using Muslim "fanaticism" to their own advantage was offered to the English people, but thanks to some of their fanatical statesmen and the old and bitter prejudices of their people against Islam, England to-day is regarded by the Muslim world not even with as much confidence as she was regarded about twenty years ago. English influence and English commerce have greatly suffered in Turkey. And the English people are not so favourably looked upon as they were before. In Egypt the latest events have proved that Lord Cromer has by no means succeeded in making the English occupation popular, and even in India, notwithstanding the flattering words of certain "Muhammadans" (as they foolishly call themselves), liberal and enlightened Musalmans as well as the majority of "fanatical" Musalmans on the frontier, are not very much satisfied with Anglo-Indian haughtiness and with the unfriendliness of England towards some Muslim powers.

England has drawn hardly any advantage from having under her flag so many valiant and so-called fanatical people, nor has she used her Muslim subjects as an asset of value in gaining influence over other Muslim countries. Napoleon is said to have declared that he could conquer the world with a good Muslim army, but England though possessing a good Muslim army has failed to draw any great advantage from it because that army is no more than a mercenary body and England has never aroused in it that world-conquering spirit. She has failed to make Muslims feel their glory in the glory and success of the British Empire.

A Turkish friend of mine once remarked that tolerant and advanced England has not given even one responsible post to any of the 70,000,000 Muslims under her, while the so-called backward Turkey—the country of "intolerant" Islam—has given even such responsible

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posts as ambassadorships at foreign Courts to her Christian subjects out of only 3,000,000 of them. This shows that either England cannot trust her Muslim subjects or she cannot find even one out of so many and after such a long rule, who could be given a responsible post. In both cases it is a "shame for England."

Mr. William Samuel Lilly of the Indian Civil Service, writes in his book "*India and its Problems*":—

"It appears to me that we should sedulously seek for those among them most fitted socially, morally and intellectually to rule, and associate them with Englishmen freely and liberally, even in the highest offices—such are the Muhammadans of Northern India—one of the noblest races in the country."

But does the British Government act according to his advice? Lord Curzon in India and Lord Cromer in Egypt both practically declined to associate Musalmans with Englishmen in the highest offices, and it is quite reasonable for Musalmans, who have the instinct of a military and ruling race, and whose very religion teaches them equality between man and man, to resent their alleged inferiority. Sir Auckland Colvin, in his article in the *Nineteenth Century* on "Egypt to-day," attributes to Islam "a fanatical ill-will to the supremacy of an authority which is not of its own creed" and has evidenced surprise at "the Muslim clinging to Constantinople." This shows an inexcusable ignorance of the true spirit of Islam, the right nature of Musalmans. Islam, indeed, is a democratic religion and its adherents ought not to bow their heads but before God. So also a Muslim would by his very nature prefer to live even in a semi-civilised country with his self-respect, dignity, and equality of rights established, than live under even *Pax Britannica* with a brand of "native" on his forehead and a constant shriek in his ears telling him that "the conquerors" have more rights than the "conquered," that the white colour gives more dignity and privileges to a person than any other colour, that the policy of coercion is the best policy for Asiatics, and that Christian civilisation is the only civilisation that can be respected. A Muslim cannot bear ignominious treatment. This is the secret of the immigration into Turkey of the Musalmans of those provinces which have been snatched away from Turkey by the Christian powers. This is the secret of the Egyptians disliking British predominance and their want of appreciation of the benefits that have accrued to them through it. England has done nothing to appeal to the sentiments of the Musalmans and to win over their fiery enthusiasm for her glory. On the contrary her statesmen in England and her officials in India and Egypt have very often hurt their feelings.

The greatest factor in shaking the confidence of the Muslim world in England is her very suspicious policy towards Arabian Musalmans. Musalmans were never aggressive in making religious wars as Christians were during the crusades, but they have shown that when their religious feelings and sentiments are in any way touched, they can become unconquerable in spite of a great combination against them. I, as a British subject, and one who even for personal interests has to be loyal to the British Government in India, think it my duty to warn England of the danger she is running by her Arabian policy. No Musalman with any religious feeling in him will ever allow any alien people to have even a shadowy kind of "protectorate" over his holy places. The activity of England towards Koweit or Aden and possibly at Yemen, cannot do England any good at all, while on the other hand, it vexes Turkey, it makes her more and more suspicious of England's motives, and so more and more inclined towards another great military power, and this policy is extremely irritating to the Musalmans. Even those Musalmans who are eloquent in praise of the blessings that British rule has conferred upon them cannot be with England (and I hope that English statesmen are far-sighted enough not to be duped by the false utterances of any flatterer) in case England tries to snatch away the holy places from the protection of a Muslim monarch. Muslims love their religion more than their lives and no worldly blessings can be dearer to them than their religion.

The best desire of all the Pan-Islamists is to see that England falls back upon her policy of friendliness towards Musalmans and their rulers. Under British rule is brought together the greatest number of Musalmans, so when England shows any antipathy towards other Muslim countries, they find themselves in an awkward position, as the same religion, which has established common brotherhood among Muslims, has also enjoined them to be loyal to their rulers, and the strict discipline which is found even

* As to Christian dignitaries appointed as Turkish Ambassadors at the Court of St. James, the name of Kostaki Pasha, Rustam Pasha, the late Musuras Pasha and his father, may be mentioned. Prince Malcolm Khan was the Persian Ambassador in London for a long time and is now in Rome. Hasan Yang Chang, the late Chinese Minister in Berlin, illustrates in his person the enlightened and tolerant attitude of China towards its Muslim subjects.

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in the Muslim prayers makes them obedient to law and constituted authority. For this reason it is one of the greatest objects of the Pan-Islamists to remove the prejudices of the English people against Islam in order that their fanaticism which causes them even pecuniary loss by decreasing their commerce in Muslim countries be not so intense as to totally blind even their statesmen and their historians.

The best way to be immune from the danger of Muslim "fanaticism," and the best way to win over the Muslim world to her side will be for England to revert to her old policy—the policy of Lord Beaconsfield, towards Turkey and to give up at once her ambition towards that land of rocks and sand which though of no value to any other community is very dear to every Muslim heart. A definite alliance with Turkey, which I advocated during my stay in Constantinople, would insure peace in the Near East as the alliance with Japan has insured peace in the Far East. It will gladden the hearts of all Musalmans and make them attached to the English nation. On the contrary when Musalmans see England forward in taking away Crete from Turkey and thus forcing thousands of Musalmans to an exile from home, in making naval demonstrations, contrary to international law, against Turkey, in putting obstacles in the internal administration and taxation in Turkey and in impeding the construction of useful railways, they feel hurt and when they see that it is only the Christian subjects of Turkey for whom England shows sympathy, their own religious feelings get stirred. Her solicitude for the Christian people reveals her as not very impartial and just, but fettered by religious and racial prejudice and spurred by religious bigotry.

England herself will be to blame if the Pan-Islamic movement becomes inimical to Great Britain later on. It is not so as yet. Up to the present moment the Pan-Islamic movement is in favour of England and at least two bodies of it, the Nedwa in India and the Pan-Islamic Society of England, are even grateful to England and her people. Every member of this Pan-Islamic Society, though keen on the achievement of its objects, is imbued with feelings of loyalty and even gratitude towards England and her people. Though all other opinions I have expressed in this paper are my individual opinions, yet this much I can say on behalf of the Pan-Islamic Society as its old secretary that she is neither opposed to the British connection with Egypt or to British Rule in India. Though our Society is interested in the general well-being of Musalmans of every part of the world, though she sympathises with Musalmans wherever they be troubled, in Egypt or in Arabia or anywhere else, she fully realises that for a society with those objects which she has in view there is no other soil in the world than the free land of the little Island which throws its light thousands of miles off and where the chains of even slaves fall off when they land on its blessed soil. She knows also that there is a chance for her success among a people who though conservative and clinging fast to their old prejudices, yet are acute judges and critics and keenly appreciate everything good and true. The sympathy shown to her even in such a short time, and the interest that the educated and broad-minded English people have taken in her, make her grateful to them. It is this gratefulness and this love of the English people that makes her more solicitous to see England and its people on friendly terms with Musalmans and their sovereigns so that she may have no occasion of either being ungrateful or unsisterly. Providence has interwoven the destiny of Englishmen with that of Musalmans and they must understand each other better. This Society is fully confident that the more such calm and sober judges and critics, as the English people are, know of Islam, the more inclined they will be towards that great rational faith, and the more friendly feelings they will have towards those valiant people, the Musalmans.

I have said that the Pan-Islamists want to suppress the spirit of "fanaticism" in Musalmans, but they by no means want to extinguish that spirit. They want to turn it into its proper channel and to teach Musalmans to master that fire rather than be slaves to it. Grand objects can be achieved by using properly that love of Islam and Muhammad which Musalmans have. Muhammad told them that knowledge was a birthright of Musalmans and they should pick it up wherever they find it; he commanded them to go to distant and even non-Islamic countries in search of knowledge and if Musalmans have any love for Muhammad they should act according to what he said. Islam made all Musalmans brothers and so if they have any love of Islam they should follow its dictates. The Pan-Islamists want to impress upon their brothers that holding life in the palms of their hands on supposed injuries, or keeping themselves behind the progressive people by their own ignorance and then trying to get off from the intrusion of

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those people by sheer physical force, are not things which Islam demands. These hurt rather than serve the cause of Islam. In India, not many years ago, a pamphlet was brought out by an enlightened Muslim association denouncing the so-called Ghazi-ism shown now and again by ignorant Pathans, and so Pan-Islamists want to denounce recklessness of every kind in serving the cause of Islam, because it is suicidal. As a melancholy instance of this deplorable and fatal recklessness may be mentioned the annihilation of 12,000 brave men in a few hours at the battle of Omdurman. This kind of love of Islam can do no good to the community nor to Islam. But that love of Islam is beneficial which would attract non-Muslims by creating those heroic virtues which Islam created in the old Musalmans, by setting practical examples of Muslim brother-hood, Muslim socialism, Muslim toleration, Muslim morality and ideal of chastity, Muslim temperance and abstinence from every kind of intoxicant, Muslim love of knowledge and above all Muslim belief in one God. The more intense that love for Islam is, the more it will serve the cause of Islam and the purpose of the Pan-Islamists. That love should be advanced even to the point of "fanaticism" and the fanatical love for Islam which already exists in the hearts of Musalmans should be directed towards the achievement of the objects I have mentioned above.

I was not so sanguine of the success of the cause of Pan-Islamism until I visited Constantinople last August.* As I said in my farewell speech to Abdullah al-Ma'mūn Suhrawardy, I have come to believe that the fraternal string of Islam though more than thirteen centuries old, is still strong enough to hold close and fast all the 300,000,000 of us and that it, in the words of the poet,

Heart to heart and mind to mind
In body and in soul can bind.

My visit to the capital of the Turkish Empire has been extremely remarkable and I had a grand time of it there. I was with a friend of mine, Sheikh Abdul Qadir, and both of us received special recognition and decoration from His Imperial Majesty the Sultan Abdul Hamid II, visited many times the Prime Minister, Ferid Pasha, also the Foreign Minister, Tewfik Pasha, both of whom we found to be splendid statesmen and thorough gentlemen as well as good specimens of educated and enlightened Musalmans. Our visits to Ahmad Pasha, a son-in-law of His Majesty and a keen statesman, to Mamduh Pasha, Minister of the Interior, the two Secretaries of His Imperial Majesty, the well-known General Edham Pasha (who gave us his signed photographs "as a remembrance of fraternity"), Arfa-ud-Daula, Mirza Riza Khan Danish and their Excellencies Nouri Bey, Ismail Pasha and Hakky Bey (the latter we found followed the progress of Indian Musalmans wonderfully closely), gave us great satisfaction. In another line we had very lengthy conversations with the Sheikh-ul-Islam, a man of undoubted qualifications and great enlightenment, and Kazi Askar Mahmood Effendi, the highly cultured Alim (theologian). We also had the privilege of visiting that wonderfully enlightened Muslim ruler H. H. the Khedive of Egypt who with Islamic hospitality invited us to Egypt. I have given this incomplete list of persons whom we visited while at Constantinople to show that I had a grand time there, and it is not because I had the honour of visiting such high personages that I attach so much significance to the visit. It is not this side that has made me so sanguine about the cause of Pan-Islamism. My companion will bear me out when I say that after my visits to the palaces of His Majesty and the great personages I have mentioned, I very often feelingly repeated these sentimental lines of a great poet :—

Ba faragh dil zamani nazari ba mahrooi,
Beh azan ki kasri Shahi hama roz hai o hooi.

—"To sit with satisfied and happy heart for a short time with some one beautiful, is better than being in a king's palace and loud merry-making all day."

In fact I appreciate more the brotherly affection of the two great friends we made in Constantinople, Jelal Bey and H. E. Saad-uddin Bey. So it is not on account of these acquaintances with such big personages that I made, that I attach so much importance to this visit of mine, but because I noticed that the heart of Muslims are full of sympathy for one other all over the world and with but little organisation and effort can be made to meet in union.

Every Musalman in Turkey—whether rich or poor, educated or uneducated, whom we met, seemed to feel as if he had found a long-lost relation. The ecstasies of a poor brother of ours, who was almost in rags, into which he went at the very pleasure of seeing us at the "Sublime Porte" after having read the news of our arrival in the morning papers and other events of the same kind, have made me hopeful of Pan-Islamism. We had an opportunity of meeting Musalmans from almost all

* This was written in 1906.

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parts of the world, even those who have visited China and Japan, since my last perience which I thus got that has made me so sanguine. The brotherhood of Musalmans and the Islamic spirit in them is still a living force and it requires only to be organised to advance the civilisation of the world as forcibly on to perfection as it did in former ages. The more I realised the spirit of Pan-Islamism and common brotherhood which the Great Prophet inculcated in the hearts of his followers and which has been germinating in these people who have come more than thirteen centuries after him, the more I became devotedly attached to that Great Prophet. the more I became sure of the ultimate triumph of Islam, and the more I became sanguine of the success of Pan-Islamism. The community is awakening and there are quite bright signs of it.

Whatever be the cause of it,—either a contrast of their past with that of their present which Musalmans have been drawing in their minds, as is shown by modern Muslim literature, a consciousness of the deplorableness of the condition to which they have sunk, or the combination of Christendom against their kings and sovereigns and the dwindling away of their dominions, the spirit of Pan-Islamism has recently revived in Musalmans of many countries.

In India the awakening took the form of schools for religious education and orphanages to save Muslim orphans from falling into the hands of Christian missionaries. Many associations have also been established on sectarian principles. The well-known Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam of Lahore with its magnificent college (the Islamiyyah College), and orphanage and the noble assembly called the Nudwat-ul-Ulama are great products of this awakening.

In Afghanistan the spirit of Pan-Islamism was revived by that great statesman, the late ruler of Kabul, Ameer Abdur Rahman Khan. He not only suggested a union between Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan but was also far-sighted enough to use Islam for political purposes. He took the title of "Zia-ul-Millat w'al-Din" (The Light of the Nation and the Faith) and the very idea of establishing a college on modern lines at Kabul which but for his untimely death would have become an accomplished fact in his lifetime, shows how practical his notions of Pan-Islamism were. It is by general education only that those inborn qualifications of a Musalman—patriotism and love of Islam—can be made to serve the cause of Islam and that is the one means by which Pan-Islamists can succeed in their objects. There can be no doubt that the Ameer of Kabul—the present successor of that great statesman—who has made a point of following the policy laid down by his father, will prove as staunch a Pan-Islamist as his father was and will carry out all those ideas of Pan-Islamism which the lamentable death of his father has left unrealised.

In Egypt also the revival of Pan-Islamism has been perceptible of late and it has taken a nationalist turn. But this nationalism has nothing to do with fanaticism. If the efforts which the people of the Transvaal or other colonies made with success for self-government or those which Indians and Irishmen are making for that purpose, are fanaticism then the nationalism of the Egyptians may also be called fanaticism, but a fanaticism of which no one need be ashamed. There are many true Pan-Islamists in Egypt like my friend M. Shoukrey Bey but there are also a number of Musalmans who do not like the "white" people, as the Transvaalers do not like the Asiatics and coloured people, and if the dislike of the latter is not fanaticism, the dislike of the former is also not. H. H. the Khedive is an educated and enlightened prince and a very fit person for guiding Pan-Islamism into a useful and proper channel.

In Persia the spirit of Pan-Islamism has been most successful, thanks to her deceased ruler H. M. Muzaffar-ud-din Shah. One of the great causes of the political downfall of Musalmans was the schism that broke out in the body of the Musalmans on the question of the Caliphate. That was the time when religion was freely used for political purposes and so this matter, though purely political, was brought within the pale of religion and the difference of opinion whether Abu Bakr, Omar and Osman were legally and rightly Khalifas or only Ali was entitled to that place was extended to such an extent shortly after that it made the disciples of one persuasion directly opposed to those of the other and even differences in rituals and ceremonies were introduced to divide the people. This was most unfortunate. It caused great mischief and in the end that difference changed into deadly animosity. The Shiahs began to hate their brother Sunnis only because the latter accepted the predecessors of Ali as Khalifas and they even forgot to reason that that incident which gave rise to this schism was a matter of past history now and beyond the control of the people living more than thirteen centuries after. So the Shiah Persia and the Sunni Turkey became enemies

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and the people of one country against the people of the other, though both worshipped the same God and followed the same prophet. But the noble Shah, imbued with the spirit of Pan-Islamism, set a personal example of the amity that should exist between the two peoples and visited the Sultan of Turkey in his capital. The meeting between the two great heads of the two sects of Islam was quite brotherly and I was told by eye-witnesses that they embraced each other with tears in their eyes. As a result of this meeting the relations between the two peoples have very much improved and I was delighted to find that the Persians at Constantinople (about ten thousand or more) were conscious of the harm the schism had caused and were full of brotherly affection for their Sunni co-religionists. In fact my time at Constantinople with the Persians was more pleasant than what I spent with my Sunni brothers, because I could speak Persian but not Turkish, and I revere and respect my esteemed Shiah friend, the Majd-al-Sultanat Mirza Mehdi Ali Khan, as much as I do my Turkish friends Hamid Bey and Rafat Bey.

The reconciliation between the two so-called churches in Islam is evidenced by a remarkable incident. The principle of election has been followed by the Sunnis who recognised the three Khalifas before Ali, because they were elected, but this was never recognised by the Shiahs. The Sunnis derive their name from following the traditions and the opinion of the majority (*Sunnat wa Jamaat*). The Shiahs did not do so before, but it is signficant that they have now adopted the system of elective government and have got a parliament of their own. So the institution of this elective system of government promises not only, as the Persians think, another Japan in the near future, but also a complete union between these two great sects of Musalmans and the greatest success of Pan-Islamism.

The remarkable revolution in Persia, which, thanks to the magnaminity of the late Shah, has been accomplished with perfect peace, is a child of the spirit of Pan-Islamism. Many enlightened Persians had been preparing the ground for this step for a long time and I have a book anonymously published ten years ago in which this success of the revolution was foretold. The writer of this book I happen to know. He is a learned but unassuming old man, leading a quiet life away from his home, where nobody seems to realise what a genius he is. That this change is a result of rational Pan-Islamism is also evidenced by the remarkable fact that it was the Ulamas, the theologians, who were foremost in demanding constitutional government, thus giving up the authority, stronger than even that of the king, which they had hitherto enjoyed over the people.

In Turkey the spirit of Pan-Islamism can be found in no person more than His Imperial Majesty the Sultan Abdul Hamid II. In fact he is given the credit of being the very cause of the revival of this spirit of Pan-Islamism and in the imagination of some fevered brains he is also supposed to have sent secret emissaries all over the Muslim world to draw the Musalmans closer to him, to instigate them to acts of fanaticisim against their foreign rulers and so on. There is no truth in these fantastic ideas, but there is no doubt that His Majesty is a Pan-Islamist. The way he has re-assured to himself the Caliphate, the manner in which he receives his co-religionists from different parts of the world in his dominions, the restrictions which he has laid down in order that his people should not go out of the bounds of their own civilisation, customs and manners, and above all that glorious idea of making a railway to Mecca and Medina, all these are clear demonstrations of the spirit with which His Majesty is imbued. Had the Christian Powers given a freer hand to His Majesty, had they allowed rest to Turkey even for a quarter of a century, had they not encouraged the rebellion of his Majesty's Christian subjects, who are treated with unparalleled toleration (in fact too much toleration) and are given rights which England, notwithstanding her boast of impartiality and justice, has not given to Indians or any non-Christians, had Turkey not been compelled to spend so much money in military preparations to the enforced neglect of other material and economical reforms, Turkey would have been quite a different country from what it is now. The Pan-Islamist Sovereign has, in spite of all these obstacles, given Turkey many beneficial institutions and above all has slowly but steadily educated his people and prepared them for constitutional government. Shortsighted people even among the Musalmans and malicious opponents of Turkish Government have been giving out that the present Sultan has a horror for constitutional government and prorogued the Parliament he gave to Turkey on account of that horror. They forget to realise that had Turkey been given a constitutional government before the Muslim population was educated enough to have the government in its hands, Turkey would have practically become by now a non-Muslim power.

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There is no doubt that if providence spares His Majesty for a few years more Turkey will have a constitutionl Government guided by the masterful hand of His Majesty. It will be the crowning achievement of Pan-Islamism. It will draw the educated Musalmans from all parts of the world who by the experiences gained in their own countries would be able to pay the Christian statesmen in their own coin, when they make any onslaught on the Turkish Government and will read them a lesson in return for the lesson taught by them, as now the oppressed Musalmans from every part of the world seek shelter in His Majesty's dominions. It will then make it possible to utilise the annual gatherings in Hijaz for the purpose they were instituted and it will be then that the whole Muslim world will be devotedly attached to their Khalifa. That will be a great success of the great Pan-Islamist Sultan Abdul Hamid and of Pan-Islamism in general.

A Russian Muslim friend informs me that there is a current of Pan-Islamic spirit running in the hearts of the Musalmans of Russia. They very lately held a great meeting from almost all parts of Russia and discussed matters for the well-being of the community. The Russian Muslim papers have been exhorting their brethren to take a lesson from Indian Musalmans in awakening to the needs and requirements of the times and I read a book very recently written by a Russian Musalman on questions economic and political, in which the learned writer has dealt with the Pan-Islamic question under the very name "Pan-Islam."

In Tunis the spirit of Pan-Islamism has been revived and the enlightened Muslims have awakened to the needs of the time. They have got some places in the new "assembly" and mean to show some resistance to the over-domination of the European races. Nor are the signs of a great revival wanting in Algeria, Morocco, and the Sahara and other recesses of the Dark Continent peopled by the followers of the Prophet.

The Pan-Islamists, who know the intrinsic value of their religion and have found how suitable that religion is to the requirements of a progressive age and advanced humanity, have come to think that they can put their religion before the enlightened people of advanced countries with a chance of its being accepted as their religion, at least with a confidence of making those people adopt its principles of Theism and practical morality which are undoubtedly the most perfect and the most practical. With this object the eyes of the Pan-Islamist are turned towards England, America and Japan.

As I have said, the destinies of England seem to have been intertwined with those of Musalmans, so England was the first to yield to the proselytizing ambitions of Musalmans which have resulted in the formation of genuine Islamic centres in London, Liverpool and elsewhere. Many have adopted the faith of Islam, the first and most remarkable convert being the late Lord Stanley of Alderley. Thus neither the floating bulwarks nor the surrounding seas could stop the penetration of Islam to the soil which had remained untouched by it for a long time. It is a matter of regret though, that the spread of Islam in this country has not been so general as it promised to be, still the tone of the English public has decidedly undergone a change in favour of that faith. Ignorance was the cause of many a prejudice and as that ignorance is being removed those prejudices are also disappearing.

Of course there is no hope of Islam becoming the religion of the people who are so conservative and who love their luxurious life too well to like any check being placed on it; but there is every hope that the enlightened people of England will, sooner or later, acknowledge the greatness of Islam, if the exertions of Musalmans initiated in an organised form by Abdullah al-Ma'mūn Suhrawardy to familiarise the people with Muslim customs and manners and festivals, to remove their ignorance of Islam by lectures and pamphlets and to attract them towards the faith by placing it before them in its true light, are continued for some time. Though their number is not large still there are persons who have adopted Islam through Abdullah al-Ma'mūn Suhrawardy and their conversion is more valuable because they are men of learning and seekers after Truth.*

As I have said, the English people are fair-minded as critics and the appreciation of talent is their strong point. The splendid works of Mr. Ameer Ali on Islam have among their admirers many Englishmen. The collection of the "*Sayings of Muhammad*" and my little pamphlet "*The Miracle of Muhammad*" have succeeded in attracting the attention of many an enlightened person in England and America. The learned Dr. Paul Carus of New York has reviewed both the works very favourably. Many talented ladies of America, like Miss Martha Craig and Miss Alice Ives, are very favourably disposed towards Islam and Muhammad.

* The illustrated German magazine *Veber Land und Meer* for 1907, gives a brief account of his work.

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SHAIKH MUSHIR HOSAIN KIDWAI, BAR.-AT-LAW,

Late Secretary, Pan-Islamic Society, London, (wearing the Usmania Order, conferred upon him by H. I. M. the Sultan of Turkey, in recognition of his services to the cause of Islam.)

THE INDIAN PRESS, ALLAHABAD.

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These are very hopeful signs of the success of the proselytising Pan-Islamism.

The spread of Islam in America has been even greater than in England if we consider Babism and Behaism as sects of Islam. Islam did succeed in making its staunch follower one highly educated American, the Hon. Alexander Russel Webb, American Consul-General in the Phillipines, whose indefatigable labours in the face of adverse circumstances have resulted in the conversion of many and who has recently secured a most valuable adherent to Islam. Americans are a pushing people and extremely practical. Islam is a life-giving as well as a practical religion. Americans are democratic and socialists and Islam is a democratic faith and Muhammad was the greatest and the most practical socialist.

It is not only the eyes of the Pan-Islamists that are turned towards Japan. Now-a-days Japan has become the centre of attraction in many ways, the cynosure of many eyes. What makes the Pan-Islamist cast a covetous look towards Japan, and what advantages would accrue to Japan if she accepted Islam as her state religion may be gathered from a letter which I wrote to the *Morning Post* of London on June 14th, 1906 and take the liberty of quoting it here :—

SIR,—To us, the members of the Pan-Islamic Society, the news from Berlin published in the *Morning Post* of the 13th inst. that Japan is seriously thinking of adopting Islam as her State religion is more than welcome. Of course, we cannot be over-sanguine of it just yet, but as Islam is a chivalrous and practical religion, and as Islamic civilisation is best suited for the Asiatic people, we have full hope that if Japan wants to play a dominant and prominent part in world-politics of the future, and if she has any ambition of being the regenerator of Asia, she will, sooner or later, adopt that religion which upturned the great Empires of Rome and Persia and which made the wanderers of the desert of Arabia the conquerors and civilisers of almost all the three old Continents.

There are at present two courses open for Japan : one to adopt the civilisation and the religion of Europe and thus merge her identity in the European Powers, the other is to be the restorer of the glory and civilisation of Asia and to be the leading power in that civilisation. If her ambition is nothing beyond the first, she shall have no credit or honour from the Easterns nor much from the Westerns, who are far more advanced than her in that civilisation ; but if she dreams of becoming one day a world-power, and to make Asia again dominate other Continents as she did once, Japan cannot realise that object but by adopting the enlivening and inspiriting religion of Islam—the simple, invigorating, and practical religion—the religion of Muhammad, the greatest reformer, legislator, commander, a nation and empire founder ; the religion of Khalid and Sa'd, the conqueror of Persia in Asia ; the religion of Amrou, the conqueror of the land of Pharaohs in Africa ; and the religion of Muhammad II, the conqueror of the invincible Constantinople in Europe.

As has been suggested in the *Morning Post*, the political advantages that Japan can gain by adopting Islam as her State religion are too obvious to be hidden from the eyes of the statesmen of Japan.

Japan, notwithstanding her marvellous progress and successes, remains nothing but a small State, whose influence is confined to that corner of the world only where she is situated. At present she has no interest and no sympathies beyond that limited sphere. But if she were to become a Muslim Power her successes and progress would arouse the sympathy and acclamation of every Muslim in the world, and as there is hardly any part of the world which is without Mussulmans, Japan by adopting Islam would by one stroke become a Power possessing an influence all over the world and backed, supported, and loved by one-fifth of the whole human kind.—Yours, &c.,

SHAIKH MUSHIR HOSAIN KIDWAI,

Hon. Secretary, Pan-Islamic Society.

127, Sutherland-avenue, Maida-vale, June 14.

Thanks to its own worth the religion of the Arabian shepherd does not owe anything to a Constantine or to any Royal patronage which Christianity or other religions owe. Islam gave splendid kingdoms to the nomads of the Arabian desert but for its power or influence it never put itself under the obligation of any royal convert, nor has to bow down for that purpose before any monarch now. The Muslim theologians, to whom and whom alone Islam as a religion is indebted, themselves disdained all worldly honours. Had these exponents of Islam, some of whom by the sublimity of their character and by their erudition were equal to the old prophets and seers, not attracted people towards Islam by their pious, unselfish and saintly lives and by the true love of knowledge with which they devoted themselves to the study of that great faith and the troubles they bore to expound it, had they not gone from place to place in their tattered garments with their pen and ink and books, and above all with their model characters, the religion of Islam would not have become so dear to the people and it would not have also remained undiminished in its influence with the decrease of the political power of Musalmans. It was not only that the great Omar did not care for the conversion of Jabalah bin Ayham, the king of Ghassan, and made him answerable to the same penalty which he inflicted on a poor Musalman, but even in later days the Muslim theologians did not care for the conversion of a great monarch who wanted the restriction of total abstinence to be modified in his favour. There are many instances of Muslim theologians giving up their lives to save the principles of Islam. The extensive domains won by Musallmans were nothing in

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their eyes and the religion of Islam was in its zenith, in their opinion, only for thirty-three years—up to the time of the Caliphate of Ali. On the contrary there might be mentioned a number of kings who rather injured the cause of Islam by their nominal adhesion to that religion and in practice doing acts quite repulsive to the nature of Islam. So Islam for its power and influence never was nor is in want of any regal support from any quarter. Had it been so the political condition of Musalmans of the present time would have made the cause of Pan-Islamism utterly hopeless. It must be known that when the Pan-Islamists look towards the Mikado with wistful eyes it is not because they want to give Islam any strength by converting him but because they hope that Japan itself will become doubly strong and the prestige of Musalmans will be much raised as well as their political place in the world re-established.

It is a well-known fact that the Muslim population of China, which is said to be seventy millions and is a gigantic evidence of the peaceful penetration and the marvellous success of the honorary missionaries of Islam, is distinguished by sobriety and courage. No royal edict is necessary to eradicate the vice of opium smoking in them, because the Chinese Musalmans do not smoke even tobacco. Dr. Gustave Le Bon in his masterly book on Arab Civilisation writes thus about the Chinese Musalmans--

"They are very particular about speaking the truth and being honest. Those among them who hold offices are popular among people and are well-respected. Those who are in business are well-reputed. The principles of their religion have made them generous and it seems as if all of them are members of one family who help and protect each other."

These Chinese Musalmans have also shown their worth very recently as splendid soldiers and they also seem to be imbued with the fraternal spirit of Islam. When the "mailed fist" of Europe was in Peking, the Musalmans of India were also sent over and the newspapers reported that after the peace when the Chinese Musalmans and these Indian Musalmans met, though they could not understand each other's language, they saluted each other with the Islamic salutation and embraced each other as brethren in Islam.

With such a large number of Musalmans so close to Japan I was astounded when I saw a note of a responsible Japanese minister in the hands of a Mullah in Turkey (Haj Muhammad Ali) showing such a great ignorance of Islam as characterising polygamy as the fundamental teaching of Islam. But the existence of such great ignorance is very hopeful for the future. It shows that the Japanese do not know anything yet of Islam and so there is a greater chance of its success when it is put before them and they are made to know it.

France is also a country which is much in touch with Pan-Islamism, but the success of Islam in France is not possible as long as the people there do not come to fully realise the danger they are incurring as a nation by their unbridled love of luxuries and wine. Social life in France has come almost to the level of animal life and human nature does not like restrictions of any kind, so it seems difficult under the present circumstances for people to turn to Islamic law and be bound by Islamic restrictions. Nevertheless Islam could count a Member of the French Chamber of Deputies and several other Frenchmen in high positions amongst its followers. It will be surely for the political good of France not to alienate the feelings of Musalmans from her. She has a large number of her own Muslim subjects and it cannot be said to be a wise policy to wound their feelings. She should also bear in mind that Musalmans are a grateful people. From Paris is published a very useful Pan-Islamic Magazine called "Revue du monde Musalman" which is very creditable to its publishers and which may help in bringing about an *entente cordiale* between France and the Musalman world.

I was not a little surprised when I found Islam so unknown in Hungary though it was a Muslim country not long ago and there is a little tomb of the Muslim Saint Gul Baba in that splendid town Buda-Pest reminding one of days gone by. It might prove useful to the vigorous and pushing people of Hungary in their aspirations to enlist the sympathies of Musalmans. They must remember that it was in Constantinople that Kossuth the champion of their national cause found an asylum.

Prominent amongst German Muslims is Muhammad Adil Schmitz du Moulin whose heart is burning with the fire of Pan-Islamism.

It cannot be too often repeated that the well-being and salvation of Musalmans lies in one and only one thing, *i.e.*, if they want prosperity even in this world they should fall back upon their true and simple religion, upon the religion of Muhammad and of Ali and thousands of others who truly and rightly and closely followed Islam. There is no religion in this world to which any people owe so much of their worldly prosperity and progress as Musalmans owe to Islam. What was it that

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brought out the Arabs from the darkness they were in since ages, to play a most dazzlingly prominent part in the history of the world? What was it that made a people without any cohesion, into a compact and united nation? What was it that made those people who were hardly distinguishable from ordinary brute creation, the civilisers of the world, who held "the torch of learning and knowledge" for centuries, and showed their activity in almost every branch of human knowledge, who were recognised as "the enlightened teachers of barbarous Europe" in philosophy, medicine, natural history, geography, grammar, "the golden art" of poetry, chemistry, astronomy and other branches of science? What was it that made those "shepherd people," roaming unnoticed in the desert "since the creation of the world" the conquerors and administrators of such a large part of the world, and extraordinary military geniuses and marvellous statesmen--Khalids and Omars?

All this was done by Islam and Islam alone. Even the early victories of the Musalmans can be attributed to Islam. When two combatants were seen in the field, at times not only of the same nation, same race and same country, but also sons of the same parents, but with the difference that one was non-Muslim and the other Muslim, the self-confidence, the undaunted courage and the enthusiasm which the grand cause he wanted to serve created in the latter, were clearly distinguishable from the first who had no moral support behind him. When we observe critically how the pagan Arabs though greater in number and with greater advantages of supply and position were many times vanquished by the much smaller number of their own brethren who had changed in no other respect than that they had managed to get the spell of Islam over them, we come to understand the secret of the astonishing progress of Arabian conquests which has puzzled many a historian. The principles of Islam and the cause of Truth both produced extraordinary courage and created a very great amount of self-confidence. One extraordinary Muslim soldier, Derar bin Adwar always opposed an armoured enemy unarmoured and only with a single spear and an unsaddled horse, and Gibbon has written that on one occasion at least (*i.e.*, in the memorable battle of Ajendan) he, in this particular style of his, faced and repulsed thirty great warriors of the side of the enemy. It can also be seen by the perusal of the history of the Muslim conquests that in almost every battle the Musalman army was in the minority sometimes even to the ratio of only one to seven. Still in the majority of cases it was the Musalmans that were victorious. What was it that gave them victory? Noldeke says:—

"Rhetorical expressions about the decaying condition of both empires (Byzantium and Persia) and the youthful energies of the Muslims are unsatisfying to the inquirer who keeps the concrete facts before him."

These "concrete facts," he says further, stand thus:—

On one side "Both Byzantium and Persia had at their command genuine soldiers regularly armed and disciplined. The traditions of Roman warfare were not yet entirely lost and the Persians still possessed their dreaded cuirassiers, before whom in better times, even the armies of Rome had often fled. The Emperor Heracleus was certainly the greatest man who had held the Empire since Constantine and Julian. He was an astute diplomatist and a very competent general and as a soldier bold even to rashness." On the other side "the wretchedly armed Arab, fighting not in regularly organised military divisions but by families and clans, and under leaders who never before had faced disciplined troops."

How was it then that the Arabs shattered the armies of both the Emperors? To Noldeke as to many European historians who do not understand Islam, "the phenomenon continues mysterious as before," but to Musalmans it is very simple. The key to these successes was Islam itself. It was not the sword that spread Islam but it was Islam that drilled bodily and invigorated physically and inspirited morally its followers and gave victory to that sword which, though its possessors were a fighting people from ages, had never shown its sharpness to the outer world. In short, it is to Islam that Mussalmans owe their conquests and it is also to Islam that they owe their intellectual progress.

The "*Sayings of Muhammad*"* is replete with marvellous incentives and injunctions for acquiring knowledge.

Some of Muhammad's sayings on the subject run thus:—

"To listen to the words of the learned and to instil into others the lesson of science is better than religious exercises."

"He who liveth in search of knowledge walketh in the path of God."

"With knowledge man riseth to the heights of goodness and to a noble position, associateth with sovereigns in this world and attaineth to the perfection of happiness in the next."

"Acquire knowledge, as he who acquires it performs an act of piety, who speaks of it, praises the Lord, who seeks it, adores God, who dispenses instruction in it, bestows alms, and also who imparts it to its fitting objects, performs an act of devotion to God."

"Acquire knowledge. It enableth its possessor to distinguish right from wrong, it lighteth the way to

* By Abdullah-al-Ma'mun Suhrawardy (Constable, 1904.)

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Heaven, it is our friend in the desert, our society in solitude, our companion when friendless, it guides to happiness, it sustaineth us in misery, it is an ornament amongst friends and an armour against enemies."

Muhammad even turned the attention of his militant people towards learning and penmanship by beautifully saying :—

"The ink of the scholar is more holy than the blood of the martyr."

So it was not that Islam sharpened only the sword of the Musalmans, it also quickened their brains. It was on account of this dual influence that in those early Musalmans could be found not only men of extraordinary military valour but also of wonderful intellectual and administrative qualities. Had Islam produced only four men—Abu Bakr, Omar, Osman and Ali—it would have still enriched the world with four splendid characters in different aspects. The world knows no saint who can excel in saintly qualities the first, the world knows no statesman who excels the second in the qualities of statesmanship as well as administration, no pious man who excels the piety of Osman and no hero who excels the heroism of Ali, yet what were they before they became Musalmans? What was that greatest of all great men himself before he became a Musalman? None of these were men of any great importance before their conversion.

In short, it is to Islam that Musalmans owe everything in respect of their progress and if they want to regenerate themselves it is to that they should return. Every individual Musalman should try to be a true Musalman and the more he succeeds in that the nearer shall he be to perfection, to prosperity and to success. They should not make themselves stand in want of any such reminder from the Koran :—

Remember also when we accepted the covenant of the children of Israel, saying "Ye shall not worship" any other except God, and ye shall show kindness to your parents and kindred and to orphans and to the poor, and speak that which is good unto men and be constant at prayer and give alms," afterwards ye turned back except a few of you, and retired afar off. And when we accepted your covenant saying, "Ye shall not shed your brother's blood, nor dispossess one another of your habitations," then ye confirmed it and were witness thereto. Afterwards ye were they who slew one another and turned several of your brethren out of their houses, mutually assisting each other against them with injustice and enmity.

What has been recommended to individual Musalmans can also be recommended to Muslim states and Muslim nations at large. Islam demands justice and peace and good government of every kind. The very word "Islam" means "peace." The Islamic salutation is "Peace be on you." The Koran says, "Peace is the Word of the Merciful Creator"; and again :—

"Verily God bids you do justice and good, and give to kindred their due, and he forbids you to sin and do wrong and oppress (Ch. VI.).

"O ye Muslims, stand fast to justice when ye bear witness before God though it be against yourselves or your parents or your kindred, whether the party be rich or poor. God is nearer than you to both. Therefore follow not passion, lest ye swerve from truth.

"The servants of the merciful are they that walk upon the earth softly, and when the ignorant speak unto them they reply "Peace"; those that invoke not with God any other God and slay not a soul that God hath forbidden otherwise than by right, and commit not fornication."

"Say, verily my Lord hath forbidden filthy actions, both that which is discovered thereof, and that which is concealed, and also iniquity and unjust violence."

"And commit not disorders on the well-ordered earth."

"O true believers, observe justice when ye appear as witness before God, and let not hatred towards any induce you to do wrong: but act justly; this will approach nearer piety, and fear God, for God is fully acquainted with what ye do."

Now any government that is based on such precepts cannot but command respect and admiration from every people.

To adopt Islamic principles in the system of government, to devote all its energy to better the condition of its people and to improve the resources of its country and not to lack in military efficiency or scientific and material progress is what Pan-Islamists want from every Muslim state. They also want those Muslim states who are close to each other to form a defensive alliance without delay. The alliance suggested by the late Ameer Abdur Rahman between Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan is the most imperative and leaders of Muslim thought should urge the importance of such an alliance upon the people and the sovereigns of those countries.

It is a matter for the greatest grief and pain to those Musalmans who have sense enough to understand the truly liberal spirit of their great faith that its many ignorant but over-zealous adherents confine it to an extremely limited scope. They look only and very strictly to outward appearances and superficialities. In their eyes a man dressed according to their own ideas of a Muslim dress is the only man deserving of salvation. They ignore "the saying of Muhammad" "actions should be judged by the intentions and motive actuating them." To them the verses of the Koran "We have not sent thee, O Muhammad, save as a mercy to the

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worlds" has no import. A Muslim of one sect calls that of another a *kafir* (heretic) though they were strictly forbidden to divide Islam into sects. Those ignorant *Mullahs* and *Mujtahids*, who know practically nothing of Islam and its history and philosophy, pose as great *alims* (theologians) and issue abominable *Fatwas*. These fanatics instead of serving Islam do it great harm and they should be suppressed by Pan-Islamists. The greatest need of religious toleration is in such countries as India and the aspect of Islam best suited for an advanced age and progressive nations is Sufism, where even Hindus and Buddhists and Theosophists can meet with Musalmans. Kabir Das and Guru Nanak laid down, not so very long ago, noble lines for that union. It is time that modern researches should be made in Sufism as has been done by Mr. Surfaraz Husain Qari* and new interpretations given to such grand ideas as are expressed in the following verses:—

Nature's great secret let me now rehearse—
Long have I pondered o'er the wondrous tale,
How Love immortal fills the universe,
Tarrying till mortals shall His presence hail;
But man, alas! hath interposed a veil,
And Love behind the lover's self doth hide.
Shall Love's great kindness prove of no avail?
When will ye cast the veil of sense aside,
Consent in finding Love to lose all else beside?

I have shown that the Pan-Islamic movement is spontaneous. It has not been worked up by any single man or by any association. In certain respects it can be called the product of the times. Not only Christians have adopted Pan-Christian principles but people of other religions and races are also becoming conscious that their very existence is threatened if they do not wake up and unite together. The Hindus of India who are an extremely exclusive people, have now in them a Pan-Hindu spirit and it has been manifest among other movements in the form of the Arya Samaj propaganda.

The Jews, another exclusive people, have been trying to return to Zion to be safe from such exterminations as threaten them in Christian Russia. Of course of all these "Pan"-movements Pan-Islamism has the greatest vitality and greatest chance because it is an essential ingredient of the religion of Islam and because Musalmans are spread all over the world and also because they have not yet gone down completely in political independence.

But because the Musalmans are so widely spread and because they have not yet been politically effaced and have contending forces against them who are bent upon seeing the complete destruction of Muslim political strength, the task of the Pan-Islamist is more difficult than that of the Pan-Hinduist or the Pan-Judaist.

For the success of Pan-Islamism a perfect organisation is required and branch societies in every Muslim country needed to make the people as well as their Governments realise their condition and their backwardness as compared with advanced nations. The central Pan-Islamic Society should be placed on a firmer footing. London is the place best suited for the headquarters of the Society. It is the metropolis of the empire which is spread over the world as largely as Musalmans themselves. It is the metropolis of the British Government that rules over the largest number of Musalmans, and a larger number of Musalmans come to this capital than to any other European capital. So London is the best place for a society like this. But this Society requires capital and permanent location before it can make its influence felt all over the world.

I believe that Islam is destined to be the world's religion of the future. Islam, the first principle of which is belief in the unity of God, is the faith destined to become the faith of all advanced humanity and it should be the effort of the Pan-Islamist to spread that belief. The verse of the Koran which I have given above, *viz.*,—

"Whether believers or Jews or Christians or Sabians, he who believes in God, the last day and acts aright, his meed is with his Lord, neither fear nor remorse should overtake him,"

should be the guiding principle of the Pan-Islamists and they should recognise everybody, whether a Hindu or a Buddhist, a Christian or a Jew, who believes in the Unity of God, the last day, and acts aright, as their brother and thus establish a universal brotherhood without any distinction of race, religion or colour.

The Koran repeatedly says that Muhammad never brought any new religion but the religions of Adam and other prophets and seers, as Moses and Christ or Krishna and Buddha. The Koran has also said that God has sent prophets to every nation. Muhammad has also called his religion the religion of nature in which every child is born. So all these matters tend to prove that Islam in its wider sense is the quintessence of all religions and every man whose belief is not repugnant to the first principles of Islam, which the Koran holds was the first principle

* Mr. S. H. Qari's *Beauties of Islam*, edited by Abdullah-al-Mamun Suhrawardy will be published shortly.

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of every true religion, should be considered as under the aegis of Islam and a brother of Musalmans, even though he be not following the rituals and ceremonies followed by the Musalmans.

Recently I was thinking of founding an Association of Universal Brotherhood where all those people who believe in one God could meet each other on terms of equality so that all those people who had common ideas about God and morality could look to one another as brothers even though they differed in rituals or in forms of belief. The members would be free to follow any religion they liked and the only thing wanted from them would be a belief in the Unity of God and also to leave off those religious or social matters which are repugnant to universal brotherhood at large. A Jewish member of the brotherhood for instance though not recognising Christ as a prophet would not be allowed to asperse the character of the Virgin Mary and a Christian not to call Muhammad an impostor. So by mutual understanding and without leaving any cardinal points of their own religions, Jews, Christians and Musalmans and even those Hindus and Buddhists whose religious belief in God would not be against the fundamental creed of this brotherhood would become united. This society for establishing the universal brotherhood would have come into existence by this time,* but as I began to think that in the wider sense of Pan-Islamism this universal brotherhood can be established, I have dropped the idea of that society.

The Koran calls Musalmans "the intermediate nation" and so they are. There is no nation which can take any serious exception to the Islamic idea of God, and Islam can be made the universal religion, the intermediate religion and the uniting link between all the enlightened religions of the world.

There is already a harmony in belief existing between the Jews and the Musalmans. Between a Unitarian Christian and a Musalman there is still less difference. So these three world-religions can be united without any difficulty and so I believe can all the religions of the world. There is not much difference in the fundamental principles of Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam and Christianity.

Kufr o Islam dar rahash poyan,
Wahdaho la sharik leh goyan.

Faith and unfaith run together in Thy path and there they meet,
"He is one, without a partner," both in their own tongue repeat.

Gilwa har barg-o-gul men tera dekha,
Esa-o-Krishna men bhi usko dhondha,
Islam ne jab rah dekhai teri
Khud nafs men apne tujhe hamne paya.

We found the signs of Thine in the leaves and flowers (*i. e.*, in Nature),
We searched for the same in Jesus and Krishna,
When Islam showed us the way to Thee
We found Thee in the Ego of our own selves.

SHAIKH MUSHIR HOSAIN KIDWAI.

* An Association on the lines indicated above has already been formed.

WHAT CAN ENGLAND TEACH US?

PROFESSOR MaxMuller in his Lectures on "India, what can it teach us?" has eloquently described all that India can teach the Christian nations of Europe. But no one has fully dwelt on what England can teach us—Indians.

The first and the greatest lesson which we should learn from Englishmen is their collective selfishness as a nation. Englishmen are very selfish. It is not the individual selfishness, but it is the national or what they call enlightened selfishness that we have to learn from the Christian natives of England. No one has ever accused the English of not being selfish. Even they themselves have acknowledged this. Indians, on the other hand, collectively are not selfish. There are, of course, selfish individuals. But selfishness is not a collective virtue or vice of Indians.

Again, Indians are given to contemplate on the world to come rather than to mind the affairs of this world. Natives of England, on the other hand, employ all their energies and thoughts to improve their position in this world. Here we think, Indians could borrow with advantage a page from the lives of English people. The deep spiritual nature of Indians should be strongly tinctured with

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the secular spirit of the Christian West. Then and then only they will be able to maintain their position in this world.

Closely allied to the national selfishness and worldliness of the English, is their patriotism. The Sanskrit language has no word corresponding to patriotism. Of course we exclude from consideration words coined in recent times. The want of the spirit of patriotism amongst Indians has been assigned to their system of village communities.

But it appears to us that the want of patriotism was due to there never having been so keen a struggle for existence in ancient times in India as there is now. Schiller has truly observed that "the edifice of the world is only sustained by the impulses of hunger and love.' It is this want of the impulse of hunger which accounts for the want of patriotism in Ancient India. On the other hand, this impulse of love, not only for human beings, but for the whole animate creation, so vigorously preached by Buddha and his disciples, stood in the way of the growth of patriotism in the Western sense. For, *this* patriotism is, after all, the selfishness one feels for one's own nation. To do a good turn to his own nation, a Western patriot does not hesitate to cut the throats of another people. According to English notions of patriotism, Clive was a patriot, Warren Hastings was a patriot, and Lord Dalhousie was a patriot, because all of them enriched their own nation at the expense of another people.

It is highly necessary for Indians to learn patriotism from the Christian nations of the West; for now, the old times are gone, old manners are changed. In the struggle for existence which is now going on in the world, Indians are liable to be exterminated if they do not cultivate the spirit of patriotism. This will be a stimulus to improve their present pitiable and miserable condition.

"Love of country," writes Dean Ramsay, "*must* draw forth good feeling in men's minds, as it will tend to make them cherish a desire for its welfare and improvement. To claim kindred with the honorable and highminded, as in some degree allied with them, must imply at least an *appreciation* of great and good qualities.

"This is surely a spirit to be cultivated in a world like this;—in a world where we find so many causes arising that produce bitter animosities and violent contentions; in a world where we find even the stronger ties of natural affection broken amidst the jealousies and alienations of men's hearts.

"The love of country, then, we would advocate, not as a matter of pride, or as a mere sentiment, but as a *principle*, of which the tendencies are decidedly favourable to benevolent and virtuous emotions. We have no hesitation in advocating the cause, even at the risk of incurring thereby the charge of being "national," which this declaration may bring upon us."

Indians then stand sorely in need of cultivating this spirit of patriotism, *minus* the robbing instinct. This is perhaps the greatest lesson which England can teach us.

Hero-worship is another great lesson which we ought to learn from England. The English are a nation of hero-worshippers. They worship their great men while alive, and cherish their memories when dead. We Indians do not know how to honour our great men. In his work on "Past and Present," Carlyle defines

"hero-worship to be the summary, ultimate essence, and supreme practical perfection of all manner of worship and true worships and noblenesses whatsoever. * * * Hero-worship, done differently in every different epoch of the world is the soul of all social business among men; that the doing of it well, or the doing of it ill, measures accurately what degree of well-being or of ill-being there is in the world's affairs."

"Great men," again to quote the same author, "were the leaders of men; the modellers, the patterns, and in a wide sense creators, of whatever the general mass of men contrived to do or to attain. * * * We cannot look, however imperfectly, upon a great man, without gaining something by him."

In England, memorials or even statues are raised to men having any pretension to distinction. But what have we done to keep green the memories of our great men? Is it not a matter of regret that we have done nothing to honor our departed great? Modern India has not produced a greater man than Rajah Ram Mohan Roy. It ought to make Indians blush that they have not tried to perpetuate his memory in any suitable shape.

England is the richest country in the world. Her material prosperity is due to the industries and manufactures carried on in that country, her foreign trade, and above all to the enterprising spirit of the English people. India, on the other hand, is the poorest country in the world. India abounds in mineral and vegetable resources, but for want of sufficient capital, they cannot be developed and exploited. Indians should try to make their country rich. There is much truth in the complaint that the present poverty of India is to a great extent due to her connection with England, for England has crushed those industries for which India was at one time famous.

Again, Indian capitalists do not venture to invest their money in factories and other industrial concerns, because they see how the Christian philanthrophists of Manchester and Dundee are trying their best to ruin the rising cotton and jute industries of India. These

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Christian philanthrophists do succeed (as they have done in the past) in their attempt to ruin Indian industries. Lord Lawrence wrote :—

"The difficulty in the way of the Government of India acting fairly in these matters is immense. If anything is done or attempted to be done to help the natives, a general howl is raised, which reverberates in England, and finds sympathy and support there."

Englishmen, as Napoleon observed, are a nation of shopkeepers. Is it conceivable that they will cut their own throats by encouraging Indians to manufacture their own cloths and other articles of necessity and luxury? Let those Christian missionaries and Anglo-Indians who are never tired of taunting Indians with want of enterprising spirit and so on, ponder over the matter and say if India has any fair chance of getting rich by her industries and factories? However, Indians should not lose heart. If patriotism means anything, they should try to use countrymade articles and boycott foreign goods.

From a worldly-wise nation like the English, one can no more expect to learn lessons in honesty and veracity than from Bunyan's great hero, the Worldly-wise Man. But of whatever failings the English may be guilty in their dealings with other people, amongst themselves they are angels. Let us try to emulate this trait in their character. Let us stand shoulder to shoulder with our Indian fellow-countrymen, do everything that lies in our power to help the cause of national progress and not cut each other's throats.

These are some of the lessons which we should try to learn from the English.

1897. INDO-ANGLIAN.

NARRATIVE OF THE INCIDENTS OF MY EARLY LIFE

V

RESIDENCE AT TASHI-LHUNPO.*

On the 7th July 1879, the twenty-first day of our journey from Jong-ri, in Sikkim, we arrived at Tashi-lhunpo. We had travelled without interruption for 18 days with but occasional breaks, which in all were three. I was still in suspense as to how I should be received and what kind of treatment I should meet with. At times, indeed, I feared I should be suspected and turned out of Tibet, and all my labour be lost. But I mustered all my courage and caution in order to ensure a good reception now and success at the end. We alighted from our ponies near the southern gate of the monastic town, and, spreading my Tibetan rug at the foot of the plinth of one of the principal chortens (*chaityas*), I sat down cross-legged, while Ugyen and Phurchung rode off towards Shiga-tse *thom* (market) to buy a

* I attach the following letter from Mr. David Fraser, "*Times*'" correspondent, with the late Tibet Mission :—

CALEDONIAN CLUB, LONDON.
13th September, 1907.

MY DEAR SIR,—I was greatly interested to receive from my brother in India your two letters and the copy of the Journal of the Buddhist Research Society which you so kindly sent for my acceptance. I have to aplogise for the delay in writing to you, but excuse myself on account of having been extremely busy upon a book dealing with Central Asia.

I have read your papers on Thibetan travel with the greatest interest, particularly those passages dealing with your residence at Tashilumpo, where I had myself the privilege of living for ten days as the guest of the Tashi Lama. My own modest journey in Thibet enables me to recognize the accuracy of your accounts in many respects, though my journey in the matter of interest bears no comparison to yours, performed as they were at a time when Thibet was closed to outsiders. I have also read your book published by John Murray, which I obtained from the India Office Library, and it is to my mind by far the most interesting of all the books I have read upon Thibet.

In the Journal which you sent, I, at first, only looked at the parts dealing with your journeys into Thibet, and it is only to-day that I observed, in reading it through, that you had put a note in the article dealing with the Assam-Batang trade route. I have read the article with interest, particularly as I hope some day soon to travel in these regions. A journey to Batang would be full of interest and there is of course always the possibility of elucidating the mystery of the junction between the Tsangpo and the Brahmaputra. This piece of geographical exploration continues to defy travellers, and I suppose the dangerous character of the inhabitants makes it almost an impossible task. What do you think? I am sure it would be well worth the while of the Indian Government to move in the matter, for, I imagine the country north of the Himalayan back-bone to be very rich and likely to afford a fine market for Indian Commerce.

I have never yet been in Darjeeling, but if ever I am I will look forward to the opportunity of making your acquaintance, and of hearing something at first hand of the adventures which you have so picturesquely described.

Thanking you greatly for your kind attention to my brother's letter, believe me

Very truly yours,
DAVID FRASER.

To *Rai* Sarat Chandra Das *Bahadur*, C. I. E., *Lhasa Villa*, Darjeeling.

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few silk scarves as presents, without which according to the custom of the Tibetans, it is impossible to approach any gentleman of rank. I was thus left alone, but was soon surprized and pleased to see near me Sangaling-pa, the jolly Tibetan who had amused us near Eago (U-go). A few old monks, called Tukchugapa (or passed 60 years), who had, on account of their age, obtained some freedom from monastic restrictions, and were no longer watched as to their conduct by the monastic officials, were walking round about the *chaityas* and a group of shrines at the entrance of the town. At every round they cast a glance at me; my appearance, in spite of my Tibetan dress, being quite a novel sight to all. Mongols, Amdoans,* Palpos,† Dukpas,‡ pilgrims, besides a host of traders, approached me, and asked whence I came and what commodities I had brought for sale. The keeper of the *Chag-che khang*, or salutation hall, called Ku-nyer, who was an acquaintance of Ugyen, now and then kindly asked if I was much fatigued and would like some tea. To all these inquirers I quietly replied that I came from the south, was a pilgrim, and had no goods to sell; but the inquiries increasing I felt quite tired of replying to them all. I was averse to speaking much on account of my imperfect knowledge of the dialect of the Tsang province. They did not understand the Bhutia dailect of Sikkim in which I was able to speak, and I did not venture to address them in the Lhasa (or U) dialect, with which I was tolerably familiar. My lips had been chapped by the dry, cold wind of the Nyam-bu-dung-la, and at every attempt to speak blood oozed out from them. My cheeks and nose had been frost-bitten. I was also much exhausted, and my mind was extremely uneasy. I sat reclining on my bags, and remained so for a while as if asleep, but ever careful of my luggage. and the pilfering beggars. A host of ragged mendicants surrounded me, supplicating alms. Three or four monk-overseers were engaged in supervising the repairs of the outer *chaityas*, and about three hundred laden yaks and asses were tethered at a distance of some fifty yards from where I sat. A few inferior officials came and addressed me, but I did not reply to them. At last the mother of Nyer-chang chen-po, the manager of the state stores, &c., of Tashi-lhunpo, came up, and in a kind voice asked where I came from and what goods I had for sale. I replied respectfully that I was a poor pilgrim from the south, come to pay my respects to *Seng-chen Dorje Chang*§ and that I had no goods to sell. The main traffic road from South Tibet and Kamba-jong to Shiga-tse runs by Tashi-lhunpo at a distance of 200 yards from the gate. Pony dealers, heard a long way off by the tinkling of the strings of bells attached to the necks of their ponies, were flocking towards Shiga-tse *thom*. I was glad I did not attract their notice. After a couple of hours Ugyen and Phurchung returned with two pairs of yellow silk scarves. Ugyen then, desiring me to stay for a few minutes more, entered the monastery to report our arrival to the Minister and to the Grand Lama; but before advancing far into the monastery, he learnt that the Grand Lama was absent, having gone to his summer residence—the De-chan-phodang (or palace of happiness). He then went to the Minister's residence, but not finding him, returned at the end of an hour, and conducted me within the monastery. One of his acquaintances kindly permitting us to stay in his house for a while, we dismissed our yaks and donkeys. Our kind host brought us prepared tea and barley flour. A fierce mastiff, chained at the door, tried hard to get at me. Phurchung brought a few cakes from the market, and having refreshed myself with these, moistened in hot tea, I entered the host's little chapel, and admired the orderly arrangement of the church furniture and utensils, the cleanliness of the floor, and the sets of oblation cups and oil-burners. At five in the evening I was conducted to the Minister's residence. The avenues through which I passed were narrow; a few willows were found scattered here and there, and on both sides were stone buildings, with several stories, rising high one above anothor. On the road we met many Gelug-pa monks (or those of the yellow-cap sect) dressed in yellow woollen tunics, and woolly Tartar hats. The streets are all paved with flag stones, measuring in many places eighteen inches by twelve. By constant use these had become so smooth and polished that I found it difficult to walk without slipping. The Minister's palace is at the northern end of the monastic town, three stories high, and presents a pretty appearance on account of sedge-cornice and of the yellow-wash on the outside. The cornice is laid on a thick

* Amdoans, inhabitant of Eastern Tibet, bordering on Lake Koko-nor.

† Papoos, or Pa-bus, Buddhist traders of Nepal.

‡ Dukpas, inhabitants of Bhutan.

§ He is called by the name of Seng-chen Tulku—the great Liou Lama incarnate. In him is the embodiment of the spirit of Naga Bodhi, the chief disciple of *Siddha* Nagarjuna. He was the *Panchen* Lama's spiritual minister.

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layer of grass-stems, which one is likely to mistake for a coating of dark paint. Upon this are placed thick plates (slates supply the place of flat tiles in Tibet) generally two inches to 3½ inches thick, projecting six inches out of the wall. On this again are placed vertically planks or thin slabs of slate, with discs of about 4 inches to 6 inches diameter carved on them, and painted red and white, with sometimes a black spot in the centre. Upon these are vertically placed slates or painted boards from 6 inches to 9 inches broad. Just above the layer of sedge are seen the ornamented ends of the beams curiously painted. The cornices mark the several stories. Access is gained to each story by means of steep ladders. The doors turn each on a pair of iron hinges; and the door-frames and ladders are held fast by iron plates rivetted together. In large buildings the ladders are broader and less steep, each step being a foot broad. Bolts attached to the uprights receive the rings rivetted in the door-frame, which is all one piece. There are screens inside, hung down to preserve the privacy of the rooms. As I was dressed in Sikkim costume, the monks and Lamas by whom I passed gazed at me as something new, but I walked up without noticing any of the bystanders. Arrived at the waiting-room, I was requested to sit down on a carpet cushion.

Ugyen communicated with the Secretary, and after a few minutes' stay we were conducted to the Minister's presence. The room was spread with Tartar carpets; the walls were hung with rich satin and dragon-figures; representations of deities and Bodhi-sattvas, fringed with embroidered silk and kincobs, were hung on all sides. Gilt images of deities of various sizes in sitting posture were kept in niches, which were illuminated with lamps, and a number of paper prayer-wheels were kept rotating by the action of their smoke. The room was canopied with rich China satin. The Minister was seated on a high chair of yellow China wood, resting his hands on a handsome table, richly painted with Chinese domestic scenes and natural scenery. We made three profound salutations after the Tibetan fashion, and were made to sit on two high thickly-stuffed cushions. Two low tables, garnished with dishes of cakes and twisted biscuits and cheese, were placed before us, and hot buttered tea was poured from the minister's silver tea-pot, called the *chabim*. The Minister's *Sopon* (or chief steward) waited on us with the *chabim*, and after we had emptied the first cup, the Minister graciously enquired after our health, and how we had fared on the way. He was very glad to hear that we had not been stopped or examined by any Tibetan frontier officials, and admired our pluck in attempting the Himalayas in search of Buddhistic knowledge. Having repeatedly thanked us, he dismissed us; and as it was now growing dark, he ordered his Secretary (Tung-chen Kusho) to find out a comfortable house for our accommodation, and to supply us with provisions. The Secretary, mistaking his orders, took us to a filthy, smoky, dilapidated house. The floor was dusty. There was in the first room only one opening (without a shutter) to admit the light. The fire-place was in the adjoining room, and on our attempting to light a fire, the whole house was filled with suffocating smoke and dust raised by the goat-skin bellows. At 9 in the evening the Minister sent us some butter, barley-flour, ready-made tea, and unbaked bread, of which we made a hearty repast.

8th July.—In the morning he sent one of his servants to enquire how we had slept, and if we required anything. Ugyen took this opportunity of informing him of our wretched accommodation, whereupon he at once ordered an attendant to conduct us to one of his own dormitories, attached to the great chapel, called *Phuntsho-khang-sar* (the perfected or fully furnished new house) whither we accordingly removed our things. This house is three stories high, our quarters being on the first floor. When a boy, the Minister used to occupy this fine building, and it was frequently visited by almost all the Tashi Lamas and Gyal-tshab Rinpoche (Regents), even by the Nomenkhans of Lhasa. Close to it, on the west, is situated what was once the residence of Purangir Gosain, the devoted friend of Mr. George Bogle and the Tashi Lama Paldan Yeshe.

The only person whom the Dalai Lama of Lhasa permits to share divine honours with him, is the Panchen Lama of this grand monastery at the Western Capital of Tibet—Shi-ga-tse. Tashi-lhunpo, after Lhasa, is the largest monastery of the order of the *shwa ser* 'yellow-caps'. This monastery had been built in the 16th century A. D., and it, too, had begun to regulate its succession of High-Priests or Grand Lamas on the theory of re-incarnation of its Abbots. Its High-priest Gedun-dub was raised to the dignity of a Grand Lama. He was alleged to have been an earthly incarnation of that ideal Buddha which the Maháyánists had created out of some of Sakya Buddha's most salient attributes, under the name of Amitabha, the

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Buddha of Boundless Light, who is believed by the Lamas to reside in the Tushita Heaven. This second Pontiff of Tibet, residing at Tashi-lhunpo is known to Europeans and Indians as the Tashi-Lama. He devotes himself more exclusively to spiritual matters than his spiritual brother the Grand Lama at Lhasa, and in consequence has a superior reputation for piety and learning, so that he is given the title of *Pan-chen Rin-po-che*.* It was one of these Tashi Lamas named Lozang Pal-dan-Yeshe (Srimat Sumati Jnána) who was the amiable friend of Mr. George Bogle, the commercial emissary of Warren Hastings, and whose nobility and grandeur of character had so deeply impressed Bogle.

Two apartments were assigned to us, besides a large cook-room and a bath-room. There were three beams in my apartment, one of which was supported by two ornamental pillars, with a space of eight feet between them. Their capitals were beautifully carved and curiously ornamented. The tops of the capitals terminated in two long battens, approaching each other so closely as to look like an arch. The beams were not visible from the door, being hidden by small pictures framed in silk and hung from the ceiling. The walls, three feet thick, were of stone overlaid with lime and clay, the inside plastered with sand and lime. There was a narrow balcony to the south of my room, from which I enjoyed an extensive view of the south-eastern ranges which terminate near Gyatsho shar. The eye followed the windings of the river Panam Myang-chu, (Pal-nam Nyang-chu signifies the celestial river of delicious water) passing below the fort of Panam. On this river Shiga-tse is situated. Meandering for more than ten miles eastward, it appeared as lost in the gorges of the central peak behind fort Panam. The balcony was closed by six window frames or shutters, in which Daphne bark paper supplied the place of glass. They did not turn on iron hinges, but rested on wooden pins, working in sockets hollowed out in the frames. I used to remove all the shutters during the day-time, so as to admit more light into the room. The floor of my room consisted of beautiful pebbles, mostly of felspar and granite, thickly set in a kind of calcareous ground, and polished until quite smooth and transparent. To preserve the polish of the floor, two or more pieces of goat-skin are always kept at the entrance, which the servants and others are required to use in squatting in the room. Respectable visitors are exempted from this requirement, and are allowed to enter with their shoes on. The north and east walls of my room were concealed by pigeon-holed shelves, containing about three hundred volumes of Tibetan manuscripts. In the centre of each frame of shelves there was a shrine, enclosed in beautifully carved planks, containing engraved dragon figures and bits of sandal-wood painted in various colours, and adorned with gold leaves. The largest of the shrines was six feet by four, and was three feet deep. They contained a collection of images from various countries of High Asia, made of sandal-wood, copper, brass, bell-metal, and clay. There was a collection of fossils, such as roots and leaves of trees, shells, and small fragments of bones. These are also called *rinpo-che—i.e.*, precious curiosities. On my left hand there stood in a line four wooden trunks with painted sides which contained the minister's robes and religious dresses. On the pillars at the entrance were hung a brass mirror, a Tartar buckler, and two satin flags with an iron trident tied to one of them. These are meant to be the martial equipments of the demi-god said to be in charge of the house, to guard the Lama's property. The wall was painted with figures from the Buddhist pantheon, festoons of the fabulous *Thi-shing* or Kalpa-lata (wishing-tree), and various forms of the six-footed dragon. A number of bells, brass oblation vessels, lamp-burners, writing desks, and a few low dining tables completed the furniture of my room. The hearth was richly ornamented with irregular pieces of turquoise and cornelian drops set on silver rings, all placed at a safe distance from the fire. Being assured of the Minister's protection and kindness, I felt quite at home, and apprehended no danger even from a prolonged stay. The skies generally remained clear,—a bright sunny land with occasional slight rains, though the wind at times was very strong. The climate appeared to me to be excellent, being drier and warmer than that of Darjeeling. The water, obtained from wells, was good. Rice of superior quality could be obtained at four-and-a-half seers a rupee; wheat was cheaper than at Darjeeling; butter and table vegetables were plentiful in the *thom*. I felt no want or inconvenience in my new residence, except that of money, for which I had now to look to the kindness of the Minister.

The door of my room, as usual in Tashi-lhun-po, was made of one piece of plank (brought from Tengri Jong), turning on two iron hinges. In the centre of the door was

*Pan-Pandit, *chen*—great, *Rin-po-che*—great gem; *Panchen Rin-po-che* signifies in Sanskrit *Maha Pandita Ratna*, great gem of learning.

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nailed a semi-spheroidal iron frame, with a ring attached to it, serving the purpose of a door handle. I used a large Tibetan lock when I went out. An old Lama, named Kachan Machan La, in whose charge the house was, made over the keys to me, and another Lama, old too, brought me a large dish of twisted biscuits, treacle, China cakes, Palpu sweetmeats, butter, and barley flour, as presents from the Minister. Kachan is a high class Lama, belonging to the Ngagpa college, of which the Minister is the high priest. He was very polite, and promised us every assistance. Two servants were sent to wait upon us, and a boy-monk named Shabdung* to fetch water from the wells for my use. Our things, including some presents, which we had sent with Lachen Lama by the Donkhya Pass, had not arrived, and we were short of money. At the time of starting from Darjeeling I had only Rs. 300 with me and Ugyen Gyatsho had with him Rs. 150, which the lamas of the Pema-yang-tse monastery of Sikkim had placed in his hands for presenting to the Grand Lama. These were the funds at our disposal wherewith to defray the expenses of the journey and of our stay at Tashi-lhunpo. A great portion of it had already been spent in Sikkim in paying the coolies and in buying provisions; the remainder was spent in Nepal and in the journey through Tibet, where the guide charged us heavily. I was in great straits, as the small amount which we had put in charge of Lachen Lama was now out of reach. The Minister understood that we were short of money; and next morning, when Ugyen Gya-tsho saw him, he offered him unasked, Rs. 20, requesting him to purchase provisions, and promising more if necessary for the same purpose. Next morning he sent us four thickly stuffed cushions, two large carpets, some blankets, a copper cauldron, and washing buckets, with the usual presents of cakes and biscuits. We rested for three days, but the pain in the thighs and knees which I had got by the jerking motion of the Tibet ponies, and by using a high-peaked Tartar saddle, had not yet gone off. On the fourth day we were sent for.

10th July.—The Minister had presented me with a suit of his church clothes and a pair of kincob Lama shoes, with a request to use them during my residence at Tashi-lhunpo. Accordingly, I dressed in my new apparel, with my head and moustaches shaved, so as to appear like a true "Gelong," and accompanied by Ugyen Gya-tsho, the Minister's servants, and Kachan Machan La, I walked slowly towards the Minister's court, passing close to the Mausoleum erected on the tomb of the late Tashi Lama. On arriving I had to wait a few minutes, as the Great Man was engaged with some other visitors. Being admitted, we made our usual salutation, and I presented a watch to the Minister with a silk scarf, and received in return the *chag-wang* or benediction from his hands. On this occasion our cushions were placed close to the chair of the Minister, who, in an affable and engaging manner, asked me many questions regarding the state of the Indian Buddhists and Buddha-land. I answered that there were very few Buddhists in the Phag-pai yul (Tibetan for Arya-Varta), but that there were numerous Budhhists in Chittagong, the place of my birth, Southern India, Ceylon, Burma, and the Malayan Peninsula. That the few Buddhists who were to be found sparsely scattered over the country were socially persecuted by the *Tirthikas*,† that it was much to be regretted that they should be neglected, and even indirectly persecuted, by the Tibetans, who had closed against them the doors of pilgrimage to the adopted land of the holy Bodhisattvas. I then gave a short account of my journey and its difficulties. He listened to what I said with the greatest attention. In all my conversation I always took care to use the honorific language of Tibet, necessary in all intercourse with men of exalted position and rank, the ignorance of which indicates want of good breeding. I was not always happy in my grammar, but Ugyen Gya-tsho told me that it would be excusable in a foreigner like me. Tea was served many times, and two trays of cheese, with cakes, were given to us when we left. In the afternoon we returned to our house, where we found a few "Gelongs" waiting. They inquired of us whether the *Achara* (Acharya) lately arrived from Gya-gar‡ (India) lived there. I understood whom they meant, but Ugyen told them that he knew no *Achara* at all. *Achara* has two significations—(1) a learned Brahman or Buddhist teacher from India, (2) the black and yellow-faced clown

* This boy-monk now Lama Shabdung was instrumental, in 1905, in bringing down the present Tashi Lama to India. For his loyal services to his country and valuable help to the British Government he has, lately, been rewarded with a *Jagir* worth Rs. 500 a year near Panam Jong by the Tashi Lama and with the title of *Rai Shahib* by the Government of India. The present Tashi Lama, it may be remembered, is the successor of *Panchen* Tan-pai Wangchüg under whose auspices I had visited Tibet.

† The name by which the Bramanical Hindus and Jainas were designated by the Buddhists.

‡ In this name *Gya* means extensive, *i.e.*, Bharat; *gar* or *kar* means white, Gya-gar the great country where people dress in white.

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introduced into the Tantric dances. It is probably a caricature of the *Tirthika* Brahman. Ugyen Gya-tsho, knowing the second signification only, was really surprized when they inquired after the *Achara*. These Gelongs had come to discuss with me certain subtle questions on Buddhism, as I was afterwards informed by Kachan Dao.

We sent Phurchung to escort Lachen Lama, who was in charge of my things, with instructions to proceed to the Donkhya Pass, if he failed to meet him on the way. Next day at 1 P. M. Phurchung returned and brought news of Lachen Lama, who himself arrived at 3 P. M. I examined all the packages, and found that not a single bottle of the chemicals or glass had been damaged. This was greatly to Lachen Lama's credit.

12th July.—On Sunday, the 12th July, we visited the Minister, and laid before him all the presents, begging him to select what would be most acceptable to the Tashi Lama. He kept the magic lantern, some toys, and a few other articles for himself. The Seng-chen Lama,* who had picked up a smattering of Hindi from the Kashmiri and Nepal merchants and who also possessed a fair knowledge of Sanskrit, was delighted to see my Hindi, Sanskrit, and English books, and requested me to come and to read Hindi with him next morning. I agreed, and Ugyen Gya-tsho was engaged to transcribe the Hindi phrases into Tibetan. What little leisure the Lama could find after the discharge of his spiritual duties and attendance upon the Tashi Lama, he devoted to the study of Hindi and to conversing with us.

15th July.—On the 15th July he asked and obtained leave of the Grand Lama to keep himself in seclusion for a fortnight, and myself and Ugyen Gya-tsho were now requested to spend our time with him in his place from 6-30 to 8 P.M. Numbers of pilgrims—Khalkas, Mongols, Amdoans, not to speak of Tibetans—were refused admission into Ngag-khang (or the mansion of *mantras*), as the Minister's residence is designated, and went away without receiving his *chag-wang* or benediction.† The total loss which the Lama thus suffered may approximately be estimated at about 6,000 Tibetan *tankas*; for neither pilgrim visitors nor resident Tibetans can approach him without presents of scarves, &c. Besides, occasional presents are made to him of gold-dust, gold-pieces, silver, butter, satin robes, and Tibetan coins. Before the fortnight was over he had to attend the funeral ceremonies of some rich folks in the Ngag-khang. Images of dieties, pictures, amulets, received *rab-ne* (consecration) from his hands; for an image is not looked upon as sacred unless it has been consecrated by some living Buddha or Bodhisattva. In Tashi lhunpo the Tashi Lama and Seng-chen Lama (who is also an *avatar*) can alone grant sanctity to images. This sudden and ill-timed seclusion of the spiritual Minister, who, during the absence of the Tashi Lama from Tashi-lhunpo, officiates in the pontifical chair, surprised many; and in the market a report was spread that he was engaged with two Sikkim men. His own pupils took pains to find out what he was engaged upon, but he forbade admission to all except his monk-page (Kachan Gopa) and his private secretary (Kachan Machan La). In the mornings he generally worked at Hindi, and at Hitopadesha in Sanskrit. From 10 A.M. to 1 P.M. he usually got me to set the camera and to mix the photographic chemicals, the names of all of which he translated into Tibetan. On the 16th I photographed Kachan Machan La and Gopa, but the Lama's own likeness did not come out well at the first attempt. He was satisfied, however, with those of his servants, and was particularly struck by the instantaneous action of light on the chemicals. He was very attentive and inquisitive about all he saw.

It took time, until the plate dried, to convince him that the negatives would not disappear like the reflection from a mirror. For seven or eight days together he was wholly engaged on photography to the neglect of everything else. We used to take our tiffin and breakfast with him, which consisted of mutton-chops, radishes, and buttered rice mixed with currant and dried grapes, for which I thanked him with "*La-so, thug-je che*" (Yes, sir; great mercy). I was struck with the Lama's application and disinterestedness, for I observed in him a great hankering after knowledge for its own sake, and I attributed our admission into Tibet to this disposition of his. After three attempts I succeeded in taking the Lama's likeness in his priestly robes, which greatly delighted him. On the fifth day he took my likeness, which came out pretty well. In the evenings we generally entertained him with the magic lantern. He soon learnt how to work it, and was struck with the extremely simple means that produced such magical effects.

* The Minister was called by this name at Tashi-lhunpo.

† He was now *Khan-po* or president of the Ngag-pa Ta-tshang College where the Mantra scriptures were taught.

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Later in the evening Ugyen Gya-tsho and I used to examine the Tibetan manuscripts in our house, of which we drew up a catalogue, with a short account of the contents of each book. One day Machan La presented us with a few silver coins and some large disc-form biscuits, with ready-made tea. On asking him the reason of this sudden gift, he said that he was entertaining all his fellow-monks at dinner, and giving them the usual alms, called in Tibetan "*Gye*",* and that he had brought us our share, as belonging to the brotherhood. From that date we used to receive occasional gifts from other acquaintances, and were recognized as *Tapas* (or registered monks) of Tashi-lhunpo. Once the Lama tried algebra, and had got as far as addition and subtraction in Goldwin Smith, when he was obliged to give it up on the expiry of his leave of seclusion. The study of Hindi and photography now engrossed his whole time and attention. He employed Gopa to clean the plates and to set the camera; but the young man did not seem to take to the task as kindly as the Lama wished him to do. Many of the monks of Tashi-lhunpo now became acquainted with us, and we were everywhere respected as pious pilgrims. Ugyen Gya-tsho got several invitations from the Tung-ig (seeretaries) and the Tsi-dung (accountants) of the court. Our next-door neighbour, Kusho-Di-chung, the junior treasurer, asked our servants to show him some of the curiosities we had brought from India. So we presented him with a white scarf, a rupee, and a mariner's compass. † Kusho-Dichung is one of the officers of the Grand Lama's durbar; 'Kusho' being a title of honour. He promised us his patronage, and requested us to apply to him for anything we required. It was this officer who often supplied me with information respecting the Russian advances towards the confines of Tibet and the Bhutanese. In all my conversations with him I always carefully avoided speaking of the English Government, but with a view to finding out if I were in the employ of that Government, he intentionally used to enlarge upon the bad government of Tibet, and the loose administration of justice in its courts; but I, instead of talking politics, used to expatiate on the degenerate nature of the Hindus, and the evil and pernicious customs of Brahmanism, infanticide, and Hindu widowhood, to which it had given birth in India. I praised the Tibetan Buddhists for their generous treatment of women, and their rejection of the system of caste. Kusho-Di-chung had a complete set of the Kahgyur, the Buddhist scriptures, and offered me the use of them. He used to send us twisted biscuits, treacle-cakes and large circular loaves unbaked.

There are three classes of beggars in Tibet—(1) mendicant priests; (2) pilgrims and street beggars; (3) Ro-gyapas. The first kind introduce themselve to you as gentlemen, and then just before taking leave, ask for help towards performing certain rites of religion or piety; they specify the amount they want, and seldom leave without extorting something. No house or person, except the very poorest, escapes their visits. They watch people in the market to see what purchases they make, and then trace them to their homes, where they afterwards choose their time to present themselves. The second class are not so worrying, but are more numerous; these are real objects of charity. The Ro-gyapas (or "carriers of corpses" as they are called) are the worst of all. Having met their man, they begin by calling him "Kusho," and by other titles of dignity: if this fails, they change their tone, and proceed to clamorous insolence, and even violence. These creatures have the exclusive privilege of disposing of corpses, by distributing them to the vultures and wild animals. Ugyen Gya-tsho, who was more than once surrounded by them, escaped by the payment of a rupee. No beggars were allowed by the porter to enter our house. During my stay at Tashi-lhunpo I heard of a *yogi* or Hindu *Sanyasi* having arrived from near Kashmir. He paid a visit to the Tashi Lama, but was dismissed with a gift of only a yellow blanket, a robe, and a pair of ordinary Tibetan boots. He afterwards visited the Minister, who, on inquiring from him, learnt that he was a *Shaiva* Hindu. This *yogi* was suspected to have been a surveyor in disguise, in consequence of which he was at once removed to the south of Tengri Jong out of Tibet. Ugyen Gya-tsho also met in the *thom* or market a *yogi* with a white flowing beard, who also spoke Hindi, and was a Hindu. He had come from Lhasa, and was not expelled, but went away of his own accord after a fortnight's stay at Shiga-tse. With the exception of these two *yogis*, there was not a single Hindu to be seen here. The Nepali Buddhists, called Pa-pos, have a settlement at Shiga-tse, and follow the Tibetans in their way of living.

* The same as *Dakshina*, or present of money made to a Brahman or Buddhist priest.

† *Kusho* is an equivalent of our English "sir" *di* is an abbreviation of the word *De-mig* signifying, key; *Chung*, signifies little or junior so he was the junior keeper of the keys of the Treasury.

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Their dress differs from that of the Tibetans in the waist-band, which is white; in the hat, which is strictly Nepali or Newari; and in the tunic, which is more flowing and more tightly confined at the waist.

During my residence at Tashi-lhunpo I regularly used to take a morning walk round the monastery, in my monkish dress, with a string of beads in my hand. This walk round the monastery early every morning is the universal custom with the residents of Shiga-tse and the neighbouring villages. It is expected too of all pilgrims, though they are not compelled to it. The Pa-pos (or Nepali Buddhists) precede the promenaders, and are known at once by the noise of their cymbals. From the northern boundary of the monastery, where there is a long line of turrets, containing "manis" or prayer-cylinders of various sizes, which turn on pivots, I enjoyed an excellent view of the monastery itself, and of the Panam-Myang-chu* and the neighbouring villages. It is customary with all who pass by the turrets to give a twirl to the prayer-drums, so as to keep them always whirling round. I took care always to twirl the cylinders properly *i.e.* from right to left, so as to avoid all suspicion of being a *Tirthika* or Hindu. In the monastery street the cry of the *sho* (curd) sellers is heard oftenest and and loudest; less clamorous are the radish and turnip sellers, and the incense-powder and spice vendors. The monks are very fond of curds.

30*th July*.—On this day the Minister's term of seclusion expired. He was engaged the whole day in receiving visitors. We were not sent for, and enjoyed a day's respite.

31*st July* was a day of great rejoicing, and a general holiday all over Tibet and High Asia; the infant Dalai Lama (Gyal-wa Rinpo-che) was installed on the throne of Potala† as the incarnate *Bodhisattva*, Avalokiteswara, or the Tibetan Chen-re-zig.‡ The princely infant, into whose person the spirit of the late Dalai Lama was found to have passed, had been till now brought up in a small palace called Gyal-kup, near Lhasa. Last year the Tashi Lama (Panchen Rinpo-che), at the invitation of the high officials of Tibet, had gone to Lhasa to examine the infant Dalai, and to report if the spirit of the late Dalai had really passed into his person. For several days sacrifices were offered and oracles consulted in the renowned convents and sacred shrines at Lhasa, Sam-ye, § Tashi-lhunpo, and other places of Buddhist sanctity; the result being to establish beyond doubt that the infant was the incarnate Chen-re-zig (Avalakiteswara the lord of the manifest world), the patron *Bodhisattva* of Tibet. On the day when he pronounced the infant's claims to the pontifical throne of Lhasa to be good and valid, a magnificent rainbow is said to have appeared over the palace of Potala, which was looked upon as a divine confirmation of the decision. The Tashi Lama had fixed the 31st for the Dalai's accession to the throne. There were thanksgivings in the monastery, and a grand Shabdo—*i.e.*, a dance of the lay people—in the groves of Dechan Phodang and Kun-khyab-ling. Lamas, monks, and elderly lay folks burnt incense and made offerings on the hill tops to the four guardians of the world, the female Buddhas, and the divine mothers. The day was cloudy, with slight rain. From 2 to 4 P.M. the Chinese and Tibetan archers had a good field-exercise, and the buzzing sound of the flying arrows reached us at a great distance off. The night was rainy, but the sky cleared up as the day dawned.

1*st August*.—After my usual morning walk round the monastery, we went to the Minister's house, where we heard that the Panchen Rinpo-che had arrived on the previous evening. Having spoken to him about the presents we had brought for the Tashi Lama, we expressed a desire to stay at the monastery in order to study the Tibetan language and Buddhism, and to visit the important places of pilgrimage in Tibet; we stated also our qualifications for serving the Tashi Lama, and concluded by asking for his protection and the honour of an interview. In the evening the Tashi Lama arrived at his palace at Tashi-lhunpo without any procession or ceremony. Crowds of people had been waiting in vain to see him throughout the day. The Minister had an interview with him, but did not mention us at all.

* The Panam-Myang-chu is a river which rises on the northern slopes of Chumo-lhari, and passing by Gyan-tse, falls into the great Tsangpo near Shiga-tse.

† Potala (lit. an harbour where *Pota*, ships, find shelter) is the name of the Dalai Lama's palace at Lhasa. It was also the name of an ancient harbour which was overhung, it is said, by a hill and adjoined a city of Southern India where the *Bodhisatva* Avalokiteshvara is said to have had his residence.

‡ He is called Mahákárunika, the great Lord of Mercy. The Dalai Lama's spirit is identified with this most popular divinity of the later Buddhists, who was supposed to have relinquished or rather deferred availing himself of the benefits of his accumulated merits for becoming a Buddha This he did in order to remain in heaven to be available to assist all living beings on earth who may call unto him for help.

§ Sam-ye, the most ancient monastery in Tibet, founded by Padma Sambhava under the auspices of King Thisrong-deu-tsan, in the middle of the 8th century A. D.

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FASTNESS OF THE DYES OF BENGAL

THERE are two kinds of dye-stuffs, *e.g.*, natural and synthetic. Both classes include both fast and fugitive dyes. The popular opinion in India is still perhaps in favour of the natural. Year before last the State of Kashmir imposed an import duty on aniline dyes, with the express purpose of fostering the use of the old natural dyes in preparing the textiles for which Kashmir is so famous. But in spite of the popular dislike, the aniline dyes are ousting the natural, on account of their greater cheapness, and of the greater ease with which they can be used. Mr. N. N. Banerji, Assistant Director of Land Records and Agriculture, Bengal, says:—

"European dyes, which are not as fast as indigenous dyes, appear to commend themselves to the people of this country on account of their cheapness and their brilliancy of colour. The ease with which they can be used makes them also more popular."—*A Monograph on Dyes and Dyeing in Bengal.*

But G. Von Georgievics remarks:—

"The artificial Dye-stuffs first produced were much handsomer and brighter, but not so fast as the majority of the natural dyes.....At the present time we have artificial dyes, some of which are just as fast, and others even more so, than those of natural origin."—*Chemistry of Dye-stuffs.*

From these remarks on a general comparison of the natural and artificial dye-stuffs it would probably be concluded that the natural dye-stuffs are, as a whole, fairly fast. The more important dye-stuffs of Bengal, according to Mr. N. N. Banerji, are:—

Indigo, turmeric, lac, *kusum* or safflower, *bakam*, *singhur*, *kamala*, *palas*, *latkan*, *al*, *manjistha*, *mehendi*, *gab*, *kanthal*, or jack fruit and *toon*. Catechu is mentioned as an auxiliary used in dyeing.

Indigo—stands in the front rank and has been the subject of various investigations.

Safflower—The colours obtained are the prettiest and cleanest that can be had on cotton, but they are fugitive—so says Napier in his *A Manual of Dyeing*, and supported by Rupe and Georgievics.

Turmeric—yields a fugitive colour.

Lac—A permanent red colour can be obtained from it by some method.

Bakam—a kind of wood, yields fugitive colours, losing their brilliancy on a short exposure to air or sun, according to Napier, Rupe and Georgievics, but Banerji has given a method to produce a *pucka* fast red colour (p. 23).

Singhur—orange colour, fleeting (Banerji).

Palas—a fugitive yellow inclining to red (Banerji.)

Latkan—exceedingly fagitive, although neither acids nor alkalies can completely remove the colours, still they constantly change and fade (Napier). The colours are fine and bright and resist well acids, soap and chlorine. But they easily fade in light (Rupe). Banerji has given a method to produce a fast colour.

Al—a dark, browinsh red colour, devoid of beauty but perfectly fixed (Napier). Fast red (Rupe and Banerji).

Manjistha—very brilliant red but fugitive, destroyed by a short exposure to light and air (Napier). Of an orange-red colour, but not fast (Rupe).

Toon—fugitive (Banerji).

Catechu—is an extremely valuable dye-stuff. Used for silk-dyeing, cotton-dyeing and calico-printing for browns. The colour obtained is red-brown or grey-brown according as chrome or iron mordants are used; neither is handsome or bright, but both are extremely fast. (Georgievics).

The fastness of the dye depends not only on the nature of the dye-stuff itself but also to some extent on the nature of the fabric and the auxiliaries used in dyeing.

Methods employed for dyeing with—

(1) *Turmeric*—Decoction prepared by soaking dry root in water, and pounding, then adding more water and straining through a cloth. Cloth soaked in it for 5 minutes, washed lightly in water, and then dipped in water acidulated with lime-juice. A full bright yellow shade can be obtained. If the acidulated water be replaced by a 10 p. c. alum solution, the colour produced will be slightly duller.

(2) *Kusum*—$\frac{1}{4}$ pound of the florets mixed with 2 srs. of water and then strained off. Fresh cold water is to be added and this process should be repeated until the water strained off be practically colourless. This is done six times and takes 36 hours. Then one and a quarter tolas of *sajimati* and $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of cold

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water being added to the flowers, allowed to stand for four hours. Then being strained off the liquor is acidulated with lime-juice. Cloth becomes dyed to a full red shade in this in 15 minutes.

(3) *Bakam*—Both the wood and the bark are used. A simple aqueous decoction made by boiling the wood in water may be used, but frequently alum is added. Applicable for both cotton and silk. Banerji describes the production of a deep, maroon colour by soaking the cloth first in water prepared with myrobalams and green vitriol and afterwards in *bakam* water. Cotton cloth can be mordanted by 2 p. c. tannin solution followed by working in a ferrous sulphate solution for 20 minutes, washed and worked in *bakam* decoction at the boil for 30 minutes. A dull, purplish-black shade can be obtained. A bright crimson shade can be obtained by mordanting the cloth with tannin and red spirits* and working at about 60° C. in an aqueous decoction of the wood for half an hour. Then a little red spirit should be added to the bath and the working of the cloth should be continued for another 15 minutes.

Palas—The dyeing is effected simply by steeping in the infusion obtained by boiling the flowers in water. Alum is sometimes added (Banerji). Aqueous infusion alone gives a pale, yellow colour. To an aqueous decoction from 25 grs. of flowers in 100 c.c. of water 7 grs. of alum are added; a green slimy precipitate is thrown down. This is strained off and the clear, bright orange liquid used for dyeing is obtained. After 30 minutes' immersion cotton cloth becomes dyed a medium orange shade.

Latkan—The processes have been described in considerable detail by Banerji in his *Monograph*, p.24. When silk is dyed with *latkan*, the process as described in the report from Murshidabad, is to mix a *powa* and a half of *latkan* seeds with 15 seers of water and half a seer of *sajimati*, and to boil the whole with the silk to be dyed. Cotton may be dyed in the same way. In Nadia the colour is made fast by the following process: The bark of the *babul* is pounded and boiled with water in an earthern pot. The cloth to be dyed is steeped in the decoction and kept for 24 hours. After drying in the sun it is steeped and kept for 12 hours in *latkan* solution obtained by boiling *latkan* seeds in water. The cloth is again dried in the shade and then steeped in *babul* water for 6 hours. It is dried again and then washed with pure water. This gives a fast orange colour. In many parts of Bengal bathing towels (*gamochha* or *angochha*) are coloured with *latkan*.

Al—There appears to be some confusion in nomenclature. It is sometimes called *ach* or *aich*. According to McCann, the cloth is generally prepared by steeping for 3 or 4 days in a mixture of crushed castor-seed and cow-dung. It is then thoroughly rinsed in soft water and may be dyed by simply boiling in water along with the root or the bark of the root. According to Napier and Rupe this gives a full and fast dyeing on cloth. But Mr. E. R. Watson, M. A. (Cantab.), B. SC. (Lond.), could not find any satisfactory result after repeated trials.

Manjistha—The decoction obtained by boiling the stems in water may alone be used for dyeing (Darjeeling) or the cloth may be first mordanted by tannin or by steeping successively in alkaline solution and in alum (Midnapur). The shade obtained is orange-red.

Catechu—This material is apparently scarcely used by the native dyers. Europeans use it for dyeing. Catechu is dissolved in dilute acetic acid (10 p. c.) and filtered from insoluble impurities. Cotton cloth is padded with this solution so that 10 p. c. (reckoned on wieght of cotton), of catechu is on the cloth, and dried. It is then passed through hot potassium dichromate solution (10 p. c. reckoned on weight of cotton) rolled up and left for several hours; afterwards washed and dried. A brown shade is obtained.

Red sandal—This material is not used as a dye in Bengal. If cotton-cloth being mordanted with tannin and red spirits* be boiled with raspings of the wood suspended in water for 30 minutes and the bath be kept in constant motion, a red shade can be obtained.

Padauk—This wood is chiefly grown in the Andamans and is not used as a dye-stuff. On account of its similarity to red sandal-wood Mr. Watson attempted to dye with it in the manner described for red sandal. On cotton a medium brownish red shade was obtained.

Mehendi—is used extensively for dyeing hands and feet by Mahomedan women but about dyeing cloth with it nothing is known.

The following pecularities of fading may be noted:—

Latkan fades rapidly from orange to light pink, and then little further fading occurs. This indicates that there are probably two different dye-stuffs in this material.

* To prepare red spirits:—Take 3 parts, by measure, muriatic acid and 1 part nitric acid, with 1 part water. Put the vessel containing the mixture into a cool place, and add, in small quantities at a time, feathered tin, in the proportion of 2 ozs. tin for each pound of acid. A few hours after the action has ceased, the spirits are ready for use.

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Red sandal and *padauk* both darken rapidly on first exposure and become colder in tint. Real fading sets in much later.

The fastness of the dyeings to perspiration is measured by treating the dyed cloths with acid.

It is to be found that the majority of the indigenous dyes, as used, give dyeings which are very fugitive. In the range of the synthetic products it would be difficult to find dyes so easily affected by all agencies as turmeric, *kusum* and *palas*. *Latkan*, red sandal and *padauk* are scarcely worthy of any consideration as they so readily fade in light. On the other hand the dye-stuffs *bakam*, *manjistha*, and catechu do not rank in the very highest grade along with, say, turkey-red, but they compare very favourably with the great majority of the synthetic products; and, but for the cost, might well hold a prominent place even in the modern scientific dyeing trade. There is further always the possibility that by some comparatively slight modification of the dyeing process, the fastness of some of the other indigenous dyes might be very considerably improved. There seems to remain always at least some ground for hope in every direction. And we hope some of the research scholars and energetic educated youths of Bengal would apply their skill and attention to this subject and gain thereby a good name for themselves and some substantial advantage for our mother land.

CHARUCHANDRA BANDYOPADHYAY.

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OUR SHIPPING AND SHIP-BUILDING

OF the many preplexing inconsistencies which characterize the present economic situation in India, there is, to our thinking, perhaps none more serious or striking than that which is illustrated in our almost exclusive dependence upon foreign aid in the matter of sea transport. For, although we have already a large and increasing intercourse with foreign nations by sea, we have as yet no mercantile fleet of our own of the modern type, and no ship-building on modern lines as a national industry to support it. Under the irresistible and unresisted impact of Western competition our old national shipping is gone—swept clean off the field—if we, of course, except the small native craft that still remain,—and with it is gone our old national ship-building. We have yet no shipping of our own of the newer pattern—no sailing vessels and no steamships—available for sea-service. The result is, that the transport we have almost exclusively to depend on in our intercourse with countries oversea, is necessarily foreign shipping; and the price we have to pay for such foreign aid is on a rough estimate about 25 crores of rupees a year. Sea-service embraces goods traffic, passenger traffic and the conveyance of the mails.

(1) There is, first, our sea-borne trade. It is a large and extensive trade and is going up by leaps and bounds. It shows an advance of over 60 per cent during the past 12 years and now (1906-7) aggregates 344·2 crores—Imports, 161·8, and Exports, 182·3 crores. Our trade relations extend to every quarter of the globe. We have commercial dealings not only with the Asian mainland but also with Europe and Africa on the one side, and with Australasia and America on the other. We send our *gunny bags* and *gunny cloth*, for instance, not only to the United Kingdom and Germany, to Egypt and the Cape, but also to Australia and the far off countries of North and South America, to the United States, to Peru and Chili, to Uruguay and the Argentine Republic. So, again, we get our *hardware* and *cutlery*, *mill-work* and *machinery* not only from the United Kingdom and Germany, but from the United States and other countries as well. Similarly, consignments of *glass* and *glassware* come to us from Austria-Hungary and Germany as well as from China, and our supply of *apparel* including *drapery*, *millinery*, *haberdashery*, is obtained from the United Kingdom and Austria-Hungary, as also from Japan and the Straits Settlements. But it is worth noting that in respect of both the export and import sides of our maritime trade, it is the foreign shipping that we almost exclusively employ. It is in foreign bottoms, for instance, that we send out to foreign

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countries oversea the enormous quantities of grain and pulse, cotton and jute, hides and skins that we do year after year; and it is through the same transport agency that we get our annual supplies from abroad of metals and metal-manufactures, of sugar and spices, and of cotton and woollen manufactures. We have no Navigation Act in India —restricting resort to the use of foreign ships in foreign trade with a view to protect and promote Indian shipping and Indian shipbuilding enterprise, a Protectionist law—such as England had for 200 years (1657—1849 A. D.); and as a consequence, other causes of course concurring—we find, we have absolutely no shipping of our own—sail or steam—of the newer design, in our Indian ports, and have, therefore, as a necessity of the position, to throw ourselves almost entirely on the help of the foreign shippers in the matter, paying them whatever freights they think fit to demand for the use of their ships. The rates charged per ton in 1906 were from Bombay to London 13*s*-6*d* for wheat and seeds and 14*s*-6*d* for cotton to Liverpool, and from Calcutta to London 15*s* for rice and wheat, 17*s*-6*d* for jute and linseed and £1-13*s*-9*d* for tea.

(2) There is, next, our Coastal Trade. It is also an expanding trade, and consists in the collection of produce and manufactures for export, and the distribution—from port to port —of imported goods. The total value of such inter-portal trade was in 1905-6, 46·37 crores of rupees. Here, too, it is mainly in foreign ships that the movement of goods coastwise from port to port goes on. Goods move from Broach and Bulsar, and from Honavar and Karwar to Bombay, from Puri and Balasore to Calcutta, from Cochin and Tuticorin to Madras, from Akyab and Bassein, and from Mergui and Moulmein to Rangoon, and back, but to the full extent of 85 p. c. and more in foreign vessels. Our *Bagalas* and *Kothias*, our *Padavs* and *Batclos*, ply on the shores, and bravely hold their own, working in their own old ways, as yet without the aid of science or steam; but it is an unequal contest, and their share is barely $\frac{1}{7}$th of the total volume of coastal trade. Nearly half the countries of the World reserve their coastal trade to their own national shipping—including France, Russia and the United States. Our policy is the policy of Free Trade; and Act XI of 1850—which is still in force—throws the coasting trade of India open to the shipping of all the world, freely and without restriction.

(3) Thirdly, there is likewise a good deal of passenger traffic we have by sea. Thousands of Mahomedans go on pilgrimage to Mecca and other holy places in Arabia every year during the cold weather season—in '*Pilgrim*' ships, and Act No. XIV of 1895 provides for the regulation of such ships. So, again, some 16,000 persons leave India for employment in the Colonies every year and about 7,000 emigrants return to the country after they have served their term of indenture abroad—in all, 23,000. In 1905-6 the number of persons who left India was 21,125, while 6,945 emigrants returned—28,070 altogether. Besides, large numbers go every year on long or short voyages to ports in and out of India in what are known as Native Passenger Ships (regulated by Act X of 1887). In 1905-6, the total number of such passengers was 2,107,164. The great bulk of passengers voyage only within Indian limits, numbering 1,820,852 or nearly 86 p. c. of the total in 1905-6, their migrations being confined in the main to ports within their own Presidency—only a small number leaving for work in other Provinces. Coolies from Madras and Bengal go to Burma in considerable numbers for work as harvesters and in the rice-mills. Many persons also leave for Ceylon and the Straits, the Persian Gulf and Mombassa. Lastly, we have the annual relief in connection with the British army in India. 14 to 15,000 British soldiers come out every year for service in India, and a corresponding number leave for home disembarked from service in this country in troop-ships. In 1903-4, 14,937 came out for service in India; and 12,686 left—in all 27,623. The total charge for troop service and passage-money being £370,506 or about 55½ lakhs of rupees.

The Pilgrim ships, the Native Passenger ships, the Emigrant ships, the troop-ships, are all non-Indian ships, and have a practical monopoly of our entire passenger traffic by sea. A few Indian Navigation Companies have been recently formed; but their operations are confined to coastal passenger traffic and their ships are foreign ships bought or hired for the purpose.

(4) There is, lastly, the conveyance of the Mails. This branch of postal service is at present handed over to the P. & O. Steam Navigation Company, and a subsidy amounting to about 8 lakhs of rupees a year is paid for it. In 1903-4, the postal subsidy paid was £ 52,595 or 7·8 lakhs. There is no Indian Steamship Company to take up the work.

Thus, it will be seen how completely dependent we are upon foreign assistance for every kind of sea-service we need. Our trade,

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both export and import, oceanic and inter-portal, is carried on in foreign bottoms; our passengers—pilgrims, emigrants, soldiers and others—voyage in foreign ships; and our mails, too, are conveyed to and from India by a foreign shipping company.

There is but little shipping in our ports or on the high seas that we can call our own; and our ship-building which at one time was a most extensive industry in our coast districts, and supported a numerous section of our coast population—is all but an extinct industry; and the classes who once lived by it are either at the plough—earning a precarious subsistence—or in the ranks of landless labour, working for their miserable pittance in the towns. A small number of adventurous spirits—mostly Mahomedans—about 40,000—find employment as Lascars in East Indian steamships as coolies or cooks, on subsistence wages.

A large and growing intercourse by sea and yet no national merchant navy—extensive and increasing dealings with foreign nations oversea and yet no national shipping service—an enormous volume of business carried on across the seas, but almost entirely and exclusively with the aid of foreign transport, this is certainly an anomalous position, and points to a serious and fundamental defect in our national industrial equipment. No scheme of sea-borne trade can for any length of time rest secure on such a basis. There is perhaps no maritime country in the civilized world which is without a shipping service of its own and which relies so completely on foreign aid in maintaining its intercourse with other nations oversea. Great Britain, the United States, Germany, Japan and other great sea-powers apart, whose commercial fleets sweep the high seas, not even the smallest of maritime countries, are without merchant navies of their own. Sweden (Area, 172,876 sq. miles and population 5·3 millions) has a mercantile marine consisting of 1,950 sailing vessels of 265,748 tons and 1,019 steamships of 408,124 tons—a total tonnage of 673,872 tons. Norway (area 124,129 sq. miles and population 2·2 millions) possesses a merchant navy of 7,269 vessels—sail and steam together—with an aggregate tonnage of 1,486,502 tons. Portugal (area 35,490 sq. miles; and population 5·4 millions) owns a commercial navy consisting of 77 steamers of 50,487 tons and 497 sailing vessels of 63,048 tons. In Greece (area 25,014 sq. miles and population 2·4 millions) the merchant navy has of sea-going vessels, 880 sailing vessels of 167,243 tons and 198 steamers of 208,791 tons—a total of 1078 vessels of 376,034 tons. Denmark (area 15,592 sq. miles population 2·6 millions) has a merchant marine of 4091 vessels of 483,434 registered tons, of which 616 are steamers. Even Belgium (area 11,373 sq. miles and population 6·7 millions) has a shipping service of her own composed of 71 vessels of 99,733 registered tons. India alone (area 1,766,642 sq. miles and population 294·3 millions) with her extensive sea-board, her countless ports and havens and her numerous coast-population stands as a solitary instance of a maritime country with a large and increasing commerce by sea and yet without a merchant marine of her own. She has not a single sailing vessel or steamship in her ports of the modern type, built in her own yards, nor even a single trained Indian engineer who could build one such. And thus, though under the political control and guidance of a nation which is by common consent the greatest and strongest of maritime powers and whose proud flag flies over nearly one half of the entire shipping tonnage of the world, she continues, despite her increasing and expanding intercourse with foreign countries by sea, to be at the mercy of the foreign shippers! This marks the serious irony of the position.

Surely this is not as it should be. No maritime nation can long hold its own in the international arena of commercial enterprise, much less look forward with hope and confidence to an assured commercial future which has not provided itself with this most needful apparatus of oceanic intercourse and which chooses to so exclusively depend on the aid of the foreigner in the matter. With us, such foreign aid may have been necessary during the first periods of the economic revolution as a support to the fabric of the new Trade; but any continued dependence upon it is obviously incompatible with a sustained advance along the path of progressive development. Such extraneous aid might fail us when and in the directions in which we should need it most, or might not always be available on the terms we should be able to offer.

It is essential—and indeed a *sine qua non* of balanced progress—that we should have a mercantile marine of our own, of adequate strength and of the newer pattern, so as to be able to emancipate ourselves from our present position of helpless dependence on the foreign shipper and maintain our maritime intercourse without such outside help.

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There are also other economic considerations which point the same way. (1) There is, in the first place, the heavy price we have to pay for such foreign aid—some 25 crores of rupees on the average every year for the conveyance of our export and import freights, our passengers, and our mails. An adequate Indian ocean fleet would mean a saving to the country of the whole of this burdensome annual charge (25 crores) which now goes to strengthen the commercial power and strength of other nations. (2) Next, the creation of an Indian commercial fleet—what a boon and a blessing it would be to the populations of the coast districts! There would be the rehabilitation of our old ship-building industry and sea-service—which would restore to numerous classes of the coast population their hereditary honorable employment. (3) But, above all, it would help to revive two such non-agricultural industries—which would be one important means of introducing some occupational diversity in our coast districts where none exists at present—and thereby diminish the pressure on the land.

All things considered, it behoves us seriously to take up the question, and consider in what way it is possible for us to build up a merchant navy of our own of the newer type and of the requisite strength as a necessary support and basis to our expanding maritime enterprise, and at the same time, revive and re-organize on sound business lines our old shipping and ship-building industries which we have suffered to decline and perish through culpable indifference and neglect.

Before entering upon a discussion of the question thus suggested, we trust, it may not be deemed out of place if we venture to submit by way of preface a brief review of the general position in this regard.

As far as the recorded results of Oriental research enable us to judge, there can be no doubt that in ancient times India was one of the foremost maritime nations of the world. Her fine geographical situation in the heart of the Orient, with Africa on the west and the Eastern Archipelago and Australia on the east and connected with the vast mainland of Asia on the north, her magnificent seaboard extending over 4000 miles and upwards—from Karachi to Chittagong—her ports and havens over 1000 in number, some of them among the finest in the world, the boundless wealth of her material resources, the unrivalled richness and variety of her products, her shipping and ship-building—all these constituted advantages of unique value to the development of her maritime enterprise, and her marvellous colonizing and trading activity, the genius and energy of her merchants, the skill and daring of her seamen, concurred to give her the command of the sea, and helped her to attain to the proud position of a premier maritime power in Eastern Waters. We had our colonies in Madagascar and Socotra on the one side and in Pegu, in Cambodia, in Java, in Sumatra, in Borneo and in all probability farther afield on the other. Similarly, we had our trading settlements in Southern China, in the Malayan Peninsula, in Arabia and in all the chief cities of Persia and all over the East Coast of Africa. We maintained extensive intercourse with foreign countries. Our trade extended not only to the countries of Asia but to the whole of the then known world—including the vast dominions of Ancient Rome. There was, for instance, a large and lucrative trade between the Pandya, Chola, and Chera kingdoms of Southern India and the Roman Empire. The whole of this oceanic intercourse with foreign nations was in our hands and under our control. The shipping employed was our own: and our *gulbats* and *padavs*, our *ganjos* and *batelos* our *bagalas* and *kothias* were in every sea, and our Jat, Kachhi and Gujrathi seamen visited every shore. A thousand ports participated in our extensive sea-borne trade of the time, and prominent among them were Lakhpat and Diu, Broach and Vallabhi, Beypoor and Cochin, Masulipatam and Balasore. Each seaport had its own ship-building yard, its own seamen and pilots, the ships were built of timber, mostly teak—the use of iron and steel as material for ship-building was unknown. A few references may here be conveniently cited from Bombay Gazetteer Volume I, part 1, History of Gujerat, Appendix IV, pp. 492-96, and elsewhere.

"According to Vincent (Periplus I, 25,35, 254) in the time of Agatharcides (B. C. 200) the ports of Arabia and Ceylon were entirely in the hands of the people of Gujerat."

In the third century A. D. 247, the Periplus (McCrindle 17,52,64,96,109) notices

"Large Hindu ships in the East African, Arab and Persian ports and Hindu settlements on the north coast of Socotra."

Fa Hian, the famous Chinese pilgrim, who set out on his great itinerary in 399 A. D. and did not return to his monastery till 15 years later, records in his journal that

"He sailed from the mouth of the Ganges to Ceylon, from Ceylon to Java and from Java to China in ships manned by Indian crews."

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During the fifth and sixth centuries, the ports of Sindh and Gujerat were among the chief centres of maritime enterprise in the east. In the fifth century, according to Hamza of Ispahan, at Hira near Kufa on the Euphrates the ships of India and China were constantly moored. In the sixth century, the Jats from the Indus and Kachh occupied the islands in the Bahrein Gulf. In A. D. 630 Hiuen Tsiang (Beal's Buddhist Records, II, 269) notices that in the chief cities of Persia, Hindus were settled as traders, enjoying the free practice of their religion. Before their overthrow by the Mahomedans, what large vessels the Rajput sailors of Gujerat managed is shown by Friar Oderic who about A. D. 1321 (Stevenson in Kerr's Voyages XVIII, 324) crossed the Indian Ocean in a ship that carried 700 people and these Rajput ships plied between Kattyawar and China. In the 11th century Somnath is referred to as a great port of call for merchants trading between Sofala in East Africa and China, as Diu was for Chinese ships.

It is needless to multiply these references to our commercial intercourse with foreign nations by sea and our colonial settlements in ancient times. Materials are still not even half as full as we should desire for anything like a just and accurate appreciation of the exact position India held in ancient days in the world's arena of maritime enterprise ; but on a general view of the facts which have been definitively established so far, the conclusion seems to be amply borne out that, that position was one of undisputed predominance in eastern seas.

Things continued more or less on this footing up to the time of the Mahomedan conquest. Under Mahomedan rule, there was a serious decline in our position as a maritime nation. Our command of the sea was gone, and our maritime ascendency ended. Our colonization ceased, our trading settlements dwindled both in number and strength; our sea-borne commerce fell off—part passed into the hands of the Arabs and Portuguese; many of our sea ports lost their commercial importance—some of them were destroyed, *e.g.*, Vallabhi, the celebrated sea port and capital of the Vallabhi kingdomin the east of Kattyawar situated about 20 miles west of Bhavanagar, and our shipping suffered a great diminution. Altogether, amidst the conflict of creeds and races, amidst the ceaseless clash of arms, amidst the chaos, the carnage, and the violence of religious and political strife, our maritime enterprise received a check from which it has never recovered. The old spirit of sea-adventure, however, was still alive, surviving the shock and the wreck—the fire, the dash, the energy of the sea-manship of ancient days and we struggled hard though against heavy odds to maintain our position at sea. The Jats and other Indians established fresh trading settlements in the coast districts of Persia, and continued the old trade with that country. Our merchant fleets sailed as before in Eastern Waters, in the Arabian and Chinese Seas. In 1498 A. D. Vasco da Gama found sailors from Cambay and other parts of India who guided themselves by the help of the stars in the north and south and had nautical instruments of their own—the compass, the quadrant and such like. In A. D. 1510 Albuquerque found a strong Hindu element in Java and Malacca. Sumatra was ruled by Parameshvar, a Hindu prince. And even after the rule of the sea had passed to the Europeans, it was noticed that Gujerat Hindus continued to show marked courage and skill as merchants, seamen, and pilots. In the 17th century the French traveller, Mandelslo (A. D. 1638, Travels) found Achin in North Sumatra a great centre of trade with Gujerat. Even so late as the latter half of the 18th century Rao Ghor of Kachh (A. D. 1760-1778) built, equipped and manned a ship at Mandvi, which without European or other outside assistance safely made the voyage to England and back to the Malabar Coast. In the beginning of the 19th century (A. D. 1825) Tod tells us how

"with Biji Singh, of Bhavanagar, his port was his grand hobby and ship-building his chief interest and pleasure."

With the establishment of British rule, the decline of our maritime enterprise proceeded rapidly. New economic conditions established themselves; and new influences came into play. There was the crushing contact with the West, strong in the strength of advancing civilization and science, its disciplined spirit of industrial enterprise, its perfected industrial organizations, its unlimited command of resources of capital, skilled direction trained labour and organizing talent. Our maritime enterprise, our sea-borne trade, our shipping, our ship-building, all primitive in their general scheme and methods had clearly no chance against such unequal and science-directed competition. Protected, carefully nursed and fostered, it might have held its own, and perhaps more as in Japan; but without such propping, and left without improvement and adaptation to the altered needs of the time, its fate was sealed. And as a result of a century of such competitive collision, we find ourselves simply driven out of the field with our maritime commerce

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gone, our merchant shipping, which once plied proud and triumphant in Eastern Seas wiped away; our ship-building yards, once so numerous and so busy, all but closed, except for the construction of fishing boats and other small craft and our famous sea-ports sunk for the most part to the position of little better than fishing-villages. And now, scarcely a vestige remains of our ancient dominion of the sea. The whole fabric is gone as if swept by a storm leaving no trace behind; and the soul-stirring story of Ancient India as a mighty sea-power of the East, her colonies and trading settlements, her maritime intercourse and trade, reads like a romantic story from a dream-land or a fairy tale.

So sad, so complete, has been the collapse of our position as a maritime nation under the newer economic conditions—of *Laissez faire* Free Trade, and open and unrestricted competition—conditions introduced with the short-sighted and reckless confidence of "idealist" statesmanship into a country unsuited for their practical application, and among a people unprepared for the sterner toil and the freer life they postulated.

The present position of the country in respect of its intercourse with foreign nations by sea presents features which require to be carefully noted. Among these may be mentioned the following:—

(1) The New Sea-borne Trade of India which has grown up under the conditions of British rule is not our own—neither controlled by ourselves, nor arranged on the old traditional lines. It is essentially the creation of foreign enterprise, and is, as might be expected, mainly under foreign control. It is financed, regulated, directed, by the foreign merchants. Our Bhattyas, Khoja and Parsee merchants have no doubt direct dealings with Egypt and Zanzibar, Arabia and Persia, Ceylon and China; but these are on too small a scale and do not represent more than a fraction of the total volume, probably about 10 per cent. In Bombay city which has an aggregate sea-borne trade of upwards of 85 crores of rupees in value, we find that out of a total of 217 commercial firms as many as 111 are foreign, including 82 English, 13 German, 5 French, 5 Austrian, 1 Italian, 2 Japanese and 3 others. And they have a practical monopoly of the business. The Indian firms number 106—37 Hindu, 11 Musalman and 58 Parsee—most of which, however, do little more than agency work. At Karachi, there are in all 92 trading firms, of which 73 are European and only 19 Indian, and these, too, mostly commission agencies.

This sea-borne trade now (1906-7) aggregates 344·2 crores of rupees in value, and represents a cargo tonnage of 11·8 million tons, including 5·21 million tons entered and 6·58 million tons cleared.

The inter-portal trade of India amounts to 46·37 crores of rupees in value (1905-6) and is mainly a subsidiary branch of the general ocean trade—representing the collection from port to port coastwise, of produce for foreign export and the distribution of imported goods through these trading centres on the sea-board over the interior.

(2) The New Trade under foreign direction is arranged in a frame and conducted on lines suited to the needs of manufacturing and industrial development, not in this country, but in foreign lands, and for the benefit of foreign nations. The bulk of exports consists of food-stuffs and raw materials while the imports are mostly manufactured goods. Among the exports we may note, taking the figures for 1906-7:—

Value in crores of rupees.

	Crs.		Crs.
Grain and pulse ...	27·65	Hides and skins ...	10·89
Jute	26·83	Lac	3·37
Cotton	21·96	Wool	2·42
Seeds	13·01	Dyeing and tanning materials ...	1·38
Total Rs.	89·45	Total Rs.	18·06

A total of 107·51 crores of rupees or over 60 per cent. of the total value of Indian merchandise exported.

On the import side, the following articles may be mentioned:—

	Crs.		Crs.
Liquors ...	1·85	Oils	2·76
Provisions ...	2·42	Cotton-twist, yarn and piece-goods...	40·91
Sugar ...	8·73	Silks	1·82
Metals and metal manufactures ...	22·65	Apparel	2·11
Total Rs.	35·65	Total Rs.	47·60

A total of 83·25 crores, or over 76 per cent. of the total value of imported goods.

(3) Taking the figures for 1905-6, we find the trade thus distributed in respect of geographical areas.

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Total value in crores of rupees, merchandise and treasure :

	Imports inclusive of Government stores.	Exports exclusive of Government stores.	Total in crores of Rs.
A. British Empire.			
(1) United kingdom.	97·13	44·22	141·35
(2) British Colonies and possessions.	17·25	34·14	51·39
Total ...	114·38	78·36	192·74
B. Foreign countries.	29·36	89·79	119·15
Grand total ...	143·74	168·15	311·89

And, again, as over the different continents, in private merchandise alone :—

	Imports.	Exports.	Total in crores of Rs.
Europe	85·89	85·50	171·40
Africa	2·77	5·40	8·17
America	2·26	17·19	19·45
Asia	11·21	51·19	62·41
Australasia ...	·92	2·40	3·32
Total ...	103·06	161·70	264·77

Our old trade was mainly with Asia and Africa and the countries of the Levant. The bulk of the New Trade is with Europe, over 65 per cent. of the whole. The British Empire including the United Kingdom and British Colonies and possessions—claims over 60 per cent. of the total trade.

(4) As to the sea-ports—participating in the New Trade. In 1870, Mr. Robertson, a civil engineer of eminence, was appointed by Government to inspect and report on the harbours and anchorages of the country. In 1870-1 he examined the Madras anchorages on both sides of the Peninsula and in 1871-2 inspected the Bombay and Bengal coasts and in a list prepared by Captain Taylor as many as 656 ports were enumerated and described, and the remark was added that

"The trade ports of India, if every place frequented by native craft be included, are exceedingly numerous."

Altogether, there were, we believe, over 1,000 ports on the Indian sea-board, which in ancient days were more or less independent centres of oceanic trade, having direct transactions with foreign countries—Ceylon and Zanzibar, Arabia and Persia, China and Malacca, Java and Cambodia, Sumatra and Borneo—and at the same time were distributing points for coastal traffic.

The Indian Ports Act of 1889 has a schedule list of 236 ports—11 in Bengal, 7 in Burma, 72 in Bombay including Aden, and in Madras 146, leaving out 19 as non-British Indian ports in Travancore and Cochin and 4 French ports in that Presidency. Each port under section 7 of the Act has a port officer and a conservator whose duty it is to look after the safety of shipping and the conservation of the port, enforcing the standing rules regarding berths, stations and anchorages to be occupied by vessels, the taking in and discharging of passengers, ballast and cargo, the keeping of free passengers, the use of fires and lights and to levy port-dues on vessels entering and grant port-clearances and receive fees for pilotage &c.. Under section 36 it is also to have a port fund account of its own, showing receipts such as port-dues and pilotage fees and disbursements including the pay and allowances of the port establishment, the cost of buoys, beacons, lights and other necessary works maintained for the benefit of vessels entering or leaving the port, as also contributions, if any, towards the support of hospitals and dispensaries suitable for the reception and relief of seamen, &c.

Most of these 236 ports are, however, mere ports of call for inter-portal trade and have but a very small fraction of the general oceanic trade of the country. Taking the figures for 1905-6 we find that the following 17 ports shared between them as much as 262·84 crores out of a total value of the trade in merchandise amounting to 264·77 crores, leaving even less than 2 crores for the remaining 219 ports :—

Value of trade in crores of Rs.		Value of trade in crores of Rs.	
Calcutta ...	109·0	Calicut ...	1·05
Bombay ...	85·0	Mangalore ...	1·00
Rangoon ...	21·0	Tellicherry ...	·99
Karachi ...	20·1	Coconada ..	·93
Madras ...	12·1	Total ...	3·97
Total ...	247·29		
		Bassein ...	·85
Tuticorin ...	3·35	Nagapatam ...	·69
Chittagong ...	3·17	Cuddalore ...	·55
Cochin ...	1·23	Akyab ...	·51
Moulmein ...	1·15	Total ...	2·60
Total ...	8·90	Grand Total ...	262·84

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The total value of the year's trade was 264·77 crores of rupees of which

17 ports had 262·84 crores of rupees.
219 ports had only 1·93 crores of rupees.

(5) And even of these 17 ports, it is worth noting that it is the first five—Calcutta, Bombay, Rangoon, Karachi and Madras—which have a virtual monopoly of the oceanic trade of the country—247·3 crores out of a total value of 264·7 crores—the trade in Private Merchandise—leaving but 17·4 crores for all the other sea ports on the vast sea-board.

These five ports are all new ports which owe their origin entirely and exclusively to foreign initiative and enterprise; and the concentration of the new sea-borne trade at these few points in the face of an extensive sea-board affording a thousand outlets and anchorages, some of them among the finest in the world, is a most remarkable feature of the general position.

Such concentration of the country's trade has no doubt its advantages. It facilitates and favours effective combination of means and proper co-ordination and regulation of efforts, and is otherwise conducive to economy and efficiency. But in the hands of the foreign merchant, and directed with irresistible energy against the indigenous organization of the country, it has with us been simply disastrous. It has proved the ruin of our ports, and with it,—other causes operating—the destruction of our maritime enterprise, including trade, shipping and ship-building.

Our old ports had clearly no chance as against such an opposing concentration. Effective competition was practically eliminated, and no motive or incentive left to emulative effort: and they have had to resign themselves without a struggle to the fate that awaited them. Their trade is gone, their shipping and ship-building activity is paralysed; and they are now for the most part little better than fishing-villages shorn of all their former glory or at the best are mere ports of call for coastal traffic with but an insignificant share—if even that much—in the general oceanic trade of the country. Lakhpat, the well-known emporium on the Sindh frontier which was till within a century ago a great seat of commerce on the coast, is no longer a trading centre. Diu on the coast of Kathyawar, the flourishing mart and port of call for merchant ships from China and E. Africa in the 7th and 8th centuries A. D., is now but a subsidiary port for coastal traffic. Masulipatam, at the mouth of the Krishna, on the east coast of the Peninsula, once the great colonizing and trading centre and which sent settlers to colonize Java and Cambodia in the 7th century A. D. and from which vessels sailed eastwards for Sumatra and Cochin-China and the Manillas and westward, for Mecca and Madagascar, is now a neglected port, with a bar rising at its entrance, and relegated to a subordinate position with an oceanic trade of about 13 lakhs of rupees, imports and exports together, and a coastal trade of less than 7 lakhs! What now remains of the glory of the historic ports of Somnath and Mangalore? Broach, that queen of trading cities, once the centre of our maritime enterprise on the Western Coast, is now but a shadow of her former self with only a coastal trade of 44 lakhs of rupees! And so the Wheel of Fortune turns; and things "have their day and cease to be."

(6) The ports of Calcutta, Bombay, Rangoon, Karachi and Madras, at which the new sea-borne trade is concentrated, are, as observed before, ports of foreign origin and have been built, improved and equipped at great cost. Of these, Bombay is by far the finest port: Calcutta and Rangoon are good ports: but Karachi, the new port of Sindh and the Punjab, has had to be converted into a safe and commodious harbour at a heavy expenditure of money and effort. A bar across the entrance stretching for nearly a thousand yards—the result of the waves raised by the S. W. Monsoon acting on the loose sand lying off the extremity of Manora Point—has had to be removed; and the channel, deepened; the Chinna Creek, blocked; and a break-water, constructed to shut off the heavy S. W. seas from the mouth of the harbour. Madras is still far from being a satisfactory harbour. There is the exposed sea-shore, and the shoaling of the harbour mouth by drift sand is a standing difficulty. The capital debt incurred for the improvement of these harbours amounted to 13·5 crores up to the end of 1905-6. Calcutta has a capital debt of 5·3 crores; Bombay, 6·46 crores; Rangoon, 58 lakhs; Karachi, 76 lakhs and Madras, 40 lakhs. Calcutta has 9 docks and Bombay 7, and these have cost a good deal. The Prince's Dock at Bombay enclosing a total water-area of 30 acres, has cost more than a crore of rupees, and so, too, the Victoria Dock has been constructed at a total outlay of 1·23 crores. Wharf and landing accommodation, piers, port approaches, buoys, warehouses, &c. have involved a heavy expenditure.

It is not clear why a few more harbours equally good or better have not been selected to be improved, equipped and placed

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alongside these five. There are several ports on the West Coast of India which might have been converted into first-class harbours and some at least at smaller cost. Poshitra, Salaya, Jagghur, Viziadurg, Karwar and Cochin, might be mentioned. As regards Cochin, Mr. Robertson, the great engineer, was strongly in favour of a scheme for improving it. It has a back-water of great value as a tidal reservoir to keep the entrance clear and render it independent of flood-waters for scouring purposes. Mr. Robertson said:—

"In this back-water there is room for 50 ships of 700 tons, and any amount of area can be got by dredging. The rise and fall is so small that the back-water is practically a wet dock of greater area than all the docks in Great Britain put together. On either side of Cochin harbour, to the north and south, there are the very remarkable mud banks of Nara Kal and Alepy which are most useful as natural harbours of refuge subsidiary to Cochin. No other harbour in the world has such adjuncts. Thus Cochin is admirably adapted to become the great western outlet for the trade of Southern India."

A harbour of such potentialities might well have been chosen instead of Madras— an indifferent roadstead even now.

It is unfortunate that side by side with these ports improved and fitted at such heavy cost for the New Sea-borne Trade, it has not as yet been deemed desirable to establish as a necessary complement a few first-class ship-building yards where sailing vessels and steamships of the modern type could be constructed. Cochin and Viziadurg on the west coast might with advantage be converted at a comparatively small outlay into fine ship-building centres, commanding an inexhaustible supply of teak-timber from the forests of Kanara and Malabar.

Calcutta and Bombay have each a dockyard, but the work done is almost entirely repairs to ships and but little real ship-building.

In Japan, it is only within the last 30 years since 1878 that ship-building on the modern methods has made such wonderful progress, and ship-building yards have been established which might well claim a place among the leading ones in the world. The ship-building yard at Osaka is 34 acres in extent, and employs 4,000 men; the Kobe yards have an area of 50 acres and 8,000 workmen; the Nagasaki, the largest in the country, cover an area of 80 acres and employ over 10,000 men. Besides, there are 205 private ship-yards and 32 private docks. Bounties are given for the construction of iron or steel vessels of not less than 700 gross tons. The building of merchant ships of over 10,000 tons is not uncommon. Numerous small vessels of 200-300 tons are turned out every year, and also many iron vessels of 800 tons and upwards. At Nagasaki a ship of 13,000 tons is at present in course of construction.

A few-ship yards of the kind created on the Indian littoral, would be a boon of incalculable value and a means of reviving a great national industry. The outlay involved need not be more than 2 or 3 crores.

(7) The administration of the affairs of these ports is vested by law in Boards specially constituted for the purpose. At all the ports the Europeans on the Boards largely outnumber Indians and practically control the management.

These Port Trusts are constituted in part on an elective basis, and contain representatives of the technical and commercial interests most concerned in the welfare and advancement of the ports. The Port Trust of Calcutta is composed of 15 members of whom 8 are elected, one by the Calcutta Municipality, one by the Trade's Association, one by the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, and 5 by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. At the present time, two are natives of India and the rest, as might be expected from the direction of the Foreign Trade, Europeans. In Bombay, the Board of Administration consists of 13 members, of whom 5 are elected by the Bombay Chamber of Commerce: and the Bombay Port Trust Act of 1879 provides under section 5 that "not less than three of the Trustees shall be natives of India residing in the city of Bombay." Madras has a Port Trust of 12 members, of whom 5 are elected, and 3 must be natives residing in the city. The Karachi Port is under a Board of 11 members, of whom 5 are elected and 2 must be natives residing in the city. Rangoon has a Port Trust of 10 members, of whom 3 are elected. There are here no native Commissioners on the Board.

The sub-joined table shows the constitution of these several Port Trusts:—

Port.	Number of Members.	Classification of the Members.			Natives.
		Nominated.	Elected.	Europeans.	
Calcutta ...	15	7	8	13	2
Bombay ...	13	8	5	10	3
Madras ...	12	7	5	9	3
Karachi ...	11	6	5	9	2
Rangoon ...	10	7	3	10	...
Totals ...	61	35	26	51	10

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Thus, the total membership of these Port Trusts is 61 members, of whom 51 are Europeans--Engineers or representatives of Chamber of Commerce—and 10 only are Indians. The administration of the Ports is thus practically in the hands of the Europeans.

The property vested in the Trusts is extensive and valuable, and they are invested with powers corresponding to it.

The work of the Boards includes :—

The maintenance in efficient order of the existing docks, landing places, jetties, wharves, light houses, buoys, channels of approach, as also the carrying out of new works and improvements as required; such as wharves, piers, tramways, warehouses, sheds, beacons, pilot boats, the erection of cranes, reclamations, dredges, &c.

The Trusts have considerable revenues at their disposal, including tolls, dues, rates and charges for the landing, shipping, wharfage, cranage, storage, demurrage of goods, &c. Government advances money to the Boards in case of necessity or they have the power to raise the required loans.

The following table shows the revenue and expenditure of these Port Trusts for 1905-6, as also their capital debts :—

Port Trust.	Income in Lakhs of Rs.	Expenditure in Lakhs of Rs.	Capital debt in Lakhs of Rs.	The total trade in crores of Rs.
Calcutta ...	89·5	86·6	530	109
Bombay ...	70·7	61·6	646	85
Madras ...	8·7	8·4	40	12
Karachi ...	24·4	20·7	76	20
Rangoon ...	19·1	22·9	58	21
Total in Lakhs of Rs. ...	212·4	200·2	1,350	Total 247 crores in1905-6.

Each Port Trust has under its control :—

(*a*) a staff of officers of the Trust, including secretaries, engineers, traffic managers, dock-superintendents, warehouse superintendents, &c.

(*b*) a Port Department, consisting of a port officer and his assistant and dock-masters: and

(*c*) a Pilot Establishment composed of a harbour-master, master-pilots, pilots, &c.

At the port of Bombay, all these branches of the port service are manned by Europeans—excepting 2 Parsee officers on the staff (*a*).

(8) Next, these central sea-ports--Calcutta, Bombay, Rangoon, Karachi, and Madras, so improved and equipped at a capital out-lay of over 13½ crores of rupees and so administered in the interests of the New Sea-borne Trade and under the direction of representatives of foreign enterprise--have their position strengthened and assured by being placed in close and effective communication with the areas of production and industrial activity in the interior. The connecting chains are two—coastal and inland.

(1) There is, first the long chain of subsidiary ports on the sea-board, extending from Karachi and Lakhpat to Moulmein and Mergui. These ports numbering more than 1,000, including both recognised under the Ports Act and unrecognised, once many of them independent ports of call and distributing trade-centres on the coast with more or less a substantial share in the oceanic commerce, are now, under altered conditions and under the new scheme of commercial development, practically subsidiary ports subordinate and ancillary to the chief central seaports sending and receiving their supplies of commodities, to and from them.

Mangalore and Veraval, Porbandar and Diu, Gogha and Surat, Viziadurg and Malvan on the Bombay side, Cannanore and Beypore, Vizagapatam and Bimlipatam on the Madras coast, and Puri and Balasore in Bengal, have all sunk to the position of ancillary ports in communication with their respective presidential central ports.

(2) There is, secondly, a vast net-work of railways converging to these seaports as coastal *termini*, as they debouch on the sea-board or, to speak with historical accuracy and with referenc to their development, radiating from them and extending throughout the length and breadth of the country and connecting every city of any importance and every province.

The railways are, of course, no part of the general maritime equipment of the country proper, but as the position of the central ports as distributing trade-centres largely depends upon such a chain of arterial lines of communication linking them on the interior, a passing reference to them may be permitted.

It was about 1840 when the conquest of the country was nearing its completion, that the question of railway construction in India was first taken up by the Court of Directors. It was realised that without the requisite

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material appliances to facilitate and cheapen the means of communication and production, there could be no advance in the country—material, moral or political; and Lord Dalhousie, reviewing the whole question in an exhaustive minute in 1853 strongly urged the importance "of a speedy and wide introduction of railway communications throughout India"—recommending projects for various trunk lines.

The Court of Directors concurred, and sanctioned the scheme proposed by the Government of India; and by the end of 1859, eight companies had been formed for the construction of about 5,000 miles of line with a capital under State-guarantee of £52,500,000 sterling. And there was laid the foundation of a system of railways in India which—extending as it does throughout the country and opening it out in all directions—is now, with a mileage exceeding that in the United Kingdom itself, a marvel of engineering enterprise in the East.

The Great Indian Peninsular Railway was projected in 1844. The first turf was turned at Bombay in 1850, and the first 20 miles of line to Thana were opened in 1853 when Lord Elphinstone was Governor. Since then, the work of railway construction in India has gone on rapidly and continuously and we have now a total mileage of 29,303 miles of line open for traffic.

It may be remarked that the position of the Central Ports as chief seaports and distributing trade-centres could not have been strengthened in the way it has been, and that no large expansion of the New Sea-borne Trade would have been possible without such a development of the railway system of the country, the construction of a stupendous net-work of converging arterial through lines of communication. Says the Writer on Commerce and Trade in the Imperial Gazetter of India (vol. III, p. 262):

"Until the railway system was well advanced, it was not possible either to furnish the mass of the people with imported merchandise within their means or to encourage the agriculturist to grow wheat, oil seeds, or cotton for the over-sea market."

Prior to the construction of railways in India, the new sea-borne Trade advanced but slowly. In 1851-2, the year before the opening of the first railway—the total value of the export and import trade in merchandise was 32·1 crores of Rs. and had only slightly varied in previous years. Since 1853-4, it has steadily advanced with every advance in railway-development—as will appear from the subjoined table:—

Year.	Railway mileage open for traffic.	Value of Sea-borne Trade in crores of Rs. in merchandise.		
		Imports.	Exports.	Total.
1853-4	71	11·12	19·29	30·41
1863-4	2,958	27·14	65·62	92·76
1873-4	6,226	33·81	54·99	88·80
1883-4	11,527	55·27	88·17	143·44
1893-4	18,840	77·02	106·50	183·52
1903-4	27,565	92·59	153·51	246·10
1906-7	29,303	108·30	176·66	284·96

The following few figures will be of interest as bearing on the general position in this respect:—

Total mileage of lines open for traffic on March 31st, 1907, 29,303 miles.

	Rs.	Crores.
(A) Capital debt		485·14
1. Actual capital out-lay ...	379·20	
2. Premia paid in purchase of companies' lines	47·45	
3. Net charge to the State on the railway account from the commencement down to 1898-9 ...	58·49	
Total ...	485·14	
Since 1899 we have had surpluses		
(B) Gross earnings		44·11
1. Coaching traffic	15·36	
Total number of passengers carried 271·0 millions of whom, 239·3 millions, 3rd class.		
2. Goods traffic	27·59	
Number of tons carried 58·8 millions, Average rate per mile 5·4 pies.		
3. Electric Telegraph. &c., ...	1·15	
Total Rs. ...	44.11	
(C) Working Expenses		22·00
(D) Net Earnings		22·10

Railway service——Number of employees of different races:—

Europeans ...	6,850	The upper branches of the service are manned almost exclusively by Europeans. The G. I. P. Railway has a superior staff of officers, 1,140 strong—including Agent, Auditors, Engineers Traffic Superintendents, Locomotive Officers, &c., of whom only 8 are Indians. The East Indian Railway
Eurasians ...	9,326	
Indians ...	463,108	
Total ...	479,284	

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and the Madras Railway have between them a staff of 312 superior officers, under Agency, Audit, Engineering, Traffic, Locomotive, of whom only 2 are Indians.

Points to be noted :—

1. The capital laid out on the lines is entirely European, excepting some 20 lakhs of native investment on a short feeder line.

2. The administration is exclusively in European hands.

3. The superior branches of the service are manned mostly by Europeans and Eurasians.

4. The profits go all to the foreign capitalist—net earnings 22·1 crores of rupees.

5. Railways which in other lands and under normal conditions contribute to national economic progress and development—here with us work mainly in aid of the New Sea-borne Trade.

It may be added that the only land-transport that we still possess as our own is represented by the pack-animals and the bullock-carts. The pack-animals—horses and ponies, mules and donkeys, and camels—number in all 2,944,204 for a total of 550,030 villages in the British provinces or less than 6 per village. Their day, however, is gone; and we have them so employed only in hilly or imperfectly opened-up tracts where good cart-roads do not yet exist. As regards the carts they number 3,360,774 or about 6 to a village, plying in the old way between their villages and the railway stations and the trading towns and doing a considerable deal of the general carriage work of the country, largely as ancillary to the wide branching railway transport service.

Thus, is the movement of goods maintained to the central seaports from the interior and back, partly along the coast through a long chain of subsidiary ports, and by land by means of the railways.

(9) Next, it is important to enquire how the New Sea-borne Trade is carried on between these ports and the foreign markets across the seas; what is the transport that is supplied, and what is the agency which provides it. This brings us to the question of shipping employed in the new oceanic trade.

This trade with foreign countries by sea represents a most extensive field for transport service. And here, too, it is painful to note that the collapse of Indian indigenous enterprise is almost complete and that the foreigner is practically in sole and undisputed possession of the field.

Railway transport is, as shown before, a foreign monopoly and imposes upon the country a heavy annual charge, amounting to over 44 crores of rupees gross and over 22 crores net. And so, too, is the entire system of sea-carriage for which we have to pay the foreigner an additional 25 crores, so that the two charges, taken together come to no less than about 70 crores of rupees per annum, exceeding by more than 10 crores even the entire net revenue of the Government of India—a price paid for foreign aid in respect of the land and sea transport—that we need in support of our New Sea-borne Trade.

Prior to 1842, the year in which the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company secured the control for the mails between Suez and Calcutta and almost down to the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the New Sea-borne Trade was mainly carried on with sailing ships mostly under 500 tons each. The trade with the countries of the West was almost exclusively in the hands of the English shippers. Our native vessels never seem to have ventured west beyond the Cape.

In the eastern seas, however, we had yet our old shipping; and our *Kothias*, and *Bagalas*, our *Ganjoos* and *Padavs*, of 200—75 tons burthen had a large share with the Arab dhows, the Chinese junks and the Siamese barques in the trade between India and Ceylon, E. Africa, Persia, Arabia, China, the Malayan Peninsula and the Eastern Archipelago. Here there was some and not much competition; but it was a competition between the sailing-ships of the West of the newer pattern and our Indian craft of the old type. As regards the coastal trade of the country it was almost wholly in our hands and the extensive sea-board from Lakhpat on the west to Chittagong on the east was dotted over with Indian barques and brigs plying from port to port, and doing in the aggregate no inconsiderable amount of business.

The whole position, however, underwent a most profound change and our last chance was gone, when the Suez Canal was opened for traffic in 1869. It brought the East and the West nearer to each other, opened the East out to the steam-shipping of the West, and rendered possible an immense expansion of Eastern trade. Steamer-services commenced in Eastern Waters, and there was a revolution in the conditions of the general carrying trade of the East.

In 1825, the *Enterprise* made the first steam voyage to India. In 1842, the P. and O. Company secured the contract for the mails between Suez and Calcutta, and established a line of steamers for the mail services between Suez, Ceylon, Madras and Calcutta. But up till 1854, there were no steamers in Indian waters but those of the P. and O. Company, a few Government transports and occasional steamers employed in the opium trade. Indian trade was divided between

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native vessels which put to sea only in fine weather and square-rigged ships carrying native crews and officered by Europeans. The first operations of the British India Steam Navigation Company date from 1857. In 1862 it started a scheme embracing the whole coasting service of India; and by the end of 1863, had 17 steamers afloat in the Eastern Seas. In November 1869, the Suez Canal was opened, and this company's steamer *India* with cargo from Calcutta, was the first steamer to arrive in London with an Indian cargo through the canal. In 1872 it extended its services to the East Coast of Africa; and in 1873 had a fleet of 40 steamers with an aggregate tonnage of about 52,000 tons, employing in the service of its fleet over 500 European officers and engineers and more than 5,000 lascars.

Since, then, there has been a steady and continuous expansion of steam-shipping in Eastern Waters. It has extended to every country and every island in the East. Ceylon and E. Africa, Arabia and Persia, China and Japan, the Malayan Peninsula and the Eastern Archipelago, have now their regular steamship services. Almost every nation in Europe, Canada and the United States, Australia and New Zealand, have each a share in the new shipping. Even Japan is in the arena, working her way with characteristic energy. British shipping predominates, but we have fine steam-ship lines owned by other nations, notably France and Germany, the United States and Japan. Powerful shipping companies are in the field, *e.g.* the British India Steam Navigation Company founded in 1855 with a fleet of 125 steamers of 431,594 tons; the P. and O. Steam Navigation Company, incorporated in 1840 with a fleet of 59 steamers of 348,631 tons: the Ellerman Lines Ltd. founded in 1840, owning a fleet of 73 steamers of 238,876 tons; the Anchor Line Ltd. established in 1856, possessing a fleet of 30 steamers; the Compagnie Des Messageries Maritimes, the Chargeurs Re-unis of Paris (established in 1872) owning a fleet of 34 steamers, the Navigazion Generala Italiana with a fleet of 107 steamers of 231,000 tons, the Austrian Lloyd Steam Navigation Company (founded at Trieste in 1836) possessing 71 steamers of 202,527 tons, the Hamburg-American Line Company (started in 1847) which owns a fleet—the largest in the world in carrying capacity, of 125 steamers of 651,151 tons, the Nippon Yusun Kaisha (founded in 1885) with a fleet of 78 steamers of 248,000 tons, &c. And we have now available for service in the Eastern Seas such large steamers as the P. and O. Company's *Macedonia* and *Marmora* of over 10,500 tons each, the Anchor Lines, *Circassia* of 6,716 tons and *Britannica* of 8,069 tons, the Italian *R. Rubattino* of 4,580 tons, the French *Ville de la Ciolat* of 6,378 tons, and the Japanese *Aki Maru* of 6,444 tons. It may be added that steamships have now almost completely superseded the old sailing vessels in Eastern Waters, which means increasing more than four-fold the carrying power of the shipping. Of the total tonnage employed in Indian trade 98 per cent and more is steam-tonnage.

(10) In the face of such competition conducted with such resources and on such a scale, our old small shipping have obviously no chance. Our *Kothias* and *Bagalas*, our *Galbats* and *Padavs* of small carrying capacity mostly under 100 tons, cannot hold their own, when matched with such stately liners of the West; nor can our poor, resourceless ship-owners hope to compete with such powerful shipping companies on anything like equal terms. The struggle is an unequal struggle and it can be no matter for surprise that the field is almost entirely in foreign hands and under foreign control. The whole of the Eastern trade, which once was ours is now in the hands of the European, Amrican and Japanese shippers. Our share in the oceanic trade of our own country has dwindled down to less than 1 per cent. of the total. And even in respect of the inter-portal trade of India, our native craft represent less than 1/9th of the total tonnage.

The collapse of our indigenous shipping is all but total, and the following figures relating to shipping in Indian trade will be of painful interest, as illustrating the extent of such collapse:—

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(A) As regards the *Sea-borne Trade* of India.

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No. of tonnage of vessels, including their repeated voyages that entered and cleared with cargoes from and to foreign countries in 1906-7 thus distributed :—

	Entered.		Cleared.		Total in 1000 tons.		
	No. of vessels.	Tonnage.	No.	Tonnage.	No.	Total tonnage in thousands of tons.	Average tons per vessel.
1. Indian craft ...	600	45	654	49	1,254	95	77 tons.
2. British craft ...	90	7	90	7	180	14	80 tons.
3. Foreign craft ...	187	20	114	11	301	31	100 tons.
4. British shipping ...	1,727	3,973	2,256	5,197	3,983	9,170	over 2,300 tons.
5. British India shipping.	248	66	349	95	597	161	268 tons.
6. Foreign countries shipping.	458	1,100	532	1,227	990	2,327	2,440 tons.
Total ...	3,310	5,211	3,995	6,586	7,305	11,800	

Thus, of the total tonnage employed in the New Sea-borne trade of India—11,800,000 tons in all, both entries and clearances taken together, it may be noticed that British shipping—including craft and British Indian vessels, claims by far the largest share, amounting to 4760 vessels or 65 p.c. of the total number and 9,345,000 tons or about 79 p.c. The shipping of foreign countries amounts to a total of 990 vessels—most of them steamers, with an aggregate tonnage of 2,327,206 tons or close on 20 p.c.—Austria-Hungary claiming 443,000 tons, France, 185,000 tons, Germany 952,458 tons, Italy 201,000 tons, Japan 200,000 tons, &c. Our own indigenous shipping comes last with a miserable aggregate tonnage of 95,000 tons—·8 p.c. of the total. The number of such vessels engaged in the oceanic trade of the country is not supplied in the official returns; but assuming about 10 voyages to a vessel a year, it may not be far wrong to put it at say 125-130 vessels, 130 small barques—mostly under 80 tons each,—this is all the shipping engaged in our foreign trade—that we can claim as our own, and no more. Nothing else is needed to bring us home with such painful clearness the awful extent of the failure of this branch of our national industry—a result attributable to the policy of the Open Door applied in all its logical rigor to economic conditions peculiarly ill-adapted for such application.

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B. The *inter-portal trade* of India :—

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Here the figures for 1905-6 are available, and are as below :—

Nationality of shipping.		Entries.		Clearances.		Total.		Per cent.
		No. of vessels.	Tons.	No. of vessels.	Tons.	No. of vessels.	Tons.	
British ...	Steam ...	8,022	12,225,895	8,160	12,473,724	16,182	24,699,619	British 83·9 p.c.
	Sailing ...	1	1528	2	1,672	3	3,200	
British India	Steam ...	104	25,757	102	30,118	206	55,875	
	Sailing ...	289	41,235	241	34,907	530	76,142	
Foreign ...	Steam ...	256	666,029	277	733,759	533	1,399,788	Foreign 5·2
	Sailing ...	1,470	56,279	1,923	74,346	3,393	130,625	
*Native craft	Sailing ...	100,567	1,697,853	81,635	1,549,740	182,202	3,247,593	Indian 10·9
Total ...	Steam ...	8,382	12,917,681	8,559	13,237,601	16,921	26,155,282	
	Sailing ...	102,327	1,796,895	83,801	1,660,665	186,128	3,457,560	
Total of steam and sailing vessels		110,709	14,714,576	92,340	14,898,266	203,049	29,612,842	100

* Including foreign craft.

Here, the aggregate tonnage is 29·612 million tons, of which British shipping claims nearly 84 p.c. Foreign countries have a little over 5 p.c. and our own share is hardly 10 p.c.—some 182,202 vessels with an aggregate tonnage of 3·247 million tons—or for the most part of under 20 tons burden. Assuming 25 voyages per annum to a vessel of this sort, it would appear that our indigenous craft so employed in this coastal trade include some 7,280 small *galbats* and *padavs* plying from port to port along the sea-board, East and West.

In half the countries of the world, the coastal trade is by law and treaty reserved to national shipping. With us, however, there is no such reservation, and under the Free Trade regime, our share in our own inter-portal trade has dwindled down to about 10 per cent. of the total.

It may be added that our share in both the oceanic and coastal trade of the country has been since the opening of the Suez Canal steadily and continuously on the decline. And to all appearances its final extinction is only a question of time. Steam-ship competition is a most formidable competition, and sail-shipping must eventually go out of the field altogether. It is worth noting in this connection that 98 per cent. of the shipping engaged in the sea-borne trade of India is steam, and 86 per cent. of that employed in coastal traffic is so, too.

Thus, as things stand at present, our Indian share is limited in the oceanic trade to about 130 small vessels of under 80 tons burthen with an aggregate tonnage of 95,000 tons, and in the coastal trade of India—to some 7,280 vessels generally of less than 20 tons each—while the foreigner claims 99 per cent. of the former and 90 p. c. of the latter.

As to *ship-building* there is a corresponding decline. The less indigenous shipping that finds employment, the less is the building of new vessels. Taking the figures for the 5 years ending 1905-6, we find :-

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Sailing and steam vessels built at Indian Ports.

Year.	Sailing.		Steam.		Total.	
	No.	Tonnage.	No.	Tonnage.	No.	Tonnage.
1901-2	112	4,756	3	77	115	4,833
1902-3	96	3,515	3	76	99	3,591
1903-4	96	4,326	1	75	97	4,401
1904-5	148	7,405	1	17	149	7,422
1905-6	166	7,445	2	167	168	7,612
Total for 5 years.	618	27,447	10	412	628	27,859
Yearly average.	123·6	5,449	2	82	125·6	5,572

Thus it appears, we build about 125 new vessels—Gulbats, Batalos, Kothias, Padavs, &c.,—of under 45 tons each—on an average per year. The annual amount of new ship-building scarcely seems sufficient to adequately provide for the wear and tear and wastage of time, and cannot even maintain our craft in its present strength. As to the Provincial distribution of ship-building Bengal has built during these 5 years only 8 new vessels, Burma 44, Sindh 63, Madras 148, and Bombay 365, in all 628. There is this new ship-building at 2 ports in Bengal, at 16 in Bombay, at 2 in Sindh, at 24 in Madras and at 4 in Burma, in all 48 ports in British India participating in the work, building 2 or 3 *gulbats* a year each. The ports of Calcutta and Chittagong on the Bengal side, of Bombay, Bulsar, and Bassein in the Bombay Presidency, of the Mangalore, Calicut and Masulipatam in Madras and of Tavoy and Mergui on the Burmese coast, may be mentioned in this connection as still preserving the ancient art. Of these, next to Bombay, Bulsar on the west coast takes the lead, having built 122 new vessels during the five years ending 1905-6, Bassein follows with an aggregate of 54, and then we have Mangalore with 40, Calicut and Masulipatum each with 18. Viziadurg, once an important ship-building centre on our side, has almost ceased to build, having turned out only 5 during the period.

As to the capital annually laid out on the building of the new craft, taking the cost of construction at about Rs. 100 per ton, we may put it at between 5 and 6 lakhs of rupees.

As regards the ship-builders, the Census of 1901 gives 42,940 as the number of persons supported by the industry. The actual workers as ship-wrights and boat-builders number 14,322 and apparently build for the most part fishing-boats and canoes and only occasionally larger craft. These people, however, are men of small means, *e. g.*, the *Vadha* carpenters of Gujerat, and build vessels generally for others—the Bunnias, the Memons, &c.,—under a system of advances, and if they build any on their own account, they do so only with borrowed capital.

(12). Lastly, as to our seamen, the Census supplies no definite information; we can hazard only a conjectural estimate. The strength of the crew of a native vessel varies according to its size and tonnage. In the case of large vessels, such as *Bagalas* and *Kothias* and *Batalos* there are usually 8 to 14 men; in the case of small, 4 to 8, the Tandel being the captain. We have as shown before, about 130 large vessels in the oceanic trade, and some 7,280 small, engaged in the inter-portal trade of the country, and the number of seamen may be roughly estimated at 50,000.

We may sum up the general position thus:—

(1) Our maritime trade is to the extent of full 90 per cent., if not more, in foreign hands. Our Indian share is barely 10 per cent.

(2) As to transport for movement of goods:—

(*a*) The railways are entirely a foreign monopoly, costing us about 44 crores of rupees a year gross.

(*b*) As regards the shipping employed—

1. In the *oceanic trade*, the total tonnage is 11,800,000 tons. Our indigenous shipping represents only 95,000 tons or a shade over ·8 per cent., the remaining 11,705,000 tons all foreign.

2. In the inter-portal trade of the country the aggregate tonnage is 29·61 million tons, of which just 3·24 million tons is our own, the remaining 26·37 milllon tons or over 89 per cent foreign.

(3) As to old ports most of them are now deserted—both trade and shipping being practically concentrated at the five new ports of Calcutta, Bombay, Rangoon, Karachi and Madras—having 247·3 crores out of a total trade in merchandise of 264·4 crores of rupees in value; and nearly 9 million tons out of an aggregate tonnage of 11·8 million tons.

(4) The total number of indigenous vessels at present employed is roughly estimated at 130 in the oceanic trade of under 80 tons each and

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7,280 in the inter-portal trade of the country of under 20 tons burthen each, in all, 7,410 vessels large and small.

(5) Where we once had a thousand ship-yards there we have now just solitary 48 ports, which, however, mostly build 2 or 3 galbats a year. The yearly average number of new ships built is 125 of less than 50 tons each; and the aggregate capital laid out per annum on new ship-building may be put at between 5 and 6 lakhs of rupees.

(6) The ship-builders number 14,322, most of whom now build only fishing-boats and canoes and barges.

(7) As to the number of seamen manning the indigenous craft that we still possess, it may be roughly estimated at 50,000. The Lascars—most of them Mahomedens who find employment in British East India Steamers as menial servants, cooks or coolies—number 43,483.

Here are some of the leading facts and figures relating to the present position of our maritime trade, shipping and ship-building. The facts are eloquent and may be left to speak for themselves.

A vast sea-board extending over a length of 4,000 miles with a thousand harbours and secure anchorages, once important and prosperous ports, busy and flourishing marts, crowded with our own ships, barques, and brigs and barges; and each with a ship-building yard of its own and with a numerous sea-faring population, living in comfort by the industry—now—and that, too, under the rule of a nation, the greatest sea-power in the world,—presenting a sad scene of desolation—a *littoral Sahara*. With its ports mostly deserted, left all but bare and stripped of its old shipping—not even 8,000 vessels plying in its waters, with its countless ship-yards closed, except 48 which together build about 125 galbats a year, with its merchant princes and wealthy ship-owners, its seamen and ship-builders all but gone and dependant for maritime trade and transport almost exclusivly on foreign assistance. Such has been the tremendous collapse of what was at one period of our history one of the most extensive and prosperous industries in the land!

Unhappy India, Land of ancient renown, Chosen Home of enterprise, industry and commerce in the Orient! Is this all that remains of thy past greatness and glory, as a premier maritime nation? Thy merchants and shippers who once directed and controlled the trade of the East and on whose resourcefulness and enterprise rested thy commercial pre-dominance in Eastern waters, thy seamen renowned throughout the East for their skill and daring, and who braved the perils of the deep and visited the most distant shores, thy ship-builders once so distinguished for their unrivalled skill in naval architecture, where are their modern successors? But, above all, where is that spirit of maritime enterprise which once sent forth thy brave and adventurous sons to far-off lands, East and West, for trade and settlement, and helped to build up thy extensive dominion of the sea? Gone, gone, gone for ever? No. There is a passing eclipse, a temporary collapse, albeit, so total, so disastrous, due to an unfortunate combination of circumstances over which we could exercise no control, but assuredly, it can never be a permanent feature of our position. A nation like ourselves with a mighty and glorious past behind it and a lofty mission awaiting it in the future, can have no reason to despair. Conditions and opportunities exist for revival and re-habilitation of this important industry, which are all that we should desire, excepting, of course, *Laissez-Faire*, the unalterably *settled* economic policy of the state, and if we only should go about the work in the right way, learning the newer principles and the newer methods from our rulers, whose guidance in the matter would prove of incalculable value as being the greatest maritime nation in the world, and profiting by their experience and following in their footsteps, there is nothing to discourage the hope that we might before long be able to recover the ground we have lost and regain for our beloved motherland the proud position she once enjoyed as a premier maritime power in Eastern Waters.

Here, we conclude, reserving for another occasion a further consideration of this important but rather neglected subject.

G. V. JOSHI.

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GOUR UNDER THE BUDDHISTS

OF the *earlier* Pala kings, our information is chiefly derived from three important sources, (*i*) copper-plate grants; (*ii*) pillar-inscription of Bhatta Gurava (prime-minister of Narayanapala) which is still visible in a neglected and dilapidated condition at Bodal, in station Patnitala, in the District of Dinajpur, within the ancient territory of Paundravardhana; and (*iii*) the genealogical records preserved by the Brahmans, the *Varendras* and *Rarhis*, who came from Kanauj and settled in Bengal. The list in the Ain-i-Akbari and in the works of Taranath, which at one time used to be taken as a guide, has now been entirely superseded by the discovery of ancient inscriptions.

An inscription of Gopala was noticed by Mr. Broadley.* Gopala, like the rest of his dynasty, was a Buddhist prince of the lunar race of Kshatriyas. He is said to have been raised to the throne by the citizens with a view to put an end to the "strong molesting the weak,"† which fairly indicates the anarchy into which the country had fallen. We know very few facts about Gopala. He had for his queen Dedda Devi, who gave birth to a son and successor named Dharmapala, whose copper-plate inscription is the earliest record of the Pala kings yet discovered in Bengal. A stone-inscription, recording the dedication of a temple to Siva, recently discovered near Manda, in Rajshahi, has been brought to me, in which occurs the name of Gopala Deva; but I have not yet been able to identify him with the first king of the Pala dynasty. The inscription is without a date, and no genealogy of Gopala Deva is mentioned in it. The inscription of Dharmapala, therefore, still stands as the earliest record.

The valuable document is a record of a royal grant of rent-free lands in Paundravardhana, which Dharmapala was pleased to make, on the 12th day of Agrahayana, in the 32nd year of his reign, from his victorious camp of Pataliputra, for the support of a Hindu temple, in which an idol, *Narayana*, had been duly installed by the chief of his feudal lords, named Narayana Varma. It was accidentally discovered by a Mahomedan cultivator in 1890, in ploughing a paddy-field at the northern extremity of a village named Khalimpur, situated within the ruins of Gauda, and was purchased and published by Mr. Batabyal.‡ He, however, fell into the error of supposing this inscription to have been the record of a grant in favour of a Brahman, named Bhatta Narayana, the reputed author of a Sanskrita drama, the *Venisamhara*.§ Dharmapala does not appear to have actually resided in Gauda; but the temple of *Narayana* might have been in the vicinity of the ruins where the plate was discovered.

The first copper-plate inscription of Devapala, discovered "among some ruins at Mungher," was translated by Sir Charles Wilkins in 1781,‖ which gives us an account of Dharmapala, who is said to have "died in an expedition against the infidels." Devapala appears to have held his court at Mungher. His name occurs incidentally in a Buddhist inscription, discovered in Bihar, in which he is credited with extensive conquests, which were carried as far as Vindhya, Kamboja and Cape Comorin.¶ The pillar-inscription of Bhatta Gurava, however, ascribes the success of this prince to the policy of his minister, Darvapani Misra.** We have in this connection another ancient record, a copper-plate grant of Narayanapala, known as the Bhagalpur-plate, which was translated and published by the late Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra.†† This inscription bears evidence of Bhatta Gurava having been the minister of Narayanapala. It was a royal grant in favour of a Hindu temple, though erroneously interpreted by the learned Doctor as a grant in favour of two Brahmans.‡‡

* The Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. III.

† मात्स्यन्यायमपोहितुं प्रकृतिभिर्लक्ष्म्याः करग्राहितः ।

‡ J. A. S. B, Vol. LXIII, Part I.

§ This error has since been pointed out in my Journal, the *Aitihasika chitra*, Vol. I.

‖ The Asiatic Researches, Vol. I.

¶ The Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. III.

** आरेवाजनकान्मतङ्गजमदस्तिम्याच्छिला संहतरागौरीपितुरीश्वरीन्दुकिरणैः पुष्यत् शितियोगिरेः।मार्तण्डास्तमयोदयारुणजलादावारिराशीद्वयात् नीत्या यस्य भुवं चकार करदां श्रीदेवपालो नृपः ॥

†† The Indo-Aryans, Vol. II.

‡‡ The error has since been pointed out in my Journal, the *Aitihasika chitra*, Vol. I.

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Dharmapala is herein described as the conqueror of Indraraja. He had a brother named Vakpala and two sons Devapala and Jayapala. Dr. Rajendra Lala erred in taking Devapala and Jayapala as sons of Vakpala and not of Dharmapala. Jayapala is said to have conquered the kings of Orissa and Pragjyotisha (Assam). The name of Devapala occurs also in the books of genealogy preserved by the *Rarhi* Brahmans of Bengal who assign to him a place after Adisura.*

Vigrahapala appears, from the inscription of his son, to be credited with nothing special except that he was "enemy-less from birth."† Kedar Misra, father of Bhatta Gurava, is said to have been the minister of one Surapala. It is difficult to say whether Surapala was only another name of Vigrahapala or that of a different prince. According to the pillar-inscription, this Surapala conquered Orissa, Dravida and Gurjara. We have now in the ancient territory of Paundravardhana no visible monument of the *earlier* Pala kings besides this pillar of Bhatta Gurava.

The last of the *earlier* Pala kings does not also appear to have resided in Bengal. The Bhagalpur-plate places his capital, like that of his grandfather's, at Munger, which is found inscribed in its Sanskrita form, *Mudgagiri.*† Thus, we have hitherto discovered no authentic proof of any of the *earlier* Pala kings actually holding his court in Bengal. None of them, except Dharmapala, has hitherto been proved to have made any grant of rent-free lands in Bengal, from which his actual occupation might be inferred. Once only under Dharmapala, the Pala dynasty appears to have annexed Bengal to their kingdom of Magadha, but the capital seems to have been still in Pataliputra. The Palas were, thereafter, gradually driven east-ward by the kings of Kanouj, which obliged them to maintain their capital at Munger, at least from the time of Devapala to that of Narayanapala, as is evident from these royal grants. This fits in well with the tradition recorded in the books of genealogy preserved by the *Varendras*, according to which Adisura established a Hindu kingdom, with its capital at Gauda, after defeating a king of the Pala dynasty.‡ The defeat and death of Dharmapala in an expedition against the infidels, and the non-residence of his successors, down to Narayanapala, in Gauda lend some support to the tradition of the *Varendras* that the Sura-dynasty flourished during this time.

The existence of a Sura-dynasty has been ignored by the erudite Dr. Rajendra Lala, without raising or meeting any of these considerations. He supposed, without any apparent reason, that Adisura was only another name or title of Bira Sena, the ancestor of the Sena kings of Bengal; and accordingly discarded the *Varendra* books of genealogy as unreliable, and placed the Sena-dynasty earlier on the throne of Gauda.§ Although we have as yet discovered no ancient inscription to establish the existence of Adisura, we have on the other hand no tangible record to disprove it.

Of Adisura and his dynasty our information is limited to traditions preserved in these genealogical writings, which have been handed down from generation to generation, at least for several centuries. According to these books of the *Varendras* their ancestors came from Kanouj to the court of Adisura at Gauda, at a time when the royal city used to be watered by the holy Ganges.‖

There is still visible a trace of this old channel, through which the Ganges once flowed by the S. W. of the northern district of the ruins of Gauda. The shapeless ruins, locally ascribed to the fort and palace of Ballala, might have been the site of the city which Adisura had for his capital. The territory to the north of the Ganges (locally called Padma) was still known to be the ancient *Paundravardhana-bhukti*, which according to the tradition of the *Varendras*, first came to be called *Varendra* after the name of one of the successors of Adisura, named Varendrasura. These Sura kings are said to have been Kshatriyas of the lunar race, who inaugurated a Hindu revival in Bengal, after it had been relieved of a Buddhist rule, during which Bengal, along with Anga, Kalinga, Saurastra and Magadha used to be considered *impure* by the Brahmans who prescribed a rigorous purification ceremony for a Hindu traveller visiting these lands for purposes other than those of a holy pilgrimage.¶

* J. A. S. B. Vol. LXIII. Part I.
† The Indo Aryans, Vol. II.

‡ तत्रादिशूरः शूरवंश सिंहो,
विजित्य बौद्धं नृपपालवंशम् ।
शशास गौड़ं दितिजान् विजित्य
यथा सुरेन्द्रस्त्रिदिवं शशास ॥

§ The Indo Aryans, Vol. II.

‖ "सुरसरिद्वधौतं यान्ति गौड़ं मनोज्ञम् ।"

¶ "अङ्गवङ्ग कलिङ्गेषु सौराष्ट्रे मगधे तथा ।
तीर्थयात्रां विना गच्छन् पुनः संस्कारमर्हति ॥"

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Bengal under the *earlier* Pala kings, had at least the western provinces in the vicinity of Mungher always under them, appears to have suffered for a time from anarchy and consequent neglect of the Vedic study, for which its reputation had been maintained down to the age of Jayanta. The pillar-inscription of Bhatta Gurava shows, however, the influence which the Brahmans retained with these Buddhist kings, with whom difference of religion does not appear to have been a disqualification in a Bengali Hindu for his aspiring to the highest offices of the realm. There was undoubtedly a spirit of toleration, which induced these Buddhist kings to grant rent-free lands for the support of temples of Hindu worship. The current theory of religious animosity between the Hindus and the Buddhists finds no support in the copper-plate inscriptions hitherto discovered in Bengal. In the absence of such evidence, it is unsafe to attribute uncharitable narrowness to a people, who otherwise made a great advancement in learning even in the midst of serious political troubles. The solitary monument, which bears this out, is the pillar of Bhatta Gurava, which deserves to be carefully preserved, although no attempt has as yet been made in this behalf.

There is a curious Sanskrita manuscript in the Mahomedan Mosque at Pandua, in which Mr. Batabyal detected a verse* which, according to him, gave 977 Saka year as the time when Ramapala died. As there was only one prince, who bore this name, among the Pala kings of Bengal, the manuscript evidently refers to Ramapala, father of Madanapala and son of Vigrahapala III. He stands *fourteenth* on the list, and is well-known in Bengal. His name was first noticed by Mr. Broadley, inscribed on the pedestal of a standing female statue discovered in Bihar, which purports to have been installed on the 28th day of Vaisakha, in the second year of the *fortunate reign*.† A biography of this prince, the *Ramacharitra*, has since been brought to light by Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Haraprasad Sastri, M.A.‡ Ramapala is the name of a village in East Bengal, which boasts of ancient ruins and traces of a capital said to have been founded by a king of that name. Madanapala, in his copper-plate inscriptions,§ mentions the name of *Ramavati* as that of his capital, situated on the flowing stream of the Ganges. Ramapala appears, from these ancient records, to have actually resided in Bengal, and exercised sovereign authority from East Bengal to Bihar. He died in the Saka year 977. The only other Pala king, who is equally well-known in Bengal, was Mahipala, whose name is connected with a tank, the *Mahipaladighi* in Dinajpur, which boasts of several interesting ancient ruins. But we have two Mahipalas on the list, which introduces an element of difficulty in fixing the time and identity of the person connected with the tradition still current in Bengal. *Ramacharitra* gives us the name of Mahipala II, but offers no clue to fix his time. The stone-inscription, discovered near Saranath in Benares,‖ gives us the name of a Mahipala, who flourished about Samvat 1083 or 1026 A. D. There are various considerations to suppose that this refers to Mahipala I. The name of Mahipala occurs also in several inscriptions discovered in Buddha Gaya, Nalanda and Titawara,¶ showing beyond doubt his supremacy over Bihar. Although it is not easy to discover to whom these Bihar inscriptions referred, yet it may be safely taken for granted that as both princes of this name reigned before Ramapala, both of them were kings of Bihar, which formed a part of the empire under the Pala kings, at least down to the reign of Ramapala.

We find no trace of any ruins within the ancient territory of Gauda or Paundravardhana, connected with the name of any Pala king, besides Mahipala and Ramapala, although the names of their ancestors occur pretty frequently in ancient inscriptions in Bihar. This naturally leads us to the inference that no Pala king, before Mahipala II, actually came to reside in Bengal. An exception in favour of his father Vigrahapala may, however, be suggested by the inscription of Vigrahapala III, discovered at Amgachhi, in Dinajpur. The first capital in which any Pala king actually resided in Bengal appears thus to have been situated in Dinajpur, in *Paundravardhana-bhukti*, whence the seat of government was gradually transferred to East Bengal.

The name of Nayapala appears clearly

* शाके युग्मवेणुरन्ध्रगते कन्यांगते भास्करे,
कृष्णे वाक्पति वासरे यमतिथौ यामद्वये वासरे ।
जान्हव्यां जलमध्यतस्त्वनशनैर्ध्यात्वा पदं चक्रिणो,
हा पालान्वयमौलिमण्डनमणिः श्रीरामपालो मृतः ॥

† The Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. III. 124.

‡ Proceedings, A. S. B., March, 1900.

§ J. A. S. B. Vol. LXIX. Part, I.

‖ The Asiatic Researches, Vol. V.

¶ The Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. III.

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inscribed on a stone slab, now attached to the *Krishnadwarika* temple, in Gaya, which shows the inscription to have been executed in the *fifteenth* year of the reign. An interesting correspondence addressed to this prince by the celebrated Tibetan monk Atisa, who was at one time high priest of the Buddhist *Vihara* at Vikramasila, has now been brought to light. Mr. M. M. Chakravarti has fixed the time of Nayapala from these data in 1033 A. D.* While Atisa resided in Buddha Gaya, Nayapala's territory in Magadha and his royal city were attacked and besieged by the king of Karnya, who was eventually repulsed. Nayapala appears to have resided in Bihar. The Saranath-inscription may thus be considered to refer to Mahipala I, father of Nayapala. This leads me to suppose that Mahipala of Bengal fame was Mahipala II, son of Vigrahapala III, who, after the siege of the capital of his father in Bihar by the king of Karnya, might have been naturally induced to transfer the royal city to the inaccessible regions of Dinajpur, in North Bengal. The further shifting of the capital from North to East Bengal might similarly have heen due to cogent reasons, which have yet to be discovered. The rise of the Sena-Kingdom of Gauda seems to offer us some clue to such discovery.

The caste of the Sena kings was for a time a fruitful source of dispute among the Vaidyas and Kayasthas of Bengal, who vied with each other to claim the Senas as members of their respective castes. That they belonged to the lunar race of Kshatriyas was proved by several ancient inscriptions previously discovered in Bengal. This question has, however, been finally set at rest by the recent discovery of a copper-plate inscription found near Sirajganja, in Pabna, in which Lakshmana Sena Deva names his ancestors as Kshatriyas who hailed from Karnata.† Babu Prasannanarayana Chaudhuri, B. L., Government Pleader of Pabna, brought this to my notice, and with the kind permission of Mr. Surjakumar Agasti, M. A., Collector of Pabna, sent the plate for my inspection, which supported the reading deciphered by him. This plate not only settles the question of caste, but also that of the original home of the Sena kings of Bengal, which enable us now to explain some important observations made by Dr. Rajendra Lala regarding the introduction of the Sanskrita grammar of the *Mugdhabodha* school into Bengal. The learned Doctor, with the information then before him, could not make out how the grammar of Bopadeva, who lived in the Dekkana, came to occupy a stronghold in South Bengal, and affect the vigour of the *Panini* school, which alone was prevalent from ancient times.‡ In the absence of a better explanation, the learned Doctor accepted the less complicated system of the *Mugdhabodha* as a probable cause of its conquest in Bengal. The Sirajganja-plate now shows the route that the *Mugdhabodha* took in its journey from Dekkana to South Bengal, in the train of Kshatriya kings of Karnata, who came to rule over Bengal.

Although these *later* Pala kings were all Buddhists like their ancestors, yet we find their names respectfully used by Hindus in the inscriptions attached to their temples of worship. Madanapala is found actually making a grant of rent-free lands to a Brahmana, who recited the *Mahabharata* before the queen. The Pala kings were evidently popular with their Hindu subjects, whose religion appears to have been duly respected. The study of the Vedas and Smritis does not, however, appear to have flourished well during the Pala government. The establishment of a Hindu kingdom under the Sena-dynasty stands as an epoch of the revival of Hindu learning once again in Bengal. Books on the interpretation of Vedic *Mantras*, and *atonement* appear to have been written with a vigour, which animated even the Sena kings to use the pen along with the sword. But the study of the *Mahabhashya*, for which North Bengal enjoyed a great reputation in the past, appears to have been discontinued from this time, which occasioned the compilation of new commentaries on *Panini* to suit the requirements of non-Vedic studies.

AKSHAY KUMAR MAITRA.

* J. A. S. B. Vol. LXIX. Part, I.

†वंशे कर्णाटक्षत्रियाणामजनि कुलशिरेदामसामन्तसेनः ।

‡ Catalogue of Sanskrita Manuscripts.

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NOTES

The Recent Congress.

One of the greatest political events that have happened to us was the recent division of the Congress, and now that passions have been somewhat lulled and arguments died into silence, it may be worth while to consider quietly what has really happened. To begin with, we may as well state frankly that the distress and self-depreciation with which many people speak of the violence by which the event in question was accompanied, cause some of us more shame than that violence itself. Of course, we are neither apologists for, nor advocates of, internal strife, violence, rowdyism, obstructionism or irregular procedure. These we unhesitatingly and emphatically condemn. We hold that the work of the National Congress can and ought to be done with becoming gravity, sobriety and self-restraint. But what we do say is that we are not more wanting in these virtues than other nations, and that the recent rupture is not at all fatal to our hopes and aspirations. Why should all the Parliaments in the world suffer from occasional scrimmages, without losing their right to be considered fit for self-government, and not the Indian? Why should young blood not boil, and fists be clenched (rightly or wrongly it does not concern us here to discuss) with us, as with others? No, no, a man is a man, even in India! This great self-depreciation, modesty and regret, are somewhat too lady-like, to our thinking. If they be sincere, they are womanish: if insincere, overdone

We dislike the terms 'moderate and extremist'. To our thinking, there is but one party in Indian politics, and that is the nationalist party. Nor do we see, in the history of the Surat Congress, any reason to change our opinion. The differences between the two resultant bodies are mere differences of method. And these are easily explained. All statesmen have to determine between rival parties and convictions as to which is, in their personal opinion, a survival from the past, and which a prophecy of the future. In the present case, it would be quite impossible, to our thinking, to be in any doubt on this point.

We have always held that except on one or two points, the two sections of the nationalist party hold the same principles in common. They are not to be judged by their worst adherents, but by the noblest. Violence and vilification are no more inherent in 'extremism' than timidity, flunkeyism and want of faith in the nation, in the principles of the 'moderates.'

Readers of the *Modern Review* are familiar with the statement that India has had democratic Government fully developed in her society since a period before the birth of Europe as we know her. Parliamentary Government, so far from being something strange and unfamiliar to her, is one of her own most deeply ingrained institutions. Her only misfortune is that she has confined its use almost exclusively to the social sphere, with little reference to what modern times regard as the political. In the social sphere, the maintenance of family integrity is a sacred duty: in the political, it is of vastly greater importance that the whole community should be made articulate. Now we may perhaps be forgiven, if we express the opinion that by the division of the Nationalist party into two sections, the cause of Indian Nationalism may double its area for political experience, while the Congress as the voice of the Indian People may gain vastly in efficiency, energy and sincerity, *if* the two sections do not waste their energy in mutual recrimination, but devote themselves to the awakening of the national consciousness, the organisation of the strength of the nation, the sanitation of towns *and villages*, and the provision of food for the minds and bodies of the people. We know that personal ambition and self-interest give rise to quarrels. But sterling patriotism, whose fire it ought to be the aim of every one of us to kindle in our hearts, leads to self-effacement and devoted service. It is the servants of the people who are in all ages and climes their true leaders. Neither a glib tongue, nor sophistry, nor a facile pen, can secure the homage of adoring hearts. It is service alone that places the crown of leadership round the brows of the self-dedicated patriot. If there is to be any rivalry at all, let it be for leadership of this description.

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Political struggle has never been all smooth sailing in any country. Everywhere the political horizon has been occasionally overcast with storm-clouds. In India there was the danger of too easy and glib a political method rushing the people over-quickly on self-satisfaction, and preventing their development of that intensity which only comes of the sense of struggle. That danger seems no longer to exist. We are now only on the threshold of the struggle, internal and external. Let us eliminate the unworthy and the merely personal elements from the struggle, and strive manfully and devotedly for the Motherland, never forgetting that a want of uniformity is not want of unity.

Police hooliganism in Mymensingh.

Ever since Sir Bampfylde Fuller received his mandate to hammer the people of East Bengal, to bring them back to their senses, the blessed work of hammering has gone on in some district or other of that province. Now, it is the turn of the town of Mymensingh.

Man proposes, but God disposes. Government hammers the people to *break* the back of nationalism, but the actual result has been, and will ever be, to hammer the people into shape and solidarity as a nation.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi and other Passive Resisters.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi, the well-known Indian leader of the Transvaal, with many others of his way of thinking, have been sent to jail for not registering themselves according to the notorious anti-Asiatic regulations of that colony. All honour to these sturdy patriots. May we be able to follow their example in thousands, when the occasion comes !

Japan and India.

REMARKABLE SPEECH BY COUNT OKUMA.

'From the Far East an account of a remarkable speech delivered by Count Okuma before the Kobe Chamber of Commerce has been received by Reuter. According to the statement, which is taken from the Kobe "Herald," Count Okuma said : "You can go everywhere with ease and pleasure under the protection of the Japanese fleet. Being oppressed by the Europeans, the three hundred million people of India are looking for Japanese protection. They have commenced to boycott European merchandise. If, therefore, the Japanese let the chance slip by and do not go to India, the Indians will be disappointed. If one will not take gifts from Heaven, Heaven may send one misfortune. From old times India has been a land of treasure. Alexander the Great obtained there treasure sufficient to load one hundred camels, and Mahomet and Attila also obtained riches from India. Why should the Japanese not stretch out their hands towards that country, now that the people are looking to the Japanese ? The Japanese ought to go to India, the South Ocean, and other parts of the world." '—*London Daily News, December 23rd*, 1907.

It is not often that we shall hear so honest an avowal as is contained in this extract, of the real aims and intentions of Japan. From old times India has been a land of treasure. Alexander the Great obtained there treasure sufficient to load one hundred camels. There is here none of the homage which vice pays to virtue. Even hypocrisy, though we knew it to be hypocrisy, would have a greater decency than this, the clear loud call from the head of the pack. The Japanese ambassador in London was referred to before publication, for his comment on Count Okuma's speech, and he answered that it referred only to trade interests. It will be strange indeed if Englishmen can accept this explanation. A speech which referred to trade interests only, founds all its sanction,—not on South Sea or Chartered enterprises, not on the history of factories or merchant colonisations, but—on Alexander the Great, on Mahomet and on Attila. Comment would be superfluous.

The English are alone in Europe in being blind to the aims of Japanese foreign policy. To hold Asia is the answer that springs to the lips of a French statesman when questioned as to what is the true intention of Japan. Provided, however, the alliance with the Muhammadan Powers do not come about, Japan may seem to Europeans a menace to laugh at. Certain it is that should English policy drive the people of any Asiatic country into a despairful acceptance of the Japanese, the people of that land would ever after have cause to curse the day. If we want to know what are likely to be the methods of Japanese rule, it is well that we should keep our eyes upon Korea. Here is a brief statement by Yoon, a Christian delegate, published in the *Review of Reviews* for December :

"Japan has exploited us for her own benefit. She has flooded the country with the worst of her own people. She has dispossessed our people of their lands, and she has substituted Japanese for Koreans in the Administration. Wherever there was any money to be gained, she is acting as a blood-sucking vampire, rather than as a friend and protector.

"You make an ideal picture of Japan civilising Korea, educating the people, and developing the material resources of the country. But we in Korea know that Japan is doing none of these things. She is doing nothing but plunder the country, and making bitter enemies of the people. I do not deny that there are good Japanese officials. But they seem to be powerless to control the lawless militarism of the soldiery and the unscrupulous greed of the riffraff of adventurers whom they have let loose on our unfortunate country."

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What we ought to do, is to put these two extracts, from the Japanese politician's speech and from the Korean convert, side by side, and consider them. Thereby, undoubtedly, hangs a tale.

Wanted—a new theory of economics.

What is urgently wanted in our country is a new theory of economics, based on something else than the shop-keeper's estimates. This we look to the National Education movement to work out and supply. The greatest number of people, kept in the greatest prosperity, and manifesting the highest kinds of happiness, would seem a truer standard of the success of a civilisation than that of the organisation of the market, which is apparently all that we know at present. *National* well-being is a more complex conception than that of financial self-interest in relation to the two processes of distribution and consumption merely. And this is beginning to be felt in England itself. An old-fashioned man like Mr. Stead, does not, of course, understand it. He fancies that 'nationalism as a means to internationalism' is a political idea. Therefore 'we take all that for granted.' 'We got past all that long ago!' Poor man! The hungry workmen, gathering round socialist orators at street corners, and in the parks, could teach him better. They understand, however dimly, that the real problem of England to-day is to set about restoring the English idea, the old English life—just as the Indian problem is to restore the Indian life. They understand that the massing of men in cities, round factories, and the drafting of labour into armies for the imperial frontiers, till the English country stands starving and untilled, is **not** nationalism, even though the political phylacteries be worn broad upon the brow and recognised in the ports of other lands. They suspect that a day is coming when there will be neither Radicals nor Conservatives in England, but only Imperialists and Socialists, and that then the great battle of the Many against the Few will be gained and a more terrible Revolution than that of Paris 100 years ago, inaugurated.

System of National Education.

England is the last country in Christian Europe in which Government did any thing to support popular education. Lecky writes:—

"It is a remarkable fact that during the whole of the eighteenth century the task of educating the English poor, as far as it was undertaken at all, was left to the different religious denominations, and to the benevolence of individuals and voluntary associations without the smallest assistance from the Government. The old law which forbade the opening of any school without the licence of a bishop, though still in force, had become obsolete; but if the Government did not impede, it at least did nothing whatever to support education. * * * *

"The fact is especially remarkable when we remember how eminently the eighteenth century was a century of extending knowledge, and how large a place education held in the thoughts of legislators on the Continent. As early as 1717, Frederick William I. had issued an edict making education compulsory in Prussia, and not less than seventeen hundred schools for the poor are said to have been established in Prussia during his reign. Frederick the Great energetically pursued the same policy, and some years before the outbreak of the French Revolution, there were laws in almost every little German State, obliging parents to send their children to schools which had been established under the direction of ecclesiastics. * * The writings of Rousseau, and in the last years of the century, the example and system of Pestalozzi, had given an immense impulse to the cause of education throughout the Continent.

"But in England this movement appears for a long time to have been entirely unfelt and the first traces of a revived interest in education seem to be due to the religious movement. * * * *

"The establishment of any real system of secular national education in England belongs altogether to the nineteenth century, for although the systems of Bell and Lancaster were brought before the English public in 1797 and 1798, nothing was yet done to put them into action. About the same time, Malthus, following in the steps of Adam Smith, urged in impressive language the extreme national importance of a general system of popular instruction; the scandal and the danger of leaving the education of the lower classes to a few Sunday schools, directed and supported by private individuals. For a long time, however, these warnings were little attended to. The deep and honorable distrust of all encroachments of Government, which was characteristic of Englishmen in the eighteenth century, has produced many advantages, but often at a heavy price. Part of that price has been that England until very lately had no system of national education at all comparable with that of many continental nations, or at all worthy of her own place among civilised Powers."*

"The experience of the nineteenth century has abundantly shown that no nation can hold its own in the great competition of the world without a high standard of education, and that such a standard cannot possibly be attained without a large measure of Government direction and assistance. Hence this vast field of activity, which was formerly left to individual initiative or to ecclesiastical organisations, has become one of the chief pre-occupations of statesmen, and over the greater part of Europe immense sums are compulsorily raised in order to establish efficient education under the direct control and superintendence of the State."†

*Lecky's History of England in the Eighteenth Century, Vol. VII. Pp, 354—357.

† Lecky, Vol. VII., p. 311,

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

The Creed of a Lay Man. By Frederick Harrison (Macmillan & Co., London).

Among modern contributors to the periodicals of the day Mr. Harrison's name stands second to none. There is a certain distinction about his writings that is seldom met with elsewhere. Though Mr. Harrison has mostly dealt with the burning topics of contemporary society, though his pen has been engaged on subjects which some may deem of only transient importance, yet the way he has handled them will continue to delight the reader long after the colour and interest lent by the passing hour have vanished. Apart from the brilliant style, apart from the "carved ivories" of phrase, apart even from the fact that he speaks out straight what is in his mind, which in itself is a great thing in an age which owing to an abnormal multiplication of newspapers can boast of no outstanding literary feature that may be called golden, there is in Mr. Harrison's written pieces and addresses what we must prize most, an intensity of vigilance not to allow any of the noble aims which have animated him to undergo "the world's base coinage."

What these lifelong aims and ideals have been, and how they have shed a rosy warmth over his inner spirit, can very clearly be known from a superficial and even perfunctory glance at the contents of the volume which takes its name from an article contributed to *The Nineteenth Century* in March, 1881. The book is a collection of essays and addresses which have appeared during the last twenty-five years (one paper dates back to 1860) in English and American Magazines, and opens with an autobiographical "introductory." "There is nothing," says Mr. Harrison, "I know, in any way sensational, spasmodic, or original in this plain tale, and in these days it is too likely to be looked on as dull, stale, common-place and so forth. How can there be anything at all exciting about so regular and calm a development of thought?.....It happens to have been my lot to have been born and bred in a sacerdotal church, to have been saturated as a student with orthodox theology, to have had till full manhood a heartwhole attachment to the sacerdotal ritual and a reasoned faith in the Christian creeds; and then, by very gradual and regular transitions to have settled down in middle age into that Positive Religion wherein I find, as my life closes round me in old age, such perfect peace, such joyful anticipations of a life to come."

It is indeed, a simple tale simply told and there is certainly nothing of the psuedo-picturesque nor any meretricious glitter about his spiritual progress as Mr. Harrison uses each time-worn formulary of conduct like a stepping-stone passing at last into a realm of unspeakable harmony. One, however, wishes that Mr. Harrison before achieving his ultimate triumph had fought against the storm more strenuously—that his soul had felt deeper marks, the result of silent but unceasing struggle with the forces of Doubt and Dejection before rising to the height of restful peace and placid joy. There is nothing in the record here of the ancient Roman Emperor's intimate questionings, still agitated, still "stretching out his hands for something beyond," in spite of rigorous self-restraint, deliberate practice of cheerfulness, stern conformity with Divine Ordinances and stoical endurance of the ills of life;—nothing of the modern English poet's bitter cry as, when one after another all sorts of moral support and religious consolation prove to be vain mockeries amidst the desolate havoc wrought by death, he falls bleeding on the world's great altar-stairs faintly twisting the larger hope. It is an undeviating march from point to point, and as the pilgrim proceeds, through paths not steep nor frore, onward, the voices of the old gods and oracles grow dim and are finally drowned in the new jubilant tide of life, "superhuman hopes and ecstacies," he exclaims, "have slowly taken form in my mind as practical duties and indomitable convictions of a good that is to be."

We may not venture within the space allowed to talk of the philosophical and scientific aspects of Positivism. The more so as it will be an unprofitable digression. We shall, therefore, conclude this necessarily incomplete review by quoting a few passages which explain the main object of the movement whose guiding spirit Mr. Harrison was right down to 1902, and which here and there touch upon some of the problems that are agitating the Indian mind to-day.

The Commemorations, Pilgrimages, Sacraments and the Initiation, Destination, Marriage and Burial Services which have each a separate chapter, will naturally remind one of Professor Huxley's famous epigram, that Positivism is only Catholicism *minus* Christianity, and has its own gigantic fetish. But Positivism in Mr. Harrison's language is at once a philosophy, polity, and a religion, all three harmonised by the idea of a Supreme Humanity—all three concentrated on the good and progress of Humanity. "Positivism is the first attempt," he continues, "to appeal to human nature synthetically—that is to regard man as equally a logical being, a practical being, and a religious being so that his thought, his energy, his devotion may all coincide in the same object. . . Positivism with one hand, has to carry to its furthest limits that abandonment of the supernatural and theological filed

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which marks the last hundred years of modern thought and yet with the other hand, it has to stem the tide of materialism and anti-religious passion, and to assert for religion a far larger part than it ever had, even in the ages of theocracy and sacerdotalism. The essence of Positivism is to make religion permeate every human action, thought and emotion." In "The Creed of a Lay Man" which lends its title to the book, Mr. Harrison makes the Positivist's position quite clear explaining how the new system is a perfect scheme for bringing "belief, discipline, worship" really into line, and training this consolidated force to bear on Life and Society. He warms with his subject and ends his arguments thus :—"In Humanity human life meets and rests at last. Science and philosophy by it become human, moral, co-ordinated. Devotion becomes rational and practical. Art becomes religious, social, creative. Industry becomes beneficent, unselfish, ennobling. Politics become a public duty and not an ignoble game. Education becomes a rational preparation for a true life. Religion becomes the bond of spirits within, and of multitudes without... And so the whole human race slowly after centuries puts off the habit of War, as it has put off the habit of slavery, and becomes conscious of the vast Brotherhood whose mission is to people and to improve this Planet."

The address on *Destination* delivered on the occasion of an English Consul's outgoing journey to Japan contains many vivid passages which have a direct bearing upon more than one side of modern public life and of Europe's political relations with the other nations of the earth.

"It has been the special care of the Positivist movement to insist on the claims of justice and social morality in these great issues between the white and the coloured races. . . . To the historic consciousness of the human creed, the beliefs of these strange races of Asia and of Africa are not vile, superstitious and degrading falsehoods, but the survivals of ancient and noble to realise the essence of of religious truth. To us their civilisation is not contemptible, their worship not ludicrous, their traditions not mockeries, their beliefs not lies. They are the reflections of one of the great phases through which the human race has passed in its complex development, phases which still retain very much of what we ourselves in the van of progress have lost, or forgotten or sacrificed. In India, in China, in Japan we find remnants of a poetry, an art, a devotion, a justice, a gentleness, a purity, a dignity, a humanity in fact which we know we cannot always see in the smoke and din of our great cities."

Lower down Mr. Harrison says:—

"The faith of Humanity is wide enough and deep enough to embrace in its sympathy all forms of the substantive religion of mankind, it goes forth to expand till they become commensurate with human nature, to extirpate and to denounce none. The West must be just to the East and the East must know the West; and West and East must meet, like the elder and the younger brother in the family of Humanity, and not again as master and slave, as oppressor and victim."

In spite, however, of the splendid promise which Positivism in its widest scope holds out, one rises from the perusal of the book with a sense that it is a creed which will appeal to a certain kind of temperament only—to those men who are seldom haunted by the thought that anything is amiss or awry in the scheme of life, which needs, as Omar Khayam says, to be shattered and remoulded to our hearts' desire—that we are at times the wanton sport of an eyeless destiny, that there are moments when it seems that some grim sorcerer from an invisible vantage-ground rouses, with words of relentless doom, the fury of the winds and gathers the clouds of thunder and darkness over our devoted heads, wiping out one by one, the sparks of light and hope. The Positivist cult has nothing to say to people with the attitude of mind which feeling dissatisfied with earthly meat and drink longs to escape out into other realms. To them the religion of humanity will come with a certain chill dreariness, making the world look like "a sanctuary with no Presence to hallow it, and heaven left lonely of a God." (Myers.)

HIRA LAL CHATTERJI.

Ghazipur.

HINDI.

Hindi Bhasha ki utpatti—It is a small book on the origin of Hindi by Pandit Mahabir Prasad Dwivedi and published by the Indian Press, Allahabad. Though not the first of its kind it may claim the foremost position so far as regards the systematic arrangement of up-to-date matter and the clear methodical way in which it has been dealt with. Pains have been taken to render its pages intelligible to readers of ordinary intelligence. In some places the writer is even over-anxious to be understood. The author, in the preface, alleges his information to have been derived from the Census Reports of 1901, Reports of the Liguistic Survey, the New Imperial Gazetteer and a few other books, and expresses his indebtedness to Dr. Grierson.

The book is divided into five chapters corresponding to the various stages through which the Aryan speech has passed, *viz.*—(1) Early stage (2) Later stage (3) Prakrit stage (4) Corrupt stage and (5) Modern stage. Great stress, however, is laid upon the points (a) that Hindi is not derived from the literary or refined Sanskrit but owes its origin to Prakrit which sprang into existence along with the literary Sanskrit and was not a dialectic degeneration from it; (b) that the dialect of Behar has more to do with Bengali than with Hindi.

Although Mr. Dwivedi cannot be held absolutely responsible for the opinions contained in the book yet he ought to have expreseed his own independent views on some points at least. He has, however, not failed to point out that he may at any time be called upon by further researches and investigations to modify the views contained in the book.

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Notwithstanding the merits of the book we cannot help coming across some odd features. Arabic and Persian words have been used where pure Hindi words would have served the purpose equally well or rather better. The position of literary Sanskrit ought to have been more clearly defined and its incapacity to give birth to any subsequent dialect or Prakrit more fully set forth, for, as we are accustomed to think, a literary language is but one out of many dialects. Further we draw the attention of the writer to page 43, line 12, where Prakrit has been divided into Eastern and Western branches, and ask whether the name Pali (p. 44) has been given to the Eastern branch or the entire Prakrit of the period. If the former be the case, how does Sauraseni take its rank first as an offshoot of Pali (p. 44, Line 5) and then also as a principal branch of Western Prakrit (P. 46, line 9). The point ought to be made clearer.

Another point about which we have to differ from the author is the praises that he so profusely showers on the U. P. Government for introducing the new series of vernacular books. They are printed in two different characters, but the language of both of them is the same with slight differences. A language cannot be made by the commands of a ruler. Hindi is Hindi and Urdu is Urdu and the two can never become one so long as they are continued to be written in different characters. It would have been more legitimate for the Government to first simplify the language of its courts and publications, before forcing upon the people a language which will leave the student of both Hindi and Urdu as unfit to understand the classical works in both the languages as he was in the beginning. We commiserate the Government for this mischievous attempt and are surprised that a scholar like Mr. Dwivedi should have thought fit to praise the action of the Government.

But there are drawbacks which do not bulk largely in our eyes, and it is but fair to say that Mr. Dwivedi has placed the Hindi reading public under a deep obligation and his work is a valuable addition to the stock of Hindi Literature.

Bal Niti Mala—The stock of books for children in Hindi is extremely poor, hence any suitable addition to it is at once welcome. The book before us is a collection of precepts from various well-known Sanskrit works by P. Ramjee Lal Sharma and is the 5th of the "Balsakhámala" series of the Indian Press. It embodies select precepts of Chanakya, Bidur, Shukra and Kanika, which are intended to serve as useful guides in the various walks of human life. The words of Bidur and Kanika are addressed to the blind king Dhritarashtra. The book being written in a clear and easy style, may well serve the purpose for which it is intended. The writer deserves every praise for this valuable compilation.

Larkon ka khel—or children's play, edited by some members of the Nagari Pracharini Sabha and published by the Indian Press, Allahabad. The object of the book as indicated by its title, is to awaken an interest in little children in the Hindi Alphabet. We are glad to admit that the object has been substantially fulfilled. The pages dealing with the Hindi Alphabet are so arranged that each page contains (with a few exceptions) two sets of pictures each of which has a letter of the Alphabet placed below it and a descriptive line commencing with that letter. The chief admirable peculiarity is that these two lines rhyme well read together. The subjects of the pictures are really very amusing, being taken from familiar objects and favourite games of little children. The book will prove very useful in directing the minds of little children towards study.

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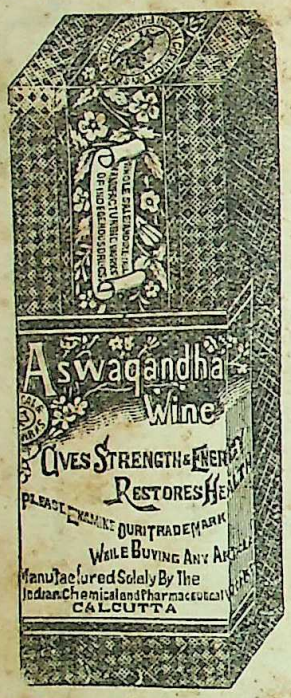

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Do. III—Vaidika Grammar, pages 247.

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THE MODERN REVIEW

A Monthly Review and Miscellany

Edited by Ramananda Chatterjee

MARCH, 1908

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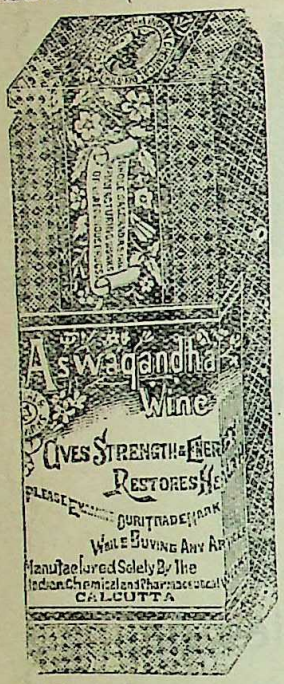

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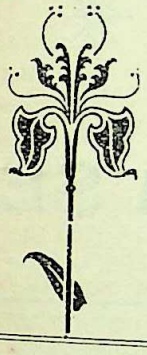

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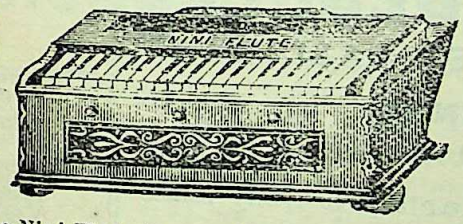

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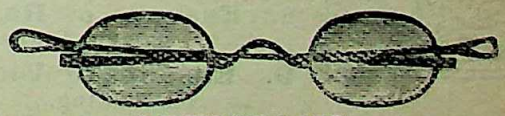

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THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. III MARCH, 1908 No. 3

INDIAN NATIONALITY

THE subject which has been given to me looks like a very limited one, but, in reality, it opens the floodgates, and I cannot embark without being carried on by it into the main stream. The very word 'Nationality' determines that; and the phrase 'Indian Nationality' indicates, beyond all question, the greatest and most far-reaching problem on this planet to-day.

The late Lord Salisbury said that Great Britain won India by the sword, and that by the sword it must be kept. It was an absolutely un-English utterance. It falsifies every one of our cherished English traditions. We profess to abhor tyranny, but what is tyranny if it is not conquest by the sword, and the rule of the sword, against the people's will? Another of our cherished English traditions is respect for nationalities, and for nations 'rightly struggling to be free,' to use one of Mr. Gladstone's virile phrases.

The only alleged justification for violating these traditions is that we are necessary for the people we rule. But this is a dangerous and over flexible excuse, and may easily lead to any excess, as in Ireland, or as in South Africa where we deliberately compassed the destruction of two hopeful republics on the supposition that British rule would be an improvement: and so it comes to pass that English traditions and English egotism, or English sentiments and English interests, are apt to come into conflict.

We need not always put that conflict down to mere vulgar self-interest. There is the pride of capacity which almost amounts to a British sense, inducing the conviction that no one can regulate affairs like a Briton. Then there is the curious pride of ethics for which there is some ground, but which, to tell the truth, is often only that 'unctuous rectitude' which was satirized by Cecil Rhodes. And then there is that amazing pride of Religion which enthrones in us the conviction that unless Britons send Bibles and missionaries to India all its heathen population will go to hell. And the Britons' religion is 'fearfully and wonderfully made.'

Already, sympathetic English Christians are offering to Indian nationalists the Christian religion as its only hope of political advance. 'Either Christianity or else no effective Nationality,' says Canon Scott Holland; and Scott Holland is ardently in favour of Indian Nationality; but if you want it, he says, you must take our Christianity. That is a purple instance of our British egotism, made still more purple by the fact that it is Scott Holland's Christianity which Scott Holland thinks necessary for India's emancipation.

But there is a sense in which it is true that India and Indian Nationality want Christ; not the Christ of British creeds, but the ideal Christ of the human heart: the Christ who found his followers, not among scribes and pharisees, but among the fisher folk and the menials of an alien rule, ay! the Christ who dared to touch the leper, to give him of his sweeter life.

Yes, if India could come to Christ in that sense, and find him in the human heart of the lowest grade, because it is human, and in the socially despised and bodily unclean, and then set to work to heal and cleanse and uplift

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and educate, to equalize men and women in all the world's common affairs, that would indeed help to win Nationality, a Nationality that would mean both solidarity and salvation; and not all the power of this proud and grasping British race could hinder it.

But has it never occurred to these British Christians that God may be able, as Tennyson says, 'to fulfil Himself in many ways'? and that

> the whole round earth is every way
> Bound by gold chains about the feet of God?

If England has its Christ, has not India its Buddha, his kinsman and counterpart, whose life and teaching and inspiration are the replica of his? What India needs is the following up of its sense of the universality of the divine inspiration and guidance; and to this the Brahmo Somaj has shown the way by at least suggesting a universal Religion which finds the spiritual Christ active or dormant everywhere: a Religion which fully recognises the universal Brotherhood, just as the Vedantists, like the late Swami Vivekananda, recognized the universal Inspiration, and the profound truths which are common to all religions and find their justification, not because they are written in a book, but because they belong to the universal divine spirit and the universal human soul.

The founder of the Brahmo Somaj, Ram Mohun Roy, as much a man of practical affairs as a religious teacher, was a really great educational and social reformer, and the special note of his prophetic utterances was in reality the note of a patriotic Indian intent on rescuing India from the crushing effects of ignorance and the fatal barriers of caste. Keshub Chunder Sen, though essentially a mystic, swayed by varying degrees of illumination and varying emotions, yet had the root of the matter in him as a genuine reformer all round: and, if he centred in Religion, that was largely because Religion was the only subject open to him as reformer, though the mystic's temperament had much to do with his centering there. But, in the truest sense, he was a patriot whose universalism, both as to Religion and Nationality, ever inspired his teachings and his aims.

Indian Nationality, then: and let me offer a plea for it; not in my own words but in the words of that very Scott Holland who thinks it necessary to win Indian Nationality with the help of a variety of Christianity.

In a late number of *The Commonwealth*, he said:

> England is being faced, in her Eastern Empire, by a challenge which she has herself evoked, and yet which she is singularly reluctant to acknowledge. She has done everything in India to promote growth and change: and then, is disconcerted to find that things cannot remain exactly as they are. She has nourished and developed the mind and the imagination of her dark subjects: and then is startled to discover that they desire room and opportunity to exercise their new powers. She endows them with capacity and qualification for administration: and forgets to admit them to positions of responsibility. She teaches them History and Literature: and they by this means recover a knowledge of their own achievements in the past. She tells them the story of her own struggle for freedom and honour: and they learn the lesson so well that they resolve to win a liberty of their own. She puts them by Education in possession of themselves: and they draw the inevitable conclusion that they ought to be their own masters. She breaks up the torpor and stagnation of dead centuries, and kindles hopes, and rouses aspirations: and these demand fulfilment, and will not rest till they are realized.
>
> So it is that India is seething with the volcanic energy of Nationalism. The emotion may be vague in its outlines: but it is passionately intense. Somehow, India is to be for the Indians: it belongs to the dark, and not to the white race. It must find its soul through the native, and cannot take it from the alien conqueror. It has become aware of its own poetry; its own philosophy: its own history: its own culture: its own arts: its own qualifications: its own significance. The East is the East: and not the West. It has its own ideals: and they are as high and full and rich as any which Europe can bring them. It has its own destiny to work out: its own place to fill: its own conception of what Civilization means. Hindoos have their own religious ideas: their own spiritual movements: their own philosophy of life: and here they feel themselves to be masters, rather than pupils. They hold a secret, which the gross West can hardly avail to penetrate. They move freely in an intellectual atmosphere in which the Western mind finds it difficult to breathe.
>
> This is what Hindooism is, now, acutely conscious of. And why is it that an Englishman is so paralysed by a Nationalism of this sort? What else could he look for? He has poured out upon the East a Literature and a Civilization charged and steeped in the spirit of liberty. Did he imagine that it would not bear its proper fruit? * * * *
>
> Why then, does he stand there bewildered and indignant, muttering, 'I gave them law and order: I gave them drains: and roads: and bridges: and railways: and trams. I gave them everything that could make them feel comfortable and secure. What on earth do the ungrateful beggars want more?'
>
> What do they want? Why everything that an Englishman would want. They want to do for themselves what we have done for them. They want to do it in their own way, and not in ours. * * * *
>
> If they were white, an Englishman could not be blind to this inevitable craving for liberty. Why is it that he always finds it incomprehensible, when brown humanity turns out to be as human as he is? The critical hour has came, when he must open his eyes, and see. The facts compel this. The demand is being made: and can never, now, go back on itself.

This is all very serious, and just because it is serious it ought to be said, especially when

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it comes from a dignitary of St. Paul's Cathedral, and when we are told by a leading missionary (the Rev. C. F. Andrews, of Delhi) that the intellectual, strong, and independent men of India, 'who by their character and originality will be the leaders of the future,' are standing to-day, as the moulders of that future, in contrast to 'the learned Pundit poring over the Vedas or the subservient intellectual cringing for Government favours.'

There are, of course, grave difficulties in the way of anything like Indian Nationality, and it will not help to minimise them. Some of these difficulties have nothing to do with British decisions to-day. They are the legacies of yesterday. You cannot, even if you wished it, suddenly reverse the policy of generations, and abolish the machinery that has set the pace and determined the products of a hundred years. John Morley is right about that; but he need not talk about the aspiration for Nationality being crying for the moon, and he might usefully speak respectfully if not sympathetically of the patriotism which ought to be as honoured in an Indian as in an Englishman.

Mr. Morley might learn something from the American, Mr. Secretary Taft, who, at a late meeting in Boston, actually did contrast England's action in India with America's action in the Philippines. The Filipinos have only just been rescued from chaos, and yet Mr. Taft, on behalf of the American Government, says, 'What we wish to put into the mind of every Filipino is a knowledge of free institutions, of what their rights are, and how they can be maintained.' Contrast that with the jealous and grasping spirit of our British dealing with educated and enlightened India!

Let the difficulties be admitted; but let ideals also be admitted. Difficulties are dangerous only when ideals are despised; and I am convinced that the greatest difficulty of all is to be found in that ignorant or arrogant want of sympathy which chafes and hurts more than anything else.

One difficulty which perhaps impresses more than any other is the asserted fierce antagonism between the devotees of different religions. Everywhere it is said in England: 'If we withdrew, these religious fanatics would be at one another's throats.' There is much exaggeration in that. Hindoos and Mohammedans, for instance, can be far more in harmony than the newspapers would have us believe. Here is a straw on the stream which I saw only yesterday. After a most radical address at Mysore by Swami Abhedananda, in which he advocated the supremacy of national ideals, a Mohammedan noble effusively moved a vote of thanks expressly on the ground that this broad-minded Hindu had in reality found what was also at the heart of Mohammedanism. Then he said: 'If such is the teaching professed by a Hindu like the Swamiji and a Mohammedan like myself, why should I not call Swamiji a Mohammedan and myself a Hindu? Let me go a step farther and say, why should we not be both of one common religion? We are all one, though divided into multifarious individualities.' Why should not that feeling grow and prevail? It easily might under the influence and inspiration of a great nationalistic ideal.

But grant all that the newspapers tell us. What of it? It is a stage which every nation has had to pass through. We have had rival religionists and rival politicians at one another's throats in England; and to-day they are at one another's throats in Ireland; and sometimes, in a mild way, at one another's throats here: though practically we have passed that scarlet fever stage. Why? Simply because we have developed Nationality. We have curbed our kings, absorbed our nobles, cooled our priests, and united our common people. The House of Commons is our only civil battle-field, the voting paper of the polling booth is our only weapon, and the universal tax-payer, with his co-relative, representation, has drained away the pernicious slush of bloody strife: and it might be so in India.

What is wanted is the sense of responsibility, and the sharing of that responsibility by all orders of the people. A nation has to learn self-government just as it has to learn everything else: and nothing helps so much as to put the nation, the whole nation, in charge of its own destiny. It is as absurd to say that Nationality must not be granted until the people are quite fit to rule as it is to say that a man must not go into the water until he has learnt to swim.

But, at the same time, it is not reasonable to expect that such a rule as reigns in India should come to an end without conditions, without strong indications that the Nationality demanded has a nation behind the demand: and the first and clearest proof that there is a nation is the fact that there is unity: and it is to this that patriotic India should direct its attention. Swami Abhedananda, in the Address I just referred to, said of this:

'Go to foreign countries, absorb their best methods and introduce them into our land. One of these

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methods is the power of organization. This is the secret of their greatness. Separated individuals lose their strength, but united they become a tremendous power, united for a common cause. Can you all unite? Yes, you can. When a house is divided against itself, there can be no strength. It must fall. United efforts towards one ideal should be made. Learn how to obey leaders.'

Canon Scott Holland, in the Paper from which I have quoted, asked the keen question:

'How can the masses rise to the level that this new Nationalism demands? How can the distinctions of race and caste and religion that, now, deprive India of all corporate integrity resolve themselves into a single national movement? These are the problems that beset the rising men of Native India.'

That is the vital question. I, for one, believe that it can be hopefully answered. With the spread of real knowledge, the extravagances of religious isolations will dwindle: with advances in science, there will be a withdrawal of superstition: with the growth of common love of country there will come a clearer sense of native solidarity: and, above all, with a deeper sense of the sacredness of the common humanity, and the sanctity of ordinary working life, there will be a gradual disappearance of artificial sanctities and of all the dividing insolences of caste. What India wants is an emerging from her dreamy and unworldly moods into the open, for worldly service. She must take up her bed and walk.

It is difficult to say exactly what has been the matter with India. Perhaps we get somewhere near it if we say that she has been, in a sense, too religious, too other-worldly, too introspective. She has said of this world, 'It is an illusion'; of life's happenings, 'It does not matter'; of work and enterprise, 'It is vexation of spirit.' But she is awaking, and her mighty thoughts that accounted for her sleep will make great and fruitful her awaking. Presently, the nation will be to her at least as sacred as her gods, and citizenship will be at least as holy as a pilgrimage. Manhood as manhood, womanhood as womanhood, will be held to be supreme for social service; and Religion, the very highest form of Religion, will be at the helm of common things for the common good. What, after all, is the true end and aim of Religion? Is it not to lift the human to the divine for service? The blending of man with God that does not end in the service of God through man is pointless and wasteful. The clouds that form, and soar, and sail in the heavens, answer their true end only as they return to earth in fruitful showers. India must see God in the bazaars and the schools as clearly as at the altars and the shrines. She must esteem nothing nobler than manhood, nothing diviner than womanhood, and nothing more religious than service in helping on the common good.

I have sometimes thought that the East could better win this great human ideal than the West. The West is worldly and materialistic: the East is spiritual. It sees beyond appearances, it really understands and realizes the mighty truth of incarnations of the one Divinity. It has only got to be logical, and to lay strong hold of practical life, in order to see, in all things, the Divine; and to see, in all men and women, God.

The question has been asked whether ardently religious men and women should take part in the struggle for Indian Nationality. For my own part I should say—They first. It has been so in Great Britain where Religion always played a dominant part in hammering out our destiny; and this is especially true of Nonconformity, which in some respects stood and stands for that which the Brahmo Somaj represents, as an outside witness to universality. Here, in this island, it was the prophet versus the priest, the man versus the master, the conscience versus the creed, and the indwelling of the divine spirit versus the mere symbolism of a human ritual. So far as I know, the Brahmo Samaj, with all its pietism and mysticism, has been sound and solid as to these things, has always by a true instinct, stood for the practical and the universal—for the big, broad idealism of human Brotherhood, national responsibility, and political freedom.

But India wants all this applying to actual life, as secular knowledge and activity. She wants a great secular leader who shall be what Fielding Hall, in his new book, says Buddha was, 'the Darwin of the soul'; only that Darwin of the Soul should have a Keir Hardie for his administrating hand.

Yes, a Keir Hardie, but an Indian Keir Hardie. In fact, everything Indian: Indian history, Indian traditions, Indian dreams, the Indian spiritual atmosphere and fragrance, Indian self-help, Indian aspirations, Indian responsibility and your own beautiful Indian dress. I do not want this big British steam-roller to go over and to grind down everything.

They say India has learnt from English history something of its longing to possess itself, to find her soul. Well, then, let her also learn from England something of our ability and our willingness to pay the price for freedom.

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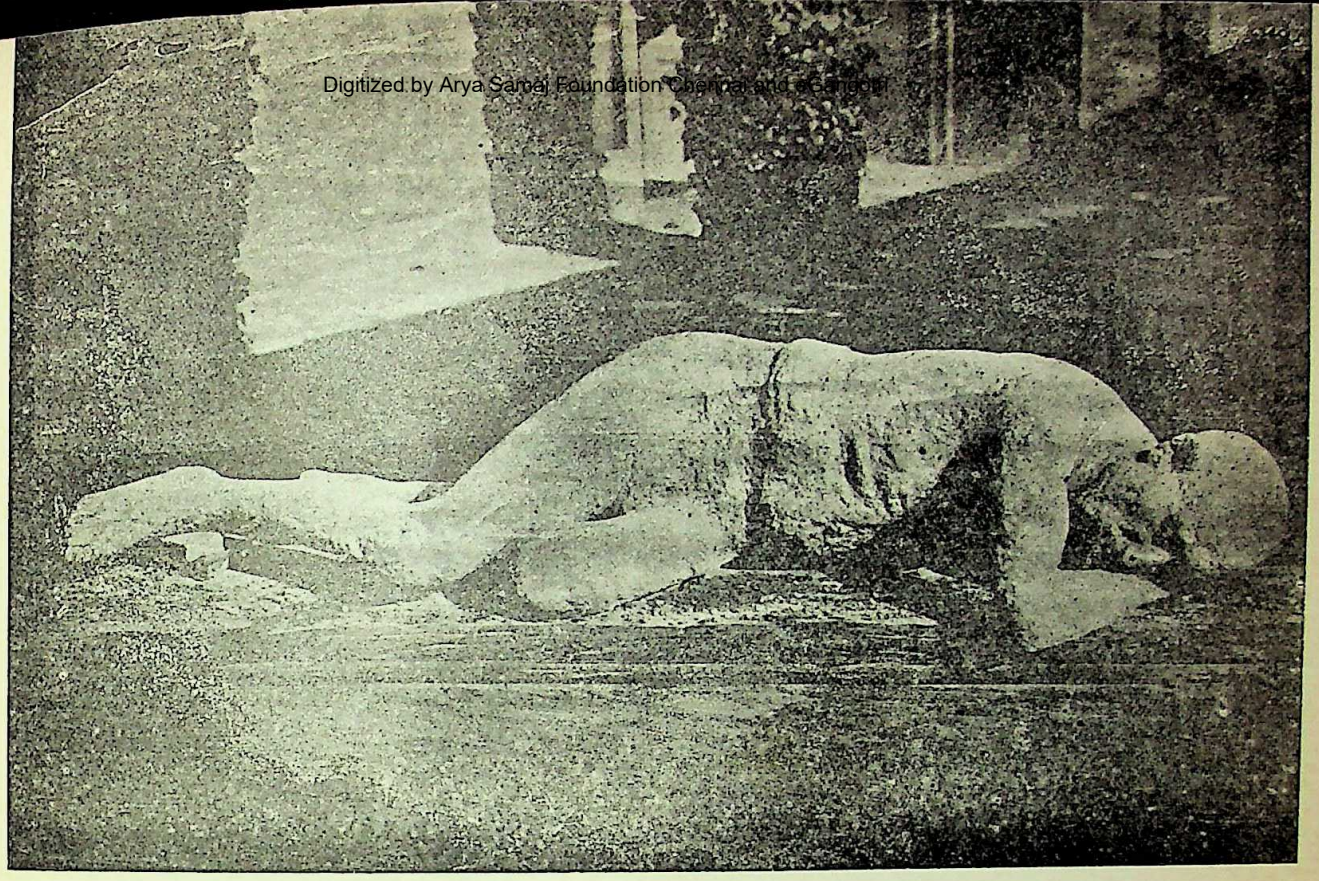
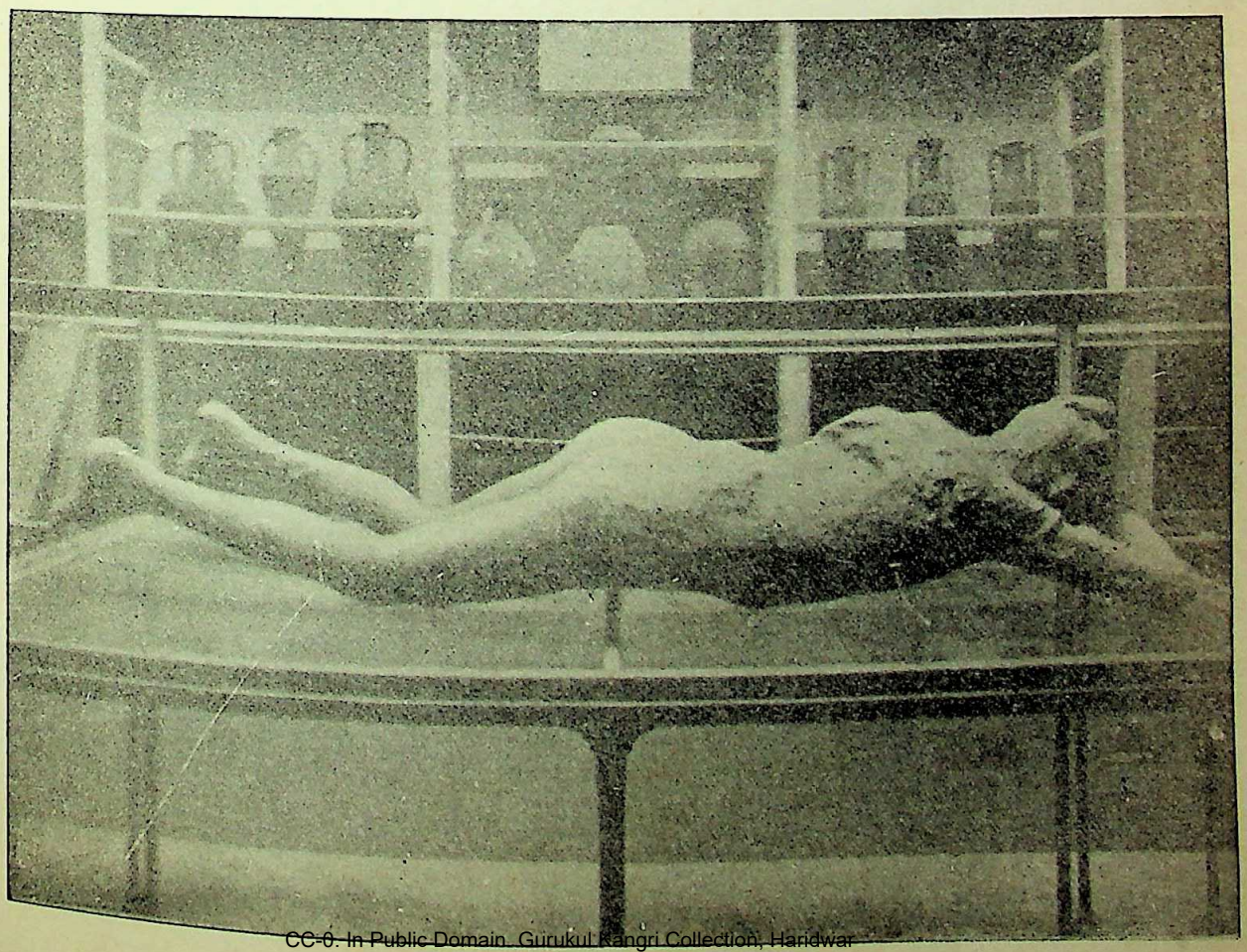


CAST OF A MAN.



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CAST OF A WOMAN IN THE MUSEUM.

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ARCH OF CALIGULA IN THE STREET OF MERCURY.

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STREET OF THE TOMBS,—POMPEII.

INDIAN PRESS, ALLAHABAD.

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She must oppose a brave and stubborn front to the browbeating of the strong. She must rise above mere personal advantages, and throw everything into the common stock for the good of all. She must call nothing 'common and unclean.' She must by courage and capacity earn her right to rule in her own house. She must, on the side of affairs, put science and education and work in the forefront of her struggle, and, on the side of religion, she must make communion with God mean the Brotherhood of Man.

An Address on "The Duty of the Brahmo Somaj with regard to Indian Nationality" given by J. Page Hopps to Members of the Brahmo Somaj and others, at Essex Hall, London, on the 25th of January, 1908.

THE CITY IN CLASSICAL EUROPE

A Visit to Pompeii.

It is after all, in the cities of classical Europe that we might expect to find the most perfect and unconfused expression of the civic sense. For *religion* meant to the Roman neither more nor less than the sum total of those institutions and ideas which serve as a binding-force, to unite together, *to tie together*, groups of men. Thus nothing was so vital to him, nothing was in so real a sense his *dharma*, his essential ideal, as his conception of the city-state. Even the Greek compared to him, was Asiatic, and theocratic. The Acropolis or the mausoleum, the university, the temple, or the tomb, far out-topped, in his case, the sanctity of court and market-place, of home and commune. But to the Roman, on the contrary, the open Forum,—built in a fashion not unlike that of an elongated mosque,—where citizens assembled to discuss public affairs, to hold meetings, and to celebrate festivals, the open Forum was at once the heart, brain, and lungs of the civic organism. Here men entered as citizens; here they heard the public news; here they made their political opinions felt. The Forum was at once an informal senate and a club, and it was the one essential feature that made the sum total of a group of buildings surrounded by walls, into that something more which we name a city.

Clearly, however, if we want to study the classical city in detail, the ideal means of doing so would be to discover one which had been arrested at that particular stage in its developments. Rome herself has become since then a city of priests and churches. She is the cradle of Christianity, not classical at all. Marseilles was never more than colonial, and is now post-mediæval and modern. By a strange catastrophe, however, which we dare not call good fortune even for archæologists, a catastrophe that happened one summer day more than eighteen hundred years ago, one such city has been preserved for us, under precisely these ideal conditions. It is now more than a hundred and fifty years since the long sleep of Pompeii, under the ashes of Vesuvius, was disturbed. From the 23rd of August in the year 79 A. D. till 1748, the peasant ploughed and reaped, gardens blossomed and orchards flourished, in the soil above the ancient streets, and none knew or dreamt of the awful drama that had once been enacted beneath their feet. To-day, most of Pompeii stands uncovered within its walls, and if one enters by the ancient *Porta della Marina*, the gate towards the sea, and goes into the little museum on the right, one finds record enough, the more vivid in that it is unwritten, of that hour of sudden death. There are students who can decipher the whole story of a human soul from a specimen of a handwriting. There are others who do the same, by the palm of the hand, or the sole of the foot. But here, in the museum at Pompeii, we find a surer means of divination than any of these. In the solid mass of fine ashes which fell over the doomed city on that awful 23rd of August, numbers of people were buried, in the act of flight. And in recent excavations it has been found possible to make casts of several of their bodies, by filling the form in which they had lain, with plaster-of-Paris. The bodies themselves, it must be understood, have been carbonised and long ago disappeared, but a kind of shell was formed round each of them, under the pressure of the hot ashes, and into this hollow shell, plaster could be poured, so as to take the exact place of the corpse that once lay there. This is the origin of the figures which lie in the cases down the length of the museum. The forms are naked, for the reason that the clothing must have caked in the ashes, and formed part of the mass about them.

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Never were seen symbols at once so graphic and so tragic. It is the very act of death we see before us. The human mind has smitten its own indelible record of one brief moment, on the only writing surface that is absolutely within its power, the prisoning body. Oh what sentences are these! They reveal the past of the soul, as well as the dread moment of inscription. Here is a man, who has fallen backwards with his hands thrown up; on the breathless lips we hear the gasp of despair, and from the sightless eyes see flashed back the last picture they saw, the horror of the blast of fire that met him from before, even as he found his knees buried in the rising dust below. Here again is a woman, unaccustomed to struggle. She has fallen forward and her head is pillowed on her arm. Like the man, it was death she met, in her hurried flight. But she met it with something like resignation: Her whole attitude speaks of submission, of sweetness, of grace. Surely, at the last, there was a touch of peace. It may be that she was the last of her household, that the safety of her children was assured. It may be she was comforting some other, showing some one about her how to die. Indian women, also, have met deaths as terrible, with this gentle acceptance, or even with exultant triumph.

But we leave these graphs of the spirit, stamped upon the human body, and proceed to examine that other record, the city itself, built by generation upon generation of men, through nigh upon a thousand years. In form, it was of a type familiar enough to us, in India. Conjeeveram to this day, or even the Hindu quarter of Calcutta, can furnish us with something very like it.

The Street of Abundance and the Street of Fortune were, indeed, as their names imply, full of rich men's houses. But they were narrow, as is natural in sunny climates, where light is desired to fall subdued, between the houses. They were so narrow that two chariots could not pass, as the deep ruts for a single pair of wheels bear evidence. But they had foot-paths, and perpetual stepping-stones across the road-way, from one to the other, tell tales of the heavy summer rains. They show us another thing, also: that probably the chariots were driven in every case by a pair of horses. There was no entanglement of traffic, however, such as is known to us, for people did not drive hither and thither in the city, but only in or out of it, and the ways to other places were definitely laid down and mapped,—the gate to the sea: the gate to Herculaneum, and so on, and vehicles went always in a single known direction. In the Street of Mercury we have a couple of memorials which tell us much, arches built in commemoration of visits paid to the town by Caligula and Nero. They tell us in the first place of a couple of days of civic festival. The same arches would be made by ourselves with bamboo wands and flags and flowers, and pulled down, in a day or two, and the occasion forgotten. They were, in these cases, made of stone, intended to be eternal. And truly, two thousand years later, they will still be able to revive the uproarious scenes of those two days of pleasure! But they tell us still more. They reveal to us the whole character of the city. It was a week-end place, a city of pleasure, a garden-city,—not using that term in the decorous modern sense! Caligula and Nero were the most profligate of Roman Emperors, and doubtless in coming to Pompeii, and being received there with enthusiasm, they came unto their own. We can imagine that ancient tales of Sodom and Gomorrah, destroyed in fire by reason of their wickedness, were not without their application to the case of Pompeii. And yet the beauty of the situation, of the culture of the inhabitants would always offer the possibility of a lofty enjoyment also, and Cicero, we are told, retired to his house there to write!

It does not need the Street of Tombs, where the so-called graves are only monuments covering repositories for cinerary urns—to remind us of the similarity between the civilisation of Rome and that of high caste Hinduism. The houses themselves consist of rooms, built round an outer and an inner court-yard. In the most perfect of all that have yet been discovered, the house of the Vetii, the inner courtyard, and the kitchen, with its clay-built stove and metal *dekchis* are eloquent of this similarity. In the middle of the outer court is found in every case, a small marble tank, built doubtless for ablutions of face and hands or feet. In the inner court of the Vetii, which may have offered hospitality—who knows?—to Emperors on their visits to Pompeii, there is a multiplicity of small raised basin fountains, probably used for this purpose as well as for ornament. For actual bathing, we have a fresco of the bath of Diana, which shows that a vase of water, to be poured over the person, was as much the method of the Pompeiian as of the Hindu. And there were also the magnificent public baths, of which those of the Forum must have constituted the most fashionable club-house of

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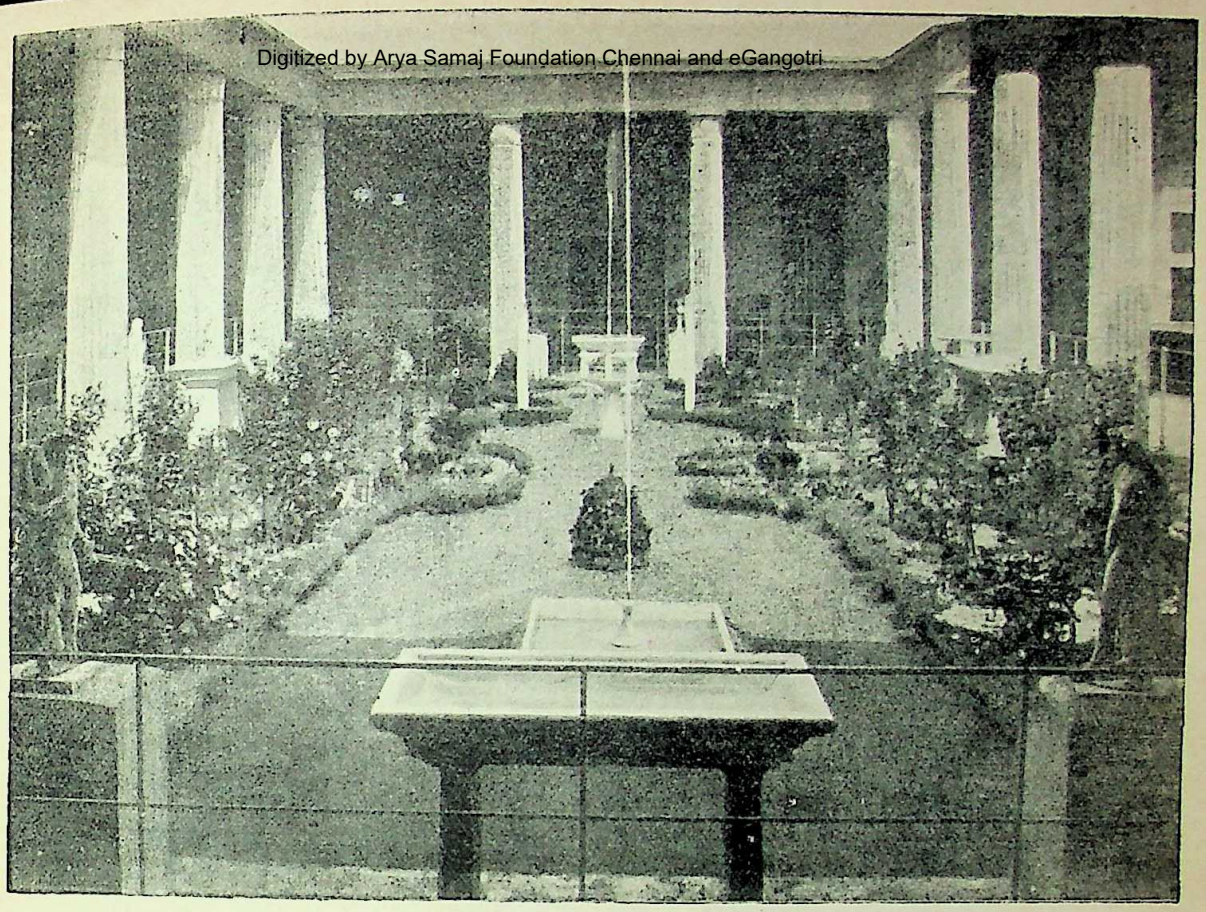
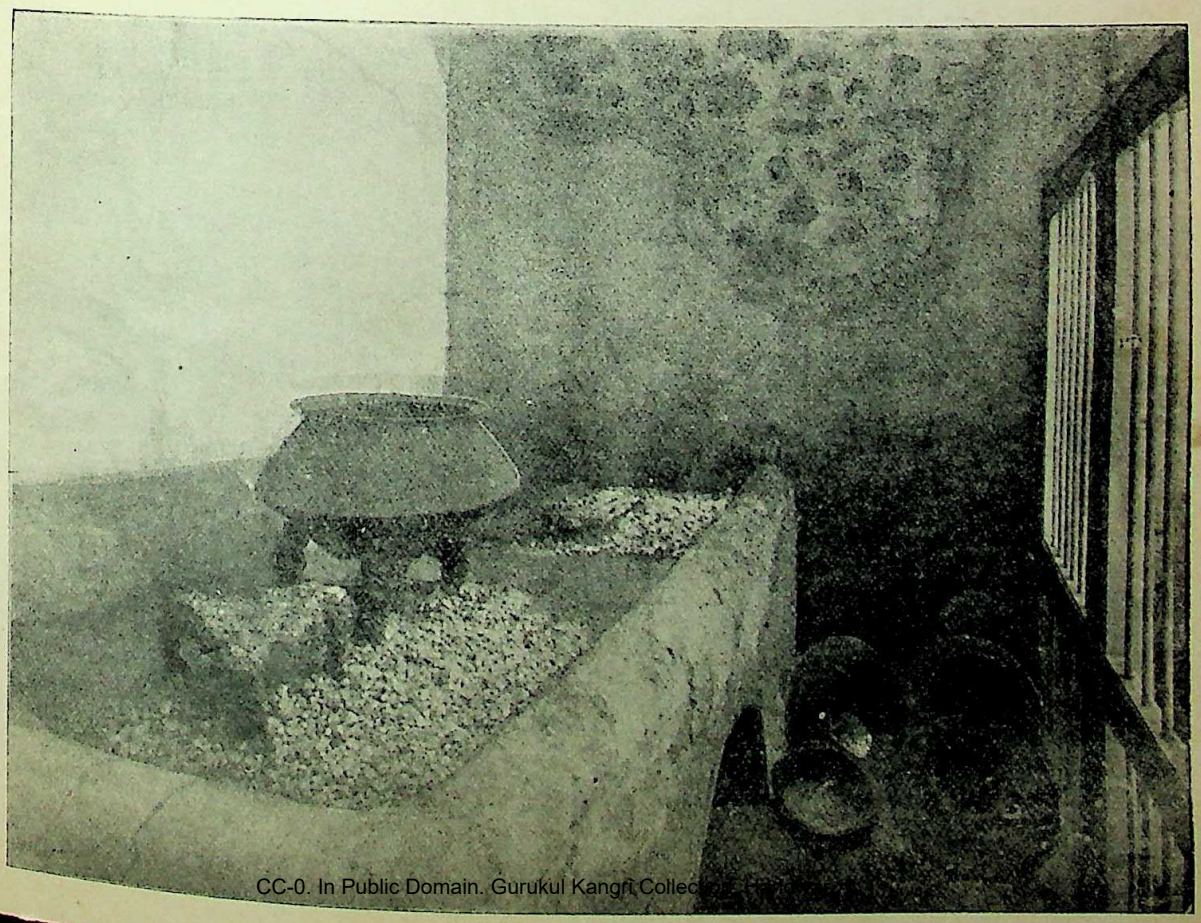


HOUSE OF THE VETTII (INNER COURTYARD.)



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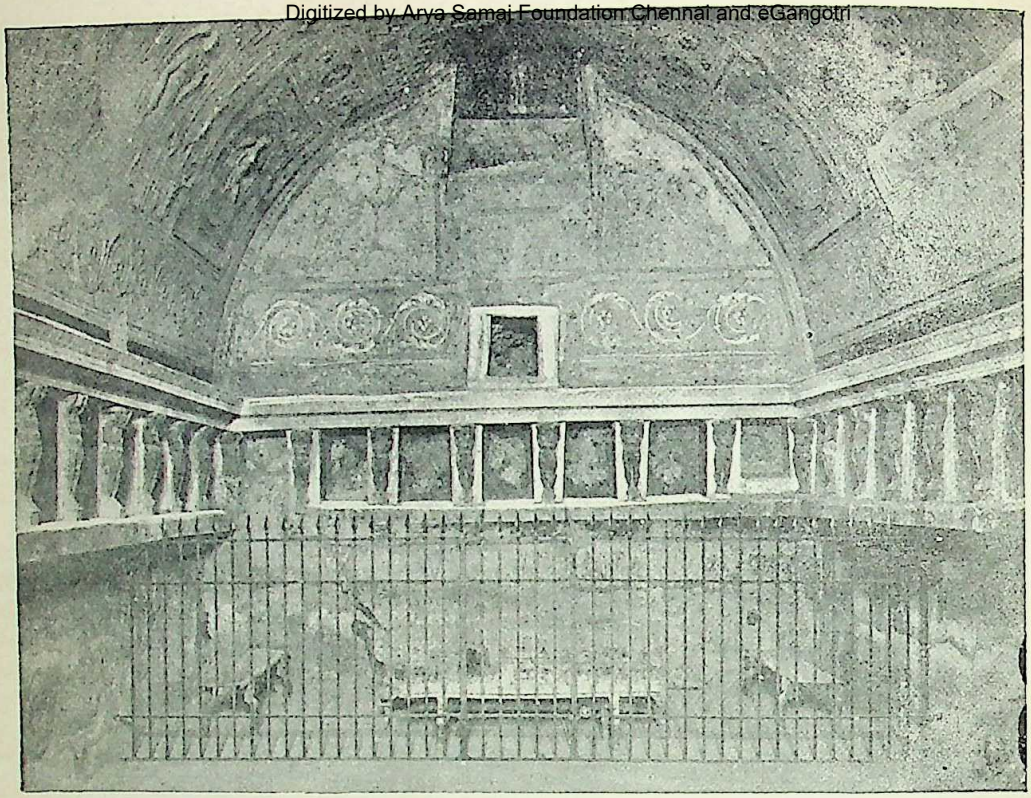
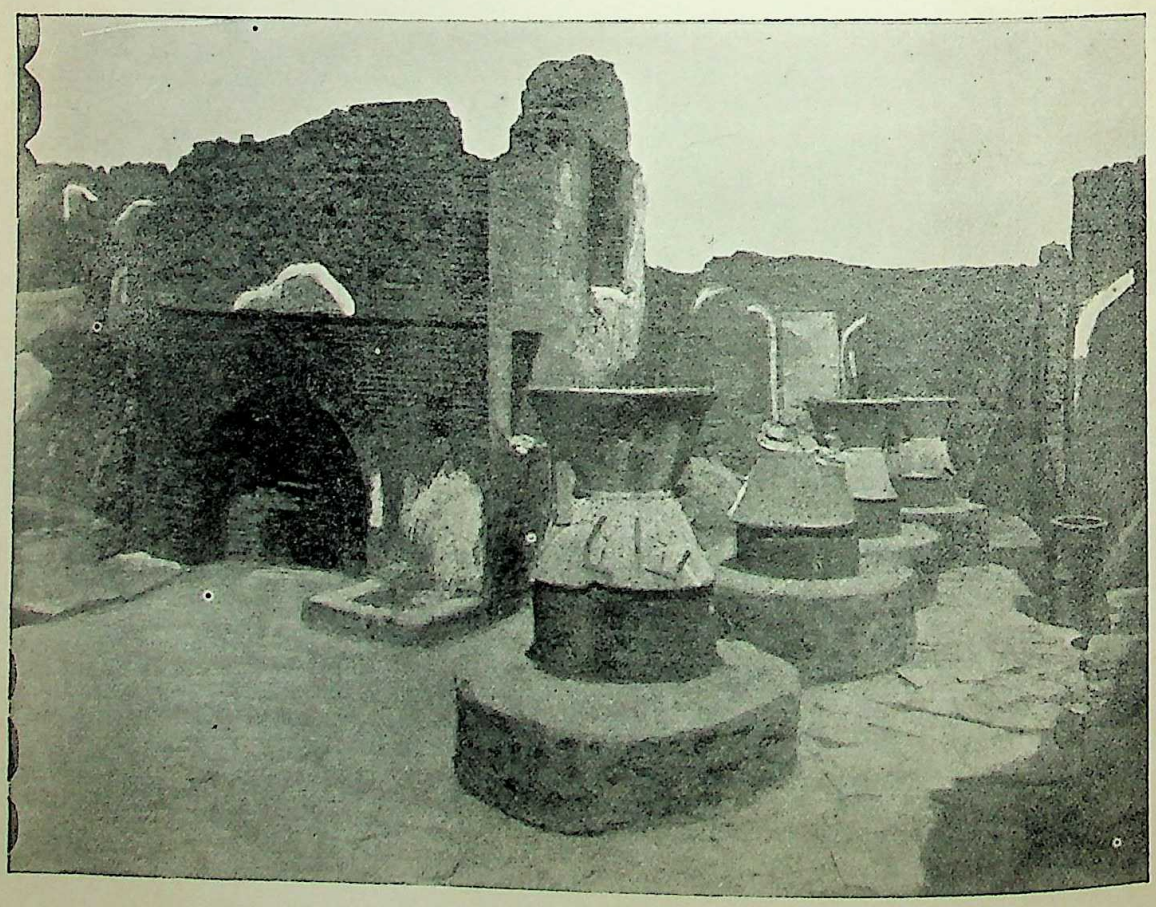


TEPIDARIUM (BATHS OF THE FORUM.)



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MILLS AND BAKERY.

THE INDIAN PRESS, ALLAHABAD.

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the city. Especially was this true of the tepidarium, or middle hall, where bathers who had already put off the outer garments could sit or stand for warmth, about a large bronze brazier which acted as a hearth, while they prepared themselves for the bath, by using the oils and essences taken from the niches in the walls. In the streets outside are laid bare the metal pipes, stamped in relief with the names of the makers, by which water was conveyed to houses and baths from the town-reservoirs. But in the streets, too, we find water-troughs with raised drinking-fountains, offering refreshment to man and beast. And in one case the stone edge is worn where the hands of generations of drinkers have rested, as they leaned over it to fill their cups at the tap and drink. Ah the pathos of such silent witness to the busy life that once filled the empty world about us? Here in the market-hall when it was first excavated, was found a little heap of fish-bones, where the stall of fried fish had been, and where already a number of people had eaten, on that last dread day, before its tragic noon. The ruts worn deep in the paved roads by the wheels of carts and chariots; the snake approaching a nest of eggs, that we see so constantly painted on the walls as a warning to passers-by that these streets are sacred to Æsculapius, the God of Hygiene and Cleanliness; the notice, again, painted on the walls in red letters, as the equivalent of the modern poster; it is by such trifles as these that the deepest emotion of Pompeii is conveyed. Life, common, everyday, vivacious, duly compounded of the trivial and the great, brought suddenly to a stop,—this is the spectacle that we have before us, the spectacle of one bright summer morning unexpectedly made eternal by death.

There were shops in these streets, scattered up and down amongst the residences. And it is interesting to think for a moment of the kinds that could not be preserved. Obviously stores of cloth would be destroyed. Nor can we imagine the steps of the public buildings without their country-people bearing baskets of fruit and flowers, and vegetables, from without the city. Of these, however, there necessarily remains no trace. But the baker's shops are there, with their ovens, and their mill stones,—even, in one case, with their loaves in the closed oven, carbonised but intact. And the oil-shops remain, though the oil is long ago dried into the empty vessels. And the wine-shops abound. Truly was Pompeii a city of temptations! Yet the Indian visitor may be pardoned a touch of pleasure when he finds the wine-*chatties* set deep in built-up mud, in the corner of the tavern, even like dahl and lentils in a Calcutta bazaar!

But it is in the Basilica and the Forum, however, that one arrives at the classical significance of Pompeii. There was an older forum, small and triangular in shape, containing a significent little Temple of the Thunderbolt and the fall of a meteor may well have been the original reason for building the city on the chosen spot. But at the time of its historic catastrophe, the town had much increased and had built for itself a new and larger forum. A long open space in the middle is surrounded on three sides by a columned pavement, and at the far end, facing the ring of deep-blue mountains in the background which forms the glory of the site, a temple of Jupiter stands on a tremendously high platform, the altar of public sacrifice. Here we can see the citizens pacing up and down, or meeting in earnest groups to discuss or gossip. Here we can see the couriers come in, with public news, from Rome. Here, in the middle, the orators addressed the crowds. Or here, again, the citizens thronged, whatever their personal creed or habits, to watch, on appointed days of public festival, the slaying of the sacrificial bull. Immediately adjoining, is the Basilica, or High Court. Again we have the same plan of buildings, but the aisles here were probably roofed, and the nave alone left open. And here, to judge from the magnificence of the appointments, it would appear that the legal and judicial aspects of life absorbed as large a share of the intellect of Roman, as of modern civilisation. At the end may be seen the great statues and the sacred symbol of justice which screened from public view the high cell or apartment in which the judge listened to opposite pleadings and sentenced the accused. In the cell below this daised chamber, the prisoners awaited their turns, while the door at the bottom of the short staircase was guarded doubtless by a couple of men-at-arms. Outside, the aisles of the Basilica formed a kind of cloister—or Bar Library—in which the rival lawyers met, walked and talked.

In its religious aspects, the life of Pompeii was confused enough. Here is the Temple of an Egyptian deity, here again of a Greek. The two-faced image of Janus, native to the soil, is confronted by the new-fangled worship of the Emperor. Who knows but the hope spoken in Christianity had been whispered behind some of these roofless walls, ere there arrived the hour of their destruction? Religion appears to be largely, with these

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Romans, an act of reverence to the ancestors, a wise pact with the powerful Infinite, to guard the home. But when we come to their public buildings, and to the organisation of their public life, to their theatres and their fencing-schools, their monuments and their statues, their court of justice and their forum, we have reached a stronghold which they hold with no uncertain grasp. In Civic Organisation, in the Civic Consciousness, they are supreme—these doughty Romans, and when they become a circle of predatory people theocratic countries, alarmed for their own survival, may learn at their feet of that efficient self-organisation which is the beginning of strength. Wherever the seed of India has been blown, it has grown up into world-faiths; wherever the seed of Rome has fallen, it has raised up mighty nations. Its action may lie in terror; its reaction produces strength.

INDIANS IN AMERICA

INTRODUCTORY.

AT home and abroad, the general impression is, that the Indian is averse to leaving his country under any pretence or pressure. Caste regulations, family ties and village economy are regarded as operating in unison to chain the native of Hindustan to the home of his fathers. The world at large conceives his motto to be: "Half at home in preference to twice as much in foreign lands."

Rarely is it realized that, even in the remotest districts of India, wedging, outside influences have rendered intolerable to the Indian the precarious living he ekes out, with unremitting labor, from his worn-out land or decadent industry. The stay-at-home characterization of the Indian, once true, is fast growing *passè*. At one time fatalistic, he is rapidly becoming leavened with the yeast of discontent. A yearning to break his shell of limitations and seek new scenes appears to have awakened within him. An inordinate desire is siezing the literate as well as the illiterate to search for new spheres of work where richer results will crown his efforts.

The military races in North-western India, more than any other single class, constitute the favorite breeding ground of the emigration germ. The Sikhs of the Punjab probably furnish the largest contribution to the ranks of the emigrants. When the soldier returns to his plough, after serving for a term of years in the native army, he finds it difficult to resume the thread of life where he left off when he enlisted as a recruit. In a half-hearted manner he attempts to perform agricultural work. This he finds impossible. Life in the village is without excitement. There is no diversion—nothing but monotonous routine. The hackneyed, insipid pleasures doled out by the country signally fail to neutralize the chronic ills and discomforts that render rural residence hateful to him. The tax gatherer presses his demands with clockwork regularity. The police-constable impudently flaunts his authority. The palm of the record-keeper invariably is itching. The wolf of hunger is forever howling at the door. The ex-soldier lacks intelligence to enable him to grasp the significance and gravity of the economic situation of his nation; but the influence of his sojourn in the barracks causes him to revolt against being herded in the same house with cattle. He is no more content to plough the fields with a piece of iron attached to a crooked stick and drawn by a yoke of slow-moving oxen. The mass of people stood somewhat in awe of him so long as he belonged to the army. The villagers envied his uniform and admired his military bearing. The ex-soldier abominates to lose this distinction and sink his individuality by once more becoming a part of the rabble. He prefers to go to some distant land where, perchance, he may receive better wages and probably find genteel work to do, such as policing the streets and wharves, of standing sentry at bank gates, store entrances and exits.

Indian peasantry with small or no holdings is the other principal section which evolves men who emigrate. In a village a single person catches the contagion. He sells his land and oxen, disposes of his wife's jewelry, or adopts some other means to raise money, in most instances barely sufficient to cover his passage. He tears himself away from the bosom of his family, leaving disconsolate

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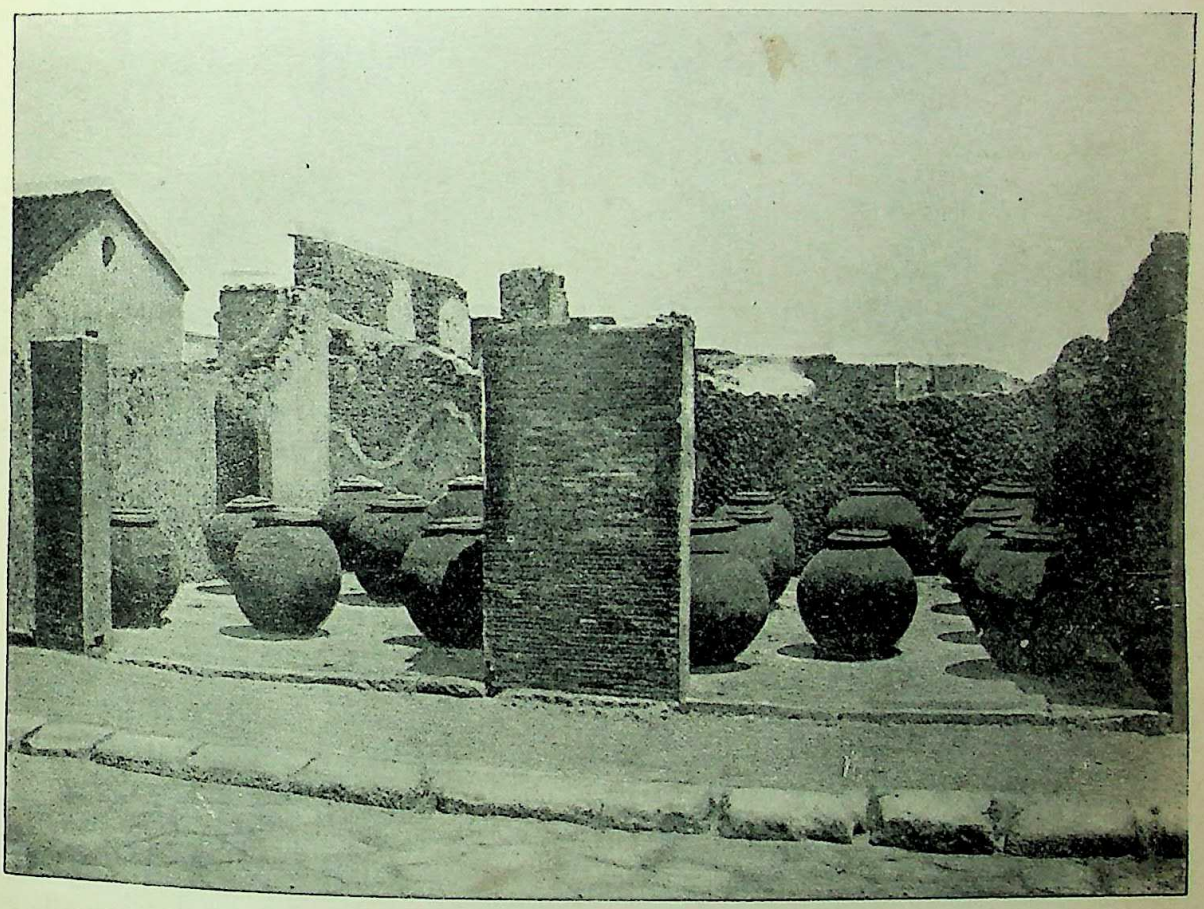

MAGAZINE OF OIL.

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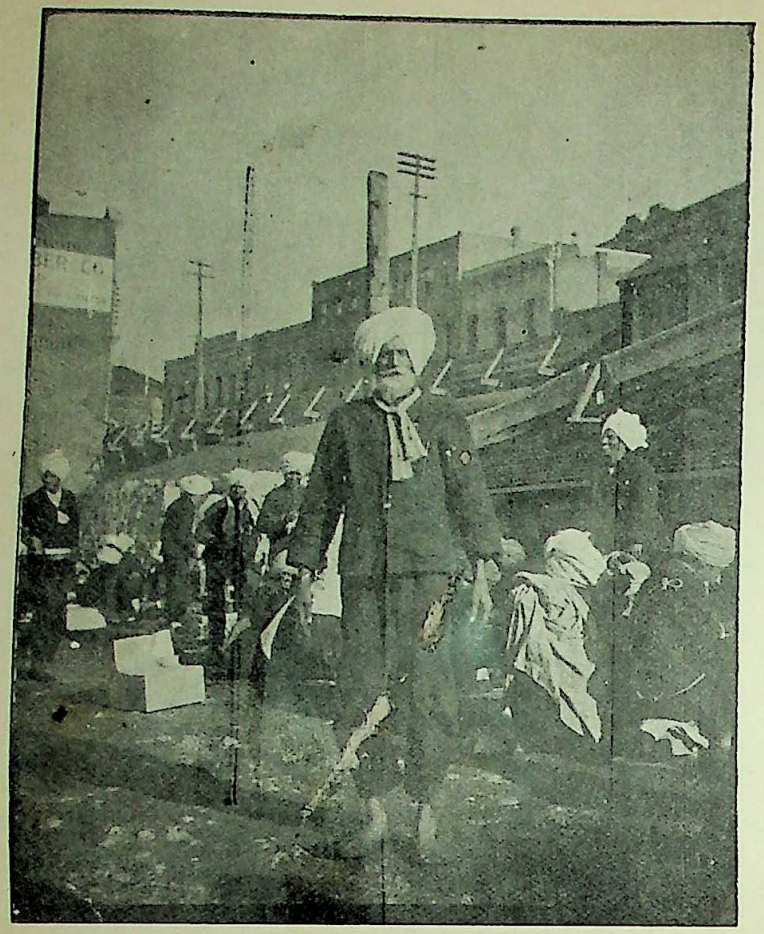
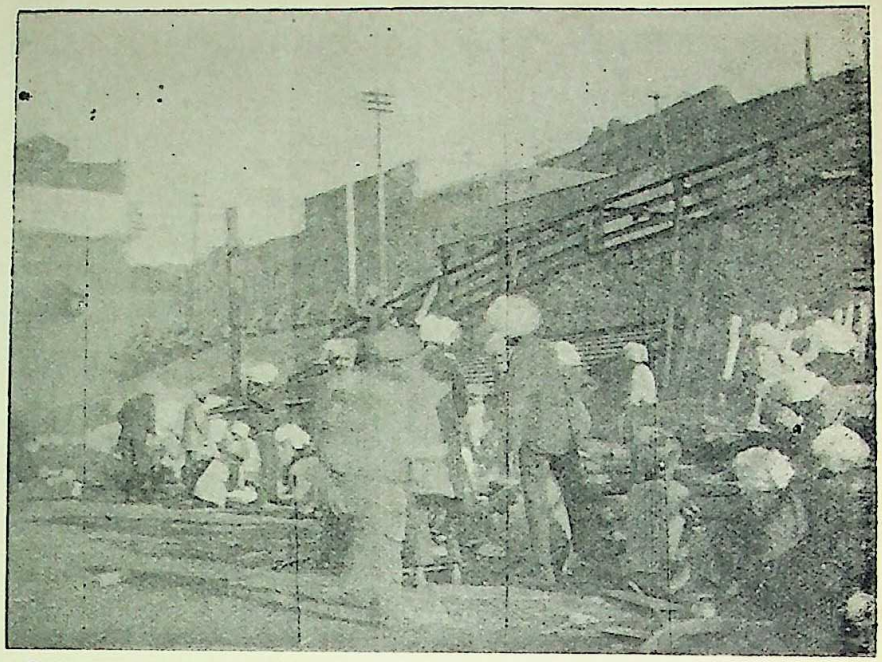


INDIAN IMMIGRANTS
AFTER LANDING IN VANCOUVER, BRITISH COLUMBIA, CANADA.



INDIAN IMMIGRANTS
IN VANCOUVER, CANADA, COOKING THEIR MEALS IN THE OPEN.

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pleading relatives and friends. His departure disturbs the village equanimity. Another becomes affected, employs almost identical methods to gather the wherewithal for travel; follows the track of the man who blazed the way. So infectious at times is the epidemic that all the men of the family—in some cases even a large percentage of the male population of the village—have caught the fever. Emigration then becomes the leading note in the village harmony. Emigrants without thought for the morrow or even for those whom they are leaving behind, are inspired by this magical lure to overcome the accumulated inertia of ages with a single manful move and join in the general exodus.

As the steamer leaves Culcutta on its voyage eastward, the city slowly fades from sight. The pilot guides the barge through the brownish water of the Hooghly. The City of Palaces, India's pride and Metropolis, gradually dwindles until everything becomes blurred. The last lighthouse is reached—left behind. The boat follows its stereotyped course. Before many hours elapse the banks of the river are no longer discernible. The ship pluckily forges ahead. The sheet of water which the boat is tearing straight across changes color. The mud-hued Hooghly mated with the blue waters of the Bay of Bengal produce a blend which is seen nowhere else in the world save at that point. The ship still surges onward. All the time the water becomes bluer and bluer until the Hooghly hardly appears to have any effect upon the Bay. The pilot winds around his waist one end of a stout rope. The commander of the craft mounts the bridge and takes charge of the steamer. In the engine room downstairs a shrill gong is heard. The barge reduces its speed—merely crawls along. Hurried goodbyes are exchanged. A small boat comes as near the side of the ship as the oarsmen within it dare permit. The pilot cautiously descends the flight of stairs. The row boat receives its charge. Once more the bell rings. The engineer coaxes up the steam. The steamer increases her speed. The passengers, from the decks, watch the little boat disappear in the distance. Naught save water is visible. The majesty of water pervades the entire consciousness. For the moment all other thoughts are brushed aside. The relative size of the ship and the omnipotence of the sea impress one as they never did before.

If sea-sickness has not confined the voyager to his cabin, home-sickness begins to tighten its boa-constrictor coils about him. Sea-sickness is to be preferred to land-sickness. Even the bravest soul feels a tug for the country he is leaving. Home, relatives and friends rise before his vision, piteously pleading with the prodigal to abandon his project and return to them. It is a time when even a man with an iron will cowers and his determination becomes a mass of nebula. Suppose the man is a truant; has left his people without mentioning to them even the bare likelihood of his departure. Whose imagination is potent enough to depict his state of mind! Conscience probably pricks him. Yearning to be with his kith and kin tussles with him. As the ship moves farther away from the land of his birth, the country he loves, the cords of his heart are pulled more tensely. Another set of emotions are simultaneously working within him. The sense of self-appreciation justifies his action. He says to himself that if he had failed to take the apportunity at its flood, he never would have found a chance to put his ideals into practice.

Before the first port is reached, however, the longing to return home loses its intensity. Land is in sight. He sees his countrymen on the wharves. He feels somewhat relieved to discover that all Indians are not cooped up in Hindustan. Burmah, Malay Straits Settlements, China and Japanese ports,—all have their quota of Indians. He enters America. The port does not matter, so long as it is a Pacific Coast landing place. Canadian or American—it makes no difference. Representatives of India are to be found on the quay, in the street, everywhere. Tall, lanky Sikhs with shaggy beards and picturesque turbans mingle with sun-burnt-visaged Hindus and Mahommedans wearing second hand Western clothes. Other Indians, who, save for their swarthy complexion and jet-black hair, might pass for Americans, are also in evidence.

The bulk of Indians in America consists of men engaged in manual labor. They are exclusively confined to the Pacific Coast territory of Canada and the United States. The balance, composed of religious teachers, business men and students, are scattered all over the land of the Stars and Stripes.

I—Indian Immigrants in America.

American and Canadian authorities place the landing of the first batch of Indian workingmen in America variously between 1895 and 1900 A. D. Local evidence is conflicting as to whether these men came directly from India or drifted from the Far East. It is more than likely, however, that the pioneers

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came from Burmah, Malay Straits Settlements, and China. Careful enquiries have failed to disclose the motives of their coming, beyond the fact that these immigrants were a set of enterprising men, discontented with their former mode of life and desirous of shifting to countries that would afford them better opportunities. They seem to have entered the Continent either singly or in very small groups, as their arrival failed to cause any comment. This probably is the reason why their chronicler is destined to disappointment in his endeavors to locate the port where they first landed in North America. Western Canada, being a part of the British Empire, appears to have had their preference over the United States, as, despite parties of twos and threes which landed in Yankee Pacific Ports, such as San Francisco, Portland and Seattle, the main current headed toward Victoria and Vancouver, British Columbia.

Of these early settlers it is learned that they knew a smattering of English. On their arrival they readily succeeded in obtaining work at good wages. All of them served as unskilled laborers doing odd jobs such as tending gardens, clearing the ground of stumps of trees and preparing it for cultivation or building purposes, and working in factories and mills. Gratified with their wages and at having met no opposition from the people amongst whom they had settled, they seem to have written letters highly complimentary to the North American Continent and its inhabitants, to their friends and kinsmen in India and other Oriental lands. Influenced by these glowing descriptions of golden opportunities in the Canadian West, the stream of Indian immigration pouring into British Columbia gained in volume and velocity. The largest proportion of immigrants came from the rural districts of the Punjab, representing the Sikh, Mahomedan and Hindu communities. Toward the middle of the year 1906, roughly speaking 2,500 Indian immigrants seem to have settled in Vancouver and Victoria and contiguous territory.

So long as Indian immigrants came to British Columbia in straggling groups the attitude of the British Columbians towards them was characterized by contemptuous indifference. The "Hindoos," as they were called, to their minds did not have enough vitality to be feared as foes or respected as friends. The Indian immigrant seems to have been let alone. Contemporaneous literature either ignored him altogether or sought to amuse the readers by holding up to scorn the dress and complexion of the immigrants from India. When the Indian immigrants commenced to arrive in knots of twenty or more by almost every steamer, the cry of the "Hindoo peril" was raised. The inhabitants of Vancouver, Victoria and vicinity began to conceive that Indian hordes were preparing to swoop down on British Columbia by way of the Pacific Ocean. British Columbians became hysterical, believing that the Indians would despoil their country as did the Huns, who brought devastation to the Latin races in the earlier portion of the world's history. Fevered Canadian brains visualized a Hindu invasion of British Columbia. Sensational press writers, demagogues, union leaders and labor schemers, combined in a crusade against the Indian immigrant. All manner of lies were invented, every conceivable means of questionable nature were employed, to defame their character. Mountains were made out of molehills and mobs were incited to join the fight to rid Canada of the brown immigrants from India. No regard was paid to the fact that India forms an integral part of the British Empire. In the war on the Indian it was forgotten that he belongs to the same family of the human race—the Aryan—as that from which the Canadian descended—that the peoples of India had spent money and shed blood in order to extend and maintain Britain's supremacy.

A clamorous section of British Columbians leagued themselves against the Indian immigrants, and declared that they might be desirable enough citizens in Hindustan but they were not the right class of men to be brought into Canada. It was asserted that they must, of necessity, lower the standard of living. White laborers, to compete with them, must accept lower wages, and would, therefore, be reduced to the "Hindoo's" scale of living—in other words, to almost abject poverty. They emphasized that Canada could well do without the "Hindoo."

This spirit of antagonism expressed itself forcefully when, late in 1906, a liner of the Canadian Pacific Railroad and Steamship Company brought a ship-load of Indian immigrants to Vancouver. The representative of the Immigration Department of the Canadian Federal Government, Dr. Alexander S. Munro, satisfied himself as to the physical, financial and other requirements that immigrants are required to possess before being allowed to land. In his test a few were disqualified, but the majority were pronounced fit by the

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Immigration Officer to be permitted to enter Canada.

The Mayor of Vancouver, in order to pander to the anti-"Hindoo" element, issued a mandate to the Chief of Police to prevent the immigrants passed by the Immigration Officer from debarking. For three or four days the landing places of the Canadian Pacific Steamship Company were guarded by posses of police. No Indian immigrant was allowed to land. Finally the city authorities became alarmed at having taken this unconstitutional step, and fearing its consequences quietly removed the guards from the docks and the Indians were allowed to enter the city. On landing the difficulties of the immigrants were considerably accentuated by the inadequate house accommodation provided by Vancouver. The Indians also met a great deal of opposition in securing employment.

Disgusted at the treatment accorded them by members of the same Empire, the Indians left Canada for the United States. They drifted to Everett, Bellingham, Spokane, and Seattle, Washington; Portland, Oregon; San Francisco, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California, and surrounding villages.

Those who presented themselves to the United States Immigration Inspector to be permitted to cross the boundary line found him very exacting in his examination. Those who succeeded in satisfying his tests were filled with jubilation at the prospect of entering a country famous for its love of liberty. It did not, however, take long for them to become disillusioned. Instead of coming to a haven of rest they found they had jumped from the frying pan into the fire. The Canadian agitator had contented himself with putting obstructions in the way of Indian immigrants to prevent them from securing work and lodging. But the American hooligans threatened to treat the Indians with violence. A riot took place at Bellingham, Washington, and the immigrants were forced by the mob to re-enter Canada.

Hoping that by becoming citizens of the Republic better treatment could be secured some Indian immigrants sought to be naturalized. Their applications were rejected. On protests being made, the Hon'ble Charles J. Bonaparte, Attorney General of the United States, pointed out that the provisions of the statute authorizing naturalization only applied to "aliens being free *white* persons, and to aliens of *African* nativity and to persons of *African* descent."

Both Americans and Canadians are exhibiting frenzied antipathy to the Indian as they are under the impression that interested capitalists, who are at war with white laborers in Canada and the United States, are importing the Indians in order to lower the scale of wages and subjugate the refractory native workingmen. It also is asserted that the navigation and railway companies are carrying on a propaganda of aggressive advertising in India and other Oriental countries. It is alleged that it is to their advantage to persuade Indians to come to America, as the conveying Companies benefit directly from transporting the immigrants and also from selling them railroad lands.

The emigrants from India who entered North America through the Pacific ports hoping to be able to earn an honest living, became the victims of these adverse sentiments. The working classes of Canada and the United States, especially such as are organized into labor unions, set their faces against the newcomers from India. The politicians,—which is a contemptuous term signifying office seekers in the City, Provincial and Federal Governments—are to a large extent at the mercy of the vote of the workingman, who, accordingly, wields an enormous power. Thus it is that the voters of both the countries of North America have been influencing the legislators to have the Indians debarred from coming into Canada and the United States.

Canada may shut her doors to the Indian immigrant; the United States may declare it unconstitutional to receive Indians as citizens. The present trend of events is discouraging enough to dampen the spirits of even the most optimistic person. At the present time it appears almost a foregone conclusion that the Indian immigrant may be entirely shut out from North America. At least, his present prospects present the most dismal aspect.

The morale of such a proceeding is open to question. Such exclusion is arbitrary and unwarranted. The reasons put forward for employing stringent measures to exclude Indians from the North American Continent are flimsy and fictitious. The Indian, being hard-working and enconomical, is, in every respect, a desirable immigrant. As the climate of the regions in which he has settled is not in any way more rigorous than the one to which he is naturally accustomed, he does not seem to suffer much from transition. In addition to this, the immigrants from India who have found their way into either Canada or the United States have shown considerable willingness and capability in modifying their

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modes of life and work in order to adjust themselves to the new requirements.

It is not their deficiencies that render the Indian immigrants undesirable in the sight of Americans and Canadians. It is their brown skins and sallow complexions that yellow-press writers and selfish political agitators have employed as weapons against them. British Columbia and other territories wherein they have settled, are large enough to absorb millions of them. In all the places where they have gone, scarcity of labor has been the chief cause for complaint. Therefore, they have succeeded in securing work without much difficulty. However, the immigrants have against them their skins and the fact that they come from Asia. Against it is urged that Canada as well as the United States is a white man's country: that climatic and other conditions make North America a fit habitat for the white races: that it is not everywhere the white man can thrive and live in comfort: that therefore he ought to reserve America for his own exclusive use. Accordingly the Canadians and Americans are organizing under the slogan, "*White* North America." The incongruity of this reasoning lies in the fact that the Canadians and Americans are endeavoring to capture the commercial markets of the Orient. So long as they are exploiting the people of the East they have no moral justification for squealing, if the Orientals return the compliment.

Mr. Frederick C. Wade, the foremost lawyer of Vancouver, remarked to a British Columbian audience:—

"It certainly is not a white man's Empire and it cannot be a white man's Empire as long as it retains within its boundaries three hundred million subjects of India. As long as the Empire exists, surely every member is entitled to be received at least as well as such foreign races as the Japanese and Chinese. The Indians are not only of the same Empire, but of the same race with us. They have been the supporters of the Empire. Their fine appearance and military bearing, even under so many adverse circumstances, compare very favorably with the appearance of any equal number of their detractors."

Both in Canada and the United States there are many men and women who are prejudiced in favour of Indians. They endeavor to soften the difficulties attendant upon transition from Asia to America—try to ward off the attacks of labor vulgarians and union bullies—in every manner shield the Indians from temptations and trials.

The very town in Canada and the United States in which the Indian immigrants have met the stoutest resistance contain the [illegible] of India and her peoples. Vancouver, British Columbia, of all Canadian cities took the lead in opposing the entree of the Indian immigrant. It would be doing gross injustice to that city to feel that all Vancouver is leagued against the emigrant from India. The agitation was started by a set of unscrupulous people who had selfish gain in view. Only the benighted section of British Columbian communities, mobbish in tendencies and swayed by passions and prejudices, joined in the war cry. In contradistinction to this, the sensible men and women of Vancouver remained and are to-day in sympathy with Indians, and are ashamed of the treatment that has been accorded to them.

Dr. Alexander S. Munro, the Immigration Officer for Vancouver, remarked in a leading newspaper of that city:

"It is a shame these 'Hindoos' are treated as they have been."

Colonel Falkland Warren, C. M. G., Late R. A., declared:—

"When I hear the Sikhs who are here now in Vancouver, men who have served in regiments bearing on their colors the names of battles as testimony of their loyalty in the darkest days of the mutiny, with the historic name of the great soldiers who commanded them, the King and members of the Royal Family as their colonels--when, I say, that I hear these men speak of the treatment they have received here, the wild abuse of themselves, the falsehoods as to their character and loyalty, I can say nothing but only hang my head in shame.....As regards the inhumanity of their (Indian immigrants') treatment on arrival and since, on that score shame must for ever rest upon the name of this city and especially upon those who have engineered the present great public scandal."

When, in the winter of 1906, a large number of Indians arrived in Vancouver and experienced difficulty in securing work and lodging, it was a touching sight to see Dr. Munro and Colonel Warren putting aside their own pressing private affairs and scouring the City and vicinity in order to house the newcomers from India. Other prominent people of Vancouver went to the length of doing their best to secure work for the immigrants. Mrs. Shaw, a cousin of Colonel Warren, and a woman writer prominent in the Canadian West, used her powerful pen in an endeavour to clear misconceptions and enlist the sympathy of Vancouver women in behalf of the Indian immigrants who were made the subject of opposition by a set of selfish schemers.

Thanks to these and other friends, the Indian immigrant in Western Canada and the United States has been able to secure work. The number of people who are favorably disposed toward the Indians in North America

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is, however, extremely limited by both the countries of the Continent. Against them are banded the laboring classes, who present almost an impervious wall. Were they let alone, the immigrants would have had a fair chance of making successful livings for themselves and their families. As it is, with odds against them, the prospect of success in a country with whose conditions they are but slightly acquainted are by no means sanguine. Their fate hangs in the balance. The issue is complicated and seems to be involved in the outcome of the conflict into which Asiatics and Americans have fallen on the Pacific Coast.

SAINT NIHAL SING.

THE MESSAGE OF THE BHAGAWAD GITA*

I

IN the whole range of Sanskrit literature there is hardly any other book which is so popular and widely read and admired by all classes of Hindus as "The Bhagwad Gita" or "The Lord's Song." To be more precise, it is not a book in itself but only an episode in the great Hindu epic, the *Mahabharata*, forming the subject of one of the books which collectively form that great epic. It is, however, the most beautiful, the most sublime and the most popular of all the episodes of that story, unless the part describing the last days of the veteran Bhishma after he had received his mortal wounds in the war and was awaiting death on his warrior's bed, *viz.*, the bed of arrows, with its noble disquisition on politics, on war and on the duties of a Kshattriya, be considered to be entitled to an equal amount of praise and rank as high as the Bhagwad Gita itself. The latter, however, is not so popular nor so widely read as the Gita. The *Mahabharata* contains several Gitas, but it is the Bhagwad Gita alone which is meant and understood when people talk of *the Gita*. Of all the sacred books of the Hindus (its sacredness being unquestionably admitted by all), the Gita is perhaps the only one which is so extensively read, admired and relied on, by all Hindu *Sampradayas* (religious sects and schools of theology), orthodox or heterodox, reformed or unreformed. The Brahmos and the Arya Samajists read it, quote it and comment upon it as often and as admiringly as the Sanatanists and the Vedantists. It receives the same homage from the Ramanujis, the Vallabhacharyas and the Vaishnavas, as from the Nanakpanthis, the Dadupanthis, the Kabirpanthis and the Gulabdasis. All the different classes of Sanyasis and Sadhus, whose number is legion, read it, revere it and quote it in support of their conflicting dogmas and contradictory doctrines and with an equal amount of confidence. All do not accept it as a scripture claiming the infallibility of the Vedas, but almost everybody attaches to it the authority of a gospel of a very high, if not always the highest, authority. There are hundreds and thousands of Hindu Sadhus and women who know nothing except *the Gita*. There are very many amongst these who do not know the meaning of the various verses composing it, but only the general sense of the whole. There are vast numbers who have treasured it in their memories and repeat the whole every morning, or twice a day. Many Sadhus carry it in a small 'pocket' edition on their chest hung round their necks by a thread. Of all Sanskrit books, it has been published in the largest number of editions and sizes. I wonder if there is any other book, even in any of the vernaculars of India, except perhaps the *Tulasi Ramayana*, which is printed and sold so largely as the Gita. Amongst the English-knowing Hindus it is decidedly the most popular of all Hindu books. It has by far the largest number of English translations and almost an incredible number of translations in Hindi and the other spoken languages of India.

The question, then, naturally arises, what is there in this book that gives it such a universal popularity and which extorts such an unvarying and amazing amount of homage from the different, often conflicting, at times bitterly warring, elements which compose the Hindu community. Hinduism, which to an onlooker from without and to a superficial

* This paper was written by Lala Lajpat Rai during his exile at Mandalay.—ED., *Modern Review*.

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observer from within, seems to be almost fully divided and split up amongst numerous apparently irreconcilable sections and classes with their equally innumerable divisions and sub-divisions, seems to have agreed to accept this book as an object of common veneration. The homage paid to the Gita is, however, to be distinguished from the authority attached to *the Vedas* in the eyes of all Hindus except the Brahmos and the newly risen free thinkers or no thinkers at all. But while the Vedas are a sealed book to a vast majority, the Gita is open and intelligible to a large number. They can read it, understand it, and interpret it, every one in his own way. It is a thing which at once appeals to their intelligence as well as their emotions. It gives them plenty of scope for reflection, and spiritual exercise. It is rigid and elastic at the same time. It broadens the vision and expands the outlook without requiring a serious outrage on the affections. It is invigorating as well as chastening. It stimulates one's energies and subdues one's passions. It is a constant and ever recurring exhortation in favour of right action without attachment to its results. It shows the way to the balancing of the mind, assigning their proper places to the activities of the body and the yearnings of the soul. It is a most audacious as well as a most successful attempt to reconcile the different schools of religious thought that prevailed in ancient India at the time of its composition. But what makes it so universally acceptable is its attempt to answer the *one* great question that has troubled the human soul in all times and that is always present to the eyes of the mind under all circumstances, *viz.*, how to reconcile the apparent contradictions of life. Here we are in this world of conflict, struggle and strife, more often surrounded by sin and sorrow than by virtue and happiness, more dejected by the pettiness and meanness encompassing us, than held up by the broadness of soul and the sympathy of heart which we only now and then experience; more depressed by the inconsistencies of life, the selfishness, the narrowness, the ugliness and the utter depravity of human nature than elevated by that much-sought-after and much-talked-of harmony, that is said to prevail in the world and by that disinterested love, beauty of character and nobility of behaviour, which occasionally give an angelic appearance to the son of man. In short, in this world there seems to be more to dishearten and depress, than to encourage and sustain. There is often an apparent and serious conflict of duties which is puzzling and heart-rending. There are times in the life of every thinking man when he is struck with the apparent irreconcilableness of the laws of nature with what he has been taught to believe as the laws of God and much more with what are the laws of man sanctioned and enforced by authority. It is in moments like these that man feels the wretchedness of his position and the misery involved by the doctrine of the freedom of will. The question perplexes him so much as to make him wish that he were not a free agent. He would rather know definitely what to do than to enjoy and be proud of the freedom of thought and action granted to him by nature. At some times intense natures are so much carried away by the apparent conflict and uncertainty that they think it best to get rid of themselves by laying violent hands on themselves. There are others who continue to grope in the dark and let themselves drift. There are some who seek the advice of loving friends and wise leaders and place their own freedom of will and thought in their hands, which to them appear to be safer and stronger than their own. There are a few, however, who seek an answer from their inner self or by communion with God. The Gita or the Lord's Song is an attempt to answer that question for all and for all times to come. Hence its universal popularity amongst and acceptability to all classes of people, irrespective of their differences in creed, caste and colour. How to show, that apparent contradictions notwithstanding, the world is still a consistent whole, how to reconcile the conflict between duty and sentiment is the burden of the Gita.

Standing on the field of battle between the two hosts of combatants ready to kill one another, Arjuna, the Pandu Prince and the prop and pillar of Yudhishthira's army, found himself perplexed by the idea of killing his kith and kin, those to whom he was bound by all the ties that are sacred and dear in this world, *viz.*, of blood, relationship, love and respect, for the sake of things which he thought had no permanent existence and could have no permanent value for him. Naturally enough he felt appalled at the idea of having to kill a *Guru* like the celebrated Dronacharya and a grand-father like Bhishma, for the sake of either of whom he would be most willing to lay down his own life, if it were needed to defend them or to save them from harm. But here he was required to kill them for the sake of obtaining a kingdom for himself and his brothers, because kill them

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he must before he could win victory over the opposing forces of his cousin Duryodhana. He knew well that so long as they, *viz.*, Bhishma and Drona, were in the field, fighting for the opposite side, there could be no chance of his vanquishing his adversaries. But what perhaps appalled him even more was that besides being required to kill respected elders, loved relatives, friends and comrades, he would be causing an awful carnage all round, harming and destroying men who had done him no harm whatsoever. His duty as a Kshattriya pledged to vindicate his own honor as well as his brother's title to the Raj of his father, to oust "an usurper who was oppressing the land, was in apparent conflict with all that family ties and feelings of love and humanity would dictate. As a *sishya* (a disciple), as a grandson, as a brother, as a friend and as a man, it was a sin for him to attempt the lives of those who stood in the opposite ranks; as a prince and as a warrior, even as a brother of Yudhishthira, husband of Draupadi, son of Kunti, it was his duty to fight for the deliverance of his nation"; to restore to his brother what was lawfully and by right his, and to teach a lesson to those who had viciously and out of pure ill-will insulted his wife and his mother. To neglect this duty was as much a sin. If, as Mrs. Annie Besant puts it,

> "to break family ties was a sin, to have the people in cruel bondage was a sin, where was the right way?"

Apparently slaying was a greater sin than the neglect of other duties and hence Arjuna's inclination to retire from the battle. But then there was Lord Krishna with him, who had come to help him in the performance of his duty as a warrior and to support him by his wisdom, as he had vowed to wield arms for no party in this family war. He saw his duty clear before him. To his knowing eyes it was not only disgraceful but sinful as well (perhaps more sinful than disgraceful) for a person born and bred as a Kshattriya, to be borne down by such chicken-hearted scepticism just at the time of action, in the field of battle and in the presence of the enemy. When the two cousins, Arjuna and Duryodhana, had approached him to seek his help and co-operation for their respective causes in the coming struggle, he had given Arjuna, the first of the two whom he saw on waking up from sleep, the choice either to accept him alone as a non-combatant determined not to take up arms for either party, or to take the whole of his army with all their fighting paraphernalia, without him. Arjuna had declared for the Lord alone without his army. Now was the occasion to justify that choice and to prove how worthless brute force is without wisdom. The whole of Krishna's army without Krishna himself would not have availed Yudhishthira if Arjuna had left the field of battle yielding to the influence of that enervating philosophy of life which got hold of him just at the wrong time. Krishna was bound to Arjuna by ties of personal love and regard. Besides his own reputation being at stake, it would be sinful to allow such a wrong view of life to prevail and cause the complete discomfiture and ruin of the Pandavas. To allow this to happen would have been nothing short of criminal on the part of a great teacher like Krishna, because that would have been allowing fraud, dishonesty, deceit and wrongful usurpation of other people's rights to go unpunished and unrighted. Krishna was hardly a man to let this happen, at least without an effort to save the situation. So he set to his task. How he performed it, with what logic and with what success, is the subject matter of the Gita.

The doubt that troubled Arjuna is a very common one. It haunts human beings day and night, and the number of those who actually succumb to it is by no means small. It is a source of constant mental conflict in the East as well as in the West. It makes no distinction of caste and colour. It is, however, difficult to have a Krishna at your side everytime this demon of doubt threatens to lead you astray. Hence the value of the eternal message conveyed for all and for all ages by the Lord's Song called the Bhagawad Gita.

II

But has not the question been handled and answered by other prophets and greatmen, seers and sages in India and in other climes? Have not the preachings of these worthies answered for those for whom they were meant? Do we not find all that is said in the Gita in books and treatises that existed in India and elsewhere before the war of the Mahabharata and before the birth of Krishna? Does the Gita teach anything new that was not known before? Did Krishna lay any claim to originality? Was there no trace of what the Gita expounds, in the Vedas, the Brahmanas, the Upanishads, the Sutras and the Smritis? The answer is and must be that everything was there. The Lord taught and said nothing that was not already there or what was quite new and original. Why, then,

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is the Gita of all Hindu Sastras so popular and so universally acceptable? Because, the story of the Gita is so natural and human, that it directly and irresistibly appeals to the innermost core of every seeker after truth. It starts where it just catches the heart of man in the natural course of life. It anticipates the various pit-falls into which he is likely to fall in his attempt to grapple with the problem of life, and then gradually extricates him from the meshes of doubt. This latter function is performed with such skill and such mastery of human nature as to make every prototype of Arjuna feel that he is at home on the subject. The replies of the Lord are so natural, beginning with the human and ending with the Divine, winding up with a detailed account of the ways and means of reaching the Divine, as to make the dialogue a complete whole,—a masterpiece endowed with the impressiveness of a life drama, with the eloquence of wisdom and good sense, with the convincingness of sound reason and logic, and re-assuring with the assurance of experience and practical knowledge. Professing all along to deal with the deepest philosophy of life, not unoften speaking in the language of mystery, it always concludes in such a way as to make it appear an open secret. It speaks to you in the language of love and regard, demanding from you the fullest *shraddha* (श्रद्धा) and confidence in the Lord, inspiring awe but removing all causes of fear. Discoursing on philosophy and science, discussing the most incomprehensible and abstruse of all the questions that ever arise before the mental vision of man,—the question of what is *Life* and *Death*—solving for you the great riddle of existence and non-existence, in short, unfolding before your eager and wondering eyes the great mystery of creation and man's place therein, it speaks to you in tones of the most captivating music. Thus it combines splendid prose with sublime poetry and thrills the listener with the vibrations of its strings, harmonized and touched by a master hand. The fact that the Gita is a song set to music by a great mind is often ignored by those who seek its support for their own pet doctrines and dogmas. Its repetitions and apparent contradictions puzzle them and they set themselves to reconcile the same, forgetting altogether the extremely human and natural origin of the song. The book was never composed to serve as a doctrinal or polemical treatise. The dialogue did not begin with a question of theology or religion or philosophy. It began with the unwillingness of Arjuna to slay his own relatives and friends. The writer aimed at nothing more than to give a life picture of how Krishna managed to persuade Arjuna to give up that mood, and a reading of the book with this fact constantly borne in mind shows how beautifully he succeeded therein. The repetitions and apparent contradictions being the very essence of such a dialogue, are quite natural. Whether the whole of the dialogue actually took place on the field of battle, as it is said to have done, or whether it has been amplified subsequently by the author, we are not in a position to say; though the latter seems to be more probable than the former.

That the actual language employed in the Gita could not necessarily have been that of Lord Krishna himself is more than probable and may tacitly be accepted for all purposes of comment or criticism. If the tradition that ascribes the authorship to Vyasa is true,—and there is no particular reason to dispute it—it may safely be inferred that the dialogue has lost nothing in being transmitted in the language in which it has reached us, provided there has been no tampering with it subsequently. Of this, however, we cannot be absolutely certain, as there is not a vestige of doubt that the Mahabharata, as we have it, must have been very largely and repeatedly tampered with, and no one can say with confidence that the Gita has altogether escaped the meddlesome hands of these literary busybodies. All the same it is difficult to lay one hand on any particular verse or verses and assert convincingly that they are subsequent interpolations. The book, therefore, must be taken and judged as it is. Even as such, with the suspicion lurking in our minds that perhaps its original purity has been tampered with by the interested machinations and mere aberrations of some designing priest after it had left the hands of its noble author, its charms are irresistible and its beauty unsurpassed, provided it is never forgotten that it is a poem and a song first and an exposition of religious truths afterwards. It is the latter character of it which puzzles people. Some maintain that it teaches *Advaitism*, i.e., the existence of one entity only, *viz.*, Brahman, whilst others hold that it teaches *Dvaitavada*, *i. e.*, the co-existence of two entities, the human and the supreme soul. The great Sankaracharya is the principal and most celebrated exponent of the former view, while Ramanuja and numerous other teachers hold the other. Surely there is enough in the text for either of these theories to be maintained with a show of reason. We are, however,

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inclined to think that the collective weight of the whole poem favours the *Dvaitavadis* more than it does the *Advaitavadis*. Each party, of course, uses the full force of all the logic and argument they can command to explain away the verses that are quoted against them. Much ingenuity and erudition has been spent in these polemic discussions and some have been carried on with such nicety and subtlety of reason as to perplex the ordinary reader, though they might charm the philosophical mind used to hair-splitting.

Then there is the divergence between the *Sánkhyas* and the *Yogis*, the former being known as the *Jnanakandis* and the latter as *Bhaktivadis* (भक्तिवादी) and *Karmakandis* (कर्म्मकाण्डी). The *Sankhyas* hold that the Gita establishes the superiority of *jnana* over all other ways of knowing and realizing the supreme soul, while the *Yogis* dispute it, and argue that the lord has given the foremost place to *yoga* and action, reducing all the different ways of approaching the Almighty to the one supreme principle of *Yoga*. If the language of the book is any guide to its subject, surely the latter position seems to be the correct one. All the chapters of the Gita end by giving a name to the principal topic expounded therein and every one of these names has the word *yoga* attached to it, such as the Sankhya yoga, the Karma yoga, the Sanyasa yoga and so on. Then again there is another point on which there is an equally great difference of opinion, *viz.*, the position of Krishna himself. The Sanatanists believe that he was an Avatar and spoke as if he and the supreme soul were identical. The Arya Samajists on the other hand dispute the doctrine of incarnation and say that Krishna never meant to claim divinity for himself, and that in very many places in the Gita itself he speaks of himself as a human soul, as distinguished from the Divine and that in other places he only professes to speak in the name of God.

The disputants, however, in the eagerness of controversy and disquisition, entirely forget that the discourse was never started with the object of expounding any of these doctrines, its chief purpose being to persuade Arjuna to fight. Any one studying the book with care will see at once that throughout the eighteen discourses, the noble teacher never lost sight of his immediate object even for a moment. All that he did was to use every kind of argument to convince Arjuna of the absurdity of his idea, of the unrighteousness of turning his back from the battle-field and giving way to a sentiment unworthy of a warrior, of the shamefulness of his abandoning a just cause and of the sinfulness of his being carried away by a false sentiment. This was the immediate object which he set before himself and in gaining it he enlisted all the different schools of religious thought that at that time claimed allegiance in the country. In doing so, he laid stress on their agreement in essence and showed that although known by different names and supported by different arguments they were all unanimous in the view of life which he wanted to unfold before Arjuna. In a masterly way he met all the objections of Arjuna and explained away the flaws which Arjuna found in his reasoning. If he is now and then seen entering into a minute elucidation of certain abstruse points of dogma, it is only in reply to questions put by Arjuna or by way of amplification. But what is patent is, that in the intricacies of the logical expositions and in the labyrinth of dogma he never lets his immediate object slip out of his view. He returns to it again and again, appealing now to his sense of honour, then to his sense of duty and lastly to his reason. He goes further and quite in a human way calls his affection and regard for him into requisition. He overawes and frightens him. He claims confidence, devotion and obedience, and he succeeds. What he however maintains and expounds with all the vigour of language and earnestness of soul which he can command, is the supreme truth that, be the circumstances what they may, "*Life is a mission, and duty* (*dharma*) *its highest law*"; that in the fulfilment of this mission and in the performance of this duty, lies the sole path to salvation or eternal bliss, that to the extent of one's success in fulfilling this mission and in performing this duty will one ascend to the higher stages of life, which bring one nearer the goal, *viz.*, the realization of the supreme soul and complete freedom from births or deaths, with the accompanying bliss (आनन्द).

It is to this end that one has to make use of the *Jnana*, *Karma*, *Sanyasa*, *Dhyana*, *Vijnana* and different other forms of *yoga* enumerated therein. They are all means to an end,—the immediate end being the fulfilling of the mission of one's life leading to the ultimate one, *viz.*, the realization of the perfect bliss called *paramananda* (परमानन्द) by unity with, or nearness to, God. How to find out what is the mission of one's life and what is to be done by one to accomplish it, is also pointed out in the Gita. It is to be determined partly by the condition (including time and place)

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of one's physical birth and partly by the condition of one's real self, *i. e.*, one's soul. That life is a mission, is no new truth, as it is written on every page of the Aryan scriptures. That this mission is determined by the conditions of one's birth and soul, also finds ample exposition in the Hindu shastras, which at the same time lay down every one's *dharma* (duty) in general terms. What particularly troubled Arjuna was whether it was not sinful to kill Drona, Bhishma, and others even when the performance of his duty (Dharma) required such slaughter. The reply of Krishna was that it was not. If in giving this answer he gave a dissertation on the immortality of the soul, proving that no one could really be killed, it was only by way of strengthening his argument. What he meant to say definitely is that one's individual Dharma is the supreme law of his life, is the spring by which all its movements must be regulated. It is the rudder of the ship, the compass, the guiding star and the supreme determining entity. Everything else must be subordinated to it, put under its guidance and control as existing for it and for the furtherance of its ends. The slaying of one's nearest and dearest relative, not to speak of an enemy, is not sinful if one cannot perform one's duty (Dharma धर्म) but by slaying him. One's *dharma* cannot be anything but righteous. Hence anything which is necessary to be done in the performance of Dharma cannot be sinful. A Raja commits no sin in punishing thieves, robbers, dacoits and murderers. A patriot warrior commits no sin in killing the enemies of his country in fair fight. A surgeon is not guilty of any offence if he kills a man in the performance of a surgical operation. Nobody should jump to the conclusion, however, that the Gita justifies the killing of one's adversaries or enemies at all times and on all occassions. As to the detailed rules of conduct in the keeping of one's Dharma, the Gita refers us to the *shâstras*. All that it lays down and lays down with emphasis and without a shadow of doubt is, that—once you know your duty or your Dharma, you are not to be turned back from it by any consideration of self-interest, love or mercy. You are not required to sacrifice any of these if the performance of your duty does not call for such sacrifice. When there is a doubt as to the righteousness of a certain course in the performance of your Dharma you are not to lightly justify the course which appears to you to be otherwise unrighteous. But if after weighing all the pros and cons and scanning it carefully in the light of your conscience and the teaching of the *Shastras*, you conclude that you cannot do your duty without running the risk of doing what otherwise appears to you to be sinful, your path is clear, you must do the former at any risk and at any cost. No considerations of self-interest, love, or mercy, no risk of calumny, pain and injury to self or others should stand in the way of your duty. That is the lesson of the Gita in a nutshell. That is the burden of the song sung by Krishna on the field of Kurukshetra 5,000 years ago in order to turn his friend and disciple Arjuna away from the sinful inclinations of his mistaken mind and to dispel the vapours of sentimental ignorance and false love that were encompassing him when standing face to face with his enemies, the enemies of his brother, the enemies of his king and the enemies of his country, *viz.*, the troops of the tyrant and the usurper who had unjustly, unlawfully, by fraud, force and deceit deprived them of their just rights and established a reign of terror and sin. There were men among these troops whose claims called for consideration, mercy, respect, regard and love from Arjuna. These claims were about to prevail and lead him astray from the path of duty when Sri Krishna interfered and pointed out the immorality and the sinfulness of the proposed course. Sri Krishna had as much regard, respect and love for Drona and Bhishma as Arjuna, but he could not allow the latter to fall from his duty and thus damn his soul. He pointed out the path to him. Arjuna saw it and followed it. Both saw that the immediate consequences of this step would be terrible, and so they were; but on having seen their Dharma there was nothing for them but to follow it to the bitter end relying upon the ultimate and final good of their own individual souls as well as of the whole world. And so they did.

This then is *the message* of the Gita. Everything else is only subsidiary to it and used as a means of elucidating and establishing this one truth. This is the pivot round which every argument turns and this the sun round which all the planets with their satellites move. Let no one then confound what is only subsidiary with the central teaching. Of course every one of the various doctrines expounded or touched upon in the Gita has its own importance, everyone of them has its own axis round which to move, everyone has its own light to shed, but the central sun of the whole system of the Gita is the truth that everyone must do his own duty, be true to his own Dharma, at any cost.

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at any risk and at any sacrifice. It is exactly this that is meant by Sri Krishna when he says:

श्रेयान्स्वधर्मोविगुणः परधर्मात्स्वनुष्ठितात् ।
स्वधर्मे निधनं श्रेयः परधर्मोभयावहः ॥

"Better one's own duty (Dharma) though *destitute** *of merit*, than the duty of another, well discharged. Better death in the discharge of one's own duty; the duty of another is full of danger." III. 35, (Mrs. Besant's translation).

This couplet has nothing to do with creeds, doctrines and dogmas, although it is often cited as opposed to a change of religion and faith.

III.—(*a*)

In the following pages we intend to trace the different steps in the argument which Sri Krishna employed with the object of persuading Arjuna to fight and in order to dispel the doubt that had got hold of his mind about his duty on that particular occasion.

The very order of these steps, as well as the language used leaves no doubt as to the Gita not having been composed as a doctrinal treatise. On the contrary in some places, if it is not irreverent to say so, the argument seems to be more in the nature of a special pleading than a solemn and serious dissertation on religious doctrines. However, we shall be able to see the nature of the plea as we proceed.

(*a*) The first chapter or discourse describes the despondent state of Arjuna's mind and is consequently called "*Arjuna's Vishada Yoga.*" After giving a vivid description of the field of battle and of what Arjuna said when with Krishna as his charioteer he was standing in the midst of the two armies and observing the arrangement of the two opposing hosts, the writer reproduces what Arjuna said to Sri Krishna of his troubles. The account is extremely pathetic, the more so, as the language employed is very simple and almost to a word similar to what every ordinary person in the world uses in a state of mind like to what Arjuna is supposed to have been in at the time. Almost in a childlike way does Arjuna exclaim:—

"Seeing these my kinsmen, O Krishna, arrayed, eager to fight, *my limbs fail and my mouth is parched, my body quivers, and my hair stands on end, Gandiva slips from my hand and my skin burns all over. I am not able to stand, my mind is whirling.*'"

The nervousness that had taken possession of him is beautifully shown by making him say, "And I see adverse omens, O Krishna." This is followed by a philosophical questioning of the advantages that may be supposed to accrue by a successful ending of the war to his side. Adds Arjuna:—

"Nor do I see any advantage from slaying kinsmen arrayed in battle. For I desire not victory, O Krishna, nor kingdom, nor pleasures, what is kingdom to us? O Govinda, what enjoyment, or even life? if those for whose sake we desire kingdom, enjoyments and pleasures stand here in battle, abandoning life and riches, teachers, fathers, sons, etc. Those I do not wish to kill, though myself slain, O Madhusudana, even for the sake of the kingship of the three worlds."

Next is advanced the argument of the sin that is involved in the killing of relatives and kinsmen, even though these latter "with intelligence overpowered, see no guilt in the destruction of a famlly, no crime in hostility to friends." Their ignorance in no way palliates the sin of those "who see the evil in the destruction of the family."

In conclusion comes the argument which in Arjuna's eyes appears to be the most conclusive and unanswerable, the subversion of family ("kula")-dharma and corruption and perversion of family ties which must necessarily result from war.

"In the destruction of a family(kula), the immemorial (sanatana) family-dharma (kula-dharma) perishes; in the perishing of the *kula-dharma* lawlessness (adharma) overcomes the whole family (kula). Owing to the predominance of adharma, O Krishna, the women of the family become corrupt; women corrupted give birth to illegitimate children and half-breeds† (varna-shankaras). These varna-shankaras drag to hell the slayers of the family, and the family, as the ancestors (*i. e.*, the kula-pitris) are deprived of the customary offerings. Those that bring about this confusion, thereby destroying the national religion (jati-dharma) as well as the family-dharma (*i. e.*, the kula-dharma), the men whose kula-dharma is thus extinguished, O Janardana, abide (thenceforth) decidedly in hell. Thus have we heard."‡

Having argued thus Arjuna concluded that he would rather be slain by the sons of Dhritarashtra "unresisting and unarmed, in the battle," than commit such a great sin himself. Having said so, he "sank down on the seat of the chariot, casting away his bow and arrow, his mind overborne by grief."

* 'Destitute of merit' here can only mean 'appearing as such.' See also the commentary by Ramanuja.

† Mrs. Beasant translates "women corrupted, there ariseth caste-confusion," which to my mind does not truly represent the sense of the original. This is made clear by the next sloka. To find what was exactly meant by *Varna-Shankaras* in Hindu Shastras see the description of them given in the Manu-Smriti. I have given my own translation of slokas 40 to 44, both inclusive.

‡ There is a great deal of truth in the argument of Arjuna, and it applies even with greater force to temporary occupation of a country by foreigners possessing an alien religion and having different manners and customs of their own.

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III.—(b)

The second chapter (or discourse) opens with a touching and characteristic remonstrance by Krishna worthy of a warrior-prince typical of his times. Says he,

"Whence, O Arjuna, hath this ignoble dejection befallen thee, which is the characteristic of the Anaryas (non-Aryas) and which is heaven-closing and infamous. Yield not to impotence, O Partha! it doth not befit thee. Shake off this paltry faint-heartedness. Stand up, Parantapa (conqueror of foes)"*

This is pre-eminently the language of a noble Kshatriya, of a man who knew what it meant for a Kshatriya to behave on a field of battle in the way proposed by Arjuna. The whole duty of an Arya-Kshatriya was summed up in this pathetic reproach, which must have conveyed volumes to a brave and renowned prince of the royal blood such as Arjuna was. In one pithy but beautiful sentence it pictured the infamy of the idea and its dismal consequences. Strong language, indeed, but for the position and the authority of the man who used it with a sure and certain aim.

The dart, however, failed, and Arjuna retorted in a language more full of bitterness, and depth of feeling than wisdom.

"How, O Madhusudana, shall I attack Bhishma and Drona, with arrows in battle, they who are worthy of reverence, O Slayer of foes. Better in this world to eat even the beggar's crust than to slay these gurus high-minded. Slaying these gurus, our well-wishers, I should taste of blood-besprinkled feasts."

Having said this in anger, Arjuna regained himself immediately and proceeded to adopt an attitude which he thought was more befitting his relations with the great Krishna, *viz.*, one of a suppliant for knowledge, light and guidance.

"Nor know I which for us be the better, that we conquer them or they conquer us—these, whom having slain we should not care to live, even these arrayed against us, the sons of Dhritarashtra. My heart is weighed down with the vice of faintness†; my mind is affected by attachment‡(मोह)in the matter of Dharma. I ask thee which may be the better§—that tell me decisively. I am thy disiciple (शिष्य), suppliant to thee; teach me. For I see not what would drive away this anguish that withers up my senses, if I should attain monarchy on earth without a foe, or even the sovereignty of the gods."

* It is very difficult to give an exact equivalent of this verse in English. The expressions "an-arya," "a-swargiya" and "akirti-kara" are simply untranslatable. The first means evidently unworthy of the Aryas, but here it is used as a noun followed by a participle meaning followed or adopted or exhibited by the non-aryas. *Akirti*=no Kirti, its real sense involving something more than the loss of *Kirti*. Mrs. Besant translates "Kashmala" by 'in the perilous strait." To my mind "ignoble" gives a better sense of the original. Cowardice in the Kshatriya closes on him the doors of *Swarga* according to Hindu Shastras.

Having thus addressed Krishna he is reported to have finished off by saying "I will not fight." He had, however, said enough to drive Krishna to the conclusion that his own sentimental outburst against Arjuna had failed to produce the desired effect and that he would require more subtle food for his mental digestion to resume its normal state.

Krishna, then undertook to lecture him on the true philosophy of life and death, distinguishing the permanent, eternal and indestructible soul from the unpermanent, changing and decaying body. He began by pointing out that Arjuna was grieving "for those that should not be grieved for," because, said he,

"At no time was I not, nor thou, nor these princes of men, nor verily shall we ever cease to be hereafter. As the dweller in the body (meaning the spirit) findeth in the body childhood, youth and old age, so passeth he on to another body * * * the contacts of the senses * * * giving cold and heat, pleasure and pain, come and go, unpermanent * * * *. The unreal hath no being; the real never ceaseth to be * * * *. These bodies of the embodied One, who is eternal, indestructible and boundless are known as finite. Therefore FIGHT, O BHARATA!"

Immediately, however, he returns to the same argument and points out that

"He who regardeth this (*i.e.*, the soul) as a slayer and he who thinketh he is slain, both of them are ignorant. He slayeth not, nor is he slain. He is not born nor doth he die, nor having been, ceaseth he any more to be; unborn, perpetual, eternal and ancient, he is not slain when the body is ‖ slaughtered*! How can that man slay, O Partha! or cause to be slain, him, whom he knoweth (to be) indestructible, perpetual, unborn, undiminishing. As a man casting off worn out garments, taketh new ones, so the dweller in the body (*i.e.*, the soul) casting off worn out bodies entereth into others that are new. Weapons cleave him not, nor fire burneth him, nor waters wet him, nor wind drieth him away; uncleavable he, incombustible he and indeed neither to be wetted nor dried away; perpetual, all-pervasive, stable, immovable, ancient, unthinkable, immutable he is called; therefore knowing him as such thou shouldst not grieve."

Thus ends Krishna's first argument, which expounds the immortality and the indestructibility of the soul in stirring poetry. The expressions used have almost to a word been borrowed from the Upanishads, but the poetry is the author's own. The subject dealt with is, in certain respects, a very complex one, not to be easily followed in all its various bearings

† The original is "Karpanya dosha."

‡ The original is "Sanmudha chetah, (संमूढचेतः); "affected by attachment" better expresses its sense than "confused."

§ The Sanskrit expression is "Shreyah" (श्रेयः), *i.e.*, righteous

‖ I have slightly altered the order of this verse, but the words are all Mrs. Besant's.

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and lines of thought but the meaning and purport of the writer is quite clear. One who reads the Gita in order to understand the author's mind need not enter into those labyrinths of doctrinal niceties which are involved in the description of the nature and essence of the soul, as distinguished from the body of man. For the purpose of doctrinal controversy one had better look into those elaborate Shastras where the subject has been discussed at length and systematically. It is sufficient to know here what Krishna evidently wanted Arjuna to understand, *viz.*, that by killing the body he was not killing the real man embodied in the body and the latter was quite distinct in nature and character from the former; the body being mortal and changeable, the soul being eternal, immortal and indestructible.

The second argument is based upon the inevitableness of death.

"Or if thou thinkest of him," continues Krishna, "as being constantly born and constantly dying, even then, O! mighty armed, thou shouldst not grieve. For certain is death for the born and certain is birth for the dead. Therefore, over the inevitable thou shouldst not grieve.

"Beings are unmanifest in their origin, manifest in their midmost state * * unmanifest likewise are they in dissolution: What room (is) then for lamentation?"

The argument is wound up by pointing out that marvellous as the soul of man appears to be, it is invulnerable and not a fit subject for grief. The third argument is based on Arjuna's individual "Dharma".

"Further looking to your own dharma," says Krishna, "thou shouldst not tremble; for there is nothing more welcome to a Kshattriya than righteous war (धर्म्मयुद्ध). Happy the Kshattriyas, O Partha, who obtain such a fight, unsought,* offering as an open door to heaven."

In the next four verses he points out the consequence of not fighting, saying:—

"But if thou wilt not carry on this righteous warfare, then destroying† or outraging thy own dharma and (with it) thy honour, thou wilt incur sin. Men will recount thy dishonour (for all times to come‡), and to one highly esteemed, dishonour exceedeth death. The great warriors (or charioteers, *maharathi*) will think thou fledst from the battle out of fear, and thou, that wast *highly thought of by them*,§ wilt be lightly held. Many unseemly words‖ will be spoken by thy enemies, slandering thy strength. What (can be) more painful than that? Slain, thou wilt obtain heaven; victorious, thou wilt enjoy the earth; therefore, stand up, O son of Kunti, resolute to fight. Not minding pleasure and pain, gain and loss, victory and defeat, gird thee for the battle; (as) thou shalt incur no sin."

The rest of this chapter deals with the fourth argument, which is based upon the philosophy of Karma (action) without attachment to its fruits.

"Thy business¶ is with the action only," says Krishna, "never with its fruits; so let not the fruit of action be thy motive; nor be thou to inaction attached. (47) Perform action, O Dhananjaya, dwelling in union with the Divine, renouncing attachments and balanced evenly in (*i.e.*, without being disturbed by) success or failure. This equilibrium is called yoga (योग)."

The principal argument relied upon in the first part of the chapter based on the unborn and undying nature of the human soul was in accordance with the Philosophy of Sankhya but with the doctrine of *karma* began the teaching of *yoga*. In expounding this, Sri Krishna seems to speak lightly of the *karma-kandis* (कर्मकाण्डी)

"who with *kama* (desire) as the immediate object of the soul and heaven for its goal, offer birth, as the fruit of good action and lay** too much stress on the ceremonies for the attainment of pleasure†† and lordship. Those who cling to pleasure and lordship and whose minds are captivated by such teaching (as leads to the same) are not endowed with that determinate reason (बुद्धि) which is steadily bent on contemplation (43).‡‡ (Woe to the person) who cannot claim a determinate reason, such as is one-pointed, because many-branched and endless are the inclinations of one who possesses an indeterminate Buddhi."

The insinuation contained in this last sentence is, of course, well-aimed. In verse 49 Krishna points out the inferiority of *karma* (action such as mentioned in 43) to Buddhi-yoga and calls upon him to take refuge in the pure Buddhi,

"as pitiable§§ are they who work for fruits. The Munis united to Buddhi renounce the fruit which action yieldeth and (thus) liberated from the bonds of birth, they attain the blissful state."

Upon this Arjuna asks the Lord to explain what is the distinguishing mark of him who is stable of mind and steadfast in contemplation.

"How doth the stable-minded, O Keshava, how doth he sit and how walk?"

* 'Spontaneously' in Mrs. Besant's translation.
† Casting away.
‡ Perpetual.
§ Or considered great.
‖ (Unutterable—अवाच्य).
¶ The Sanskrit word is अधिकार.

** Sanskrit क्रियाविशेष, translated 'many and various ceremonies.'
†† Sanskrit भोग.
‡‡ Mrs. Besant's translation runs thus: "The determinate reason is but one-pointed, O Joy of the Kurus; many-branched and endless are the thoughts of the irresolute."
§§ Sanskrit "कृपणाः."

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Slokas 55 to 72 contain the answer to this question, which is, so to say, the Lord's exposition of "Buddhi yoga".

"When a man abandoneth, O Partha, all the desires of the heart and is satisfied in the self by the self, then is he called stable in mind. He, whose mind is free from anxiety and pains, indifferent amid pleasures, loosed from passion, fear and anger, he is called a Muni of stable mind. He who on every side is without attachments, whatever hap of fair and foul, who neither likes nor dislikes, of such a one the understanding is well-poised. When again as a tortoise draws in on all sides its limbs, he withdraws his senses from the objects of the senses, then is his understanding well-poised*. The objects of sense turn away when rejected by an abstemious soul but still desire for them may remain. Even desire, however, is lost when the Supreme is seen. The excited senses of even a wise man carry away his mind, (though he may be striving hard to control them). (Therefore) having restrained them all, he should sit harmonised, devoted wholly to me,† for of him the understanding is well-poised whose senses are mastered.

"Man, musing on the objects of sense, conceiveth an attachment to these; from attachment ariseth desire; from desire anger cometh forth; from anger proceedeth delusion; from delusion confused memory; from confused memory the destruction of Reason (बुद्धि); from destruction of Reason, he perishes. But the disciplined self, moving among sense-objects with senses free from attraction and repulsion, mastered by the self, goeth to peace. In that peace the extinction of all pains ariseth for him, for of him whose heart is peaceful the Reason soon attaineth equilibrium. There is no pure Reason for the non-harmonised, nor for the non-harmonised is there concentration; for him without concentration there is no peace, and for the unpeaceful how can there be happiness? Such of the roving senses as the mind yieldeth to, that hurries away the understanding, just as the gale hurries away a ship upon the waters. Therefore, O mighty armed, whose senses are all completely restrained from the objects of sense, of him the understanding is well-poised. That which is the night of all beings, for the disciplined man is the time of waking; when other beings are waking, then is it night for the *muni* who seeth. He attaineth peace, into whom all desires flow as rivers flow into the ocean, which is filled with water but remaineth unmoved—not he who desireth desires. Whoso forsaketh all desires and goeth onwards free from yearnings, selfless and without egoism—he goeth to peace. This is the Brahman state, O son of Pritha. Having attained thereto none is bewildered. Who, even at the death hour, is established therein, he goeth to the *Nirvana* of *Brahman*."

So far the argument originally started has been completed. With a view to make Arjuna throw off his dejection and fight, Shri Krishna started first by rebuking him and charging him with 'un-Aryanly,' unmanly and ignoble conduct. When that failed to have its desired effect, he explained the delusion that underlay the idea of Arjuna's incurring the sin of killing Drona and Bhishma, etc., by expounding the unborn and undying nature of the soul and declaring that it was the latter that was the real man and not the body which was changeable, transient and unpermanent. Then followed the inevitableness of death for every one born and *vice versa*. The fourth step was to exhort him to be true to his Dharma, regardless of consequences, and the fifth was asking him to perform Karma without attachment to its fruit. The last is in fact the governing principle of the Gita, which has been explained, all through, time after time, in different forms, under different heads and with different arguments. "Act in the living present with unswerving loyalty to your Dharma, doing whatever is necessary for the performance thereof, with no fear of incurring sin, provided your acts are strictly actuated by a sense of duty and are not tainted by an attachment to the senses or to the mundane fruit of your actions," is the sum-total of Krishna's teaching to Arjuna. "*Dharma*" (duty) is the supreme law of life that alone leads one to salvation and the state of supreme bliss (or *paramananda*), which is the goal of every human soul assuming a body and subjecting itself, in the language of the uninitiated, to recurring births and deaths. Everything else and every other consideration must be subordinated to and controlled by your Dharma. All your energies and powers must be concentrated on that point. That must be the centre of your system. There is no going on and on. In the pilgrimage of your life you are successful in proportion as you have found out your Dharma and stood to it. The day you approach the highest rung in the ladder of your Dharma, you have crossed the ocean of life, got rid of births and deaths and reached your haven. Then you enjoy a state of perfect bliss. If on the other hand you betray your *Dharma*; if you are carried away from it by other considerations, *viz.*, your own conceptions of virtue and vice, pleasure and pain, truth and falsehood; if you fail to stand to your duty and make it the rule of life under all circumstances, favourable or unfavourable; and if you allow yourself to be guided by wrong ideas and false sentiments, you are surely on the road that leads to destruction.

* I have slightly altered the order of this verse as well as the translation.

† This is the first verse in the chapter in which Krishna uses the expression मत्परा and refers to devotion to himself. It may be that he wanted to gain mastery over Arjuna thereby, or it may be a subsequent alteration, because the verses preceding and following it have no connection with the idea, and the argument is quite complete without it. The expression while quite intelligible in some other places in the poem, seems to be quite out of place here.

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By such a course you only deepen the storm whirlpool and enhance the fury of the storm wherein the frail bark of the life of your soul is being tossed up and down, forward and backward, without a way out, without a star in the horizon to cheer it up in the hour of its difficulty, and without a hope of its ever reaching the harbour of safety.

III.—(c.)

The third chapter and all subsequent chapters are in a way only an amplification of *Karmayoga*, the principle of which was touched upon and stated in the second chapter. The mixing up of *Buddhi yoga* and *Karmayoga*, however, and certain other expressions about the supreme excellence of determinate reason, created some confusion in the mind of Arjuna and consequently in the first two verses of the third chapter he begs for the clearing up of the doubt. Addressing Krishna he says,

"If it be thought by thee that knowledge is superior to action, O *Janardana*, why dost thou, O *Keshava*, enjoin on me this terrible action (*i. e.*, war)? With these perplexing words thou hast only confused my understanding; tell me, therefore, with certainty the one way by which I may reach bliss."

The Lord replied,

"In this world there is a two-fold path, as I said before, O sinless one: that of Yoga by knowledge (ज्ञानयोग) of the Sankhyas; and that of Yoga by action (कर्मयोग) of the Yogis. Man winneth not freedom from action by abstaining from activity, nor by mere renunciation doth he rise to perfection, nor can any one, even for an instant, remain really actionless; for helplessly is every one driven to action by the energies born of nature. Who sitteth, controlling the organs of action but dwelling in his mind on the objects of the senses, that bewildered man is called a hypocrite. But who controlling the senses by the mind, O Arjuna, with the organs of action without attachment, performeth yoga by action (कर्मयोग), he is worthy.

"Perform thou right action, for action is superior to inaction, and inactive, even the maintenance of thy body would not be possible. The world is bound by action, unless performed for the sake of sacrifice (यज्ञ); for that sake, free from attachment, O son of Kunti, perform thou action. Having in ancient times emanated mankind together with sacrifice, the Lord of emanation (प्रजापति) said: 'By this shall ye propagate; be this to you the giver of desires; with this nourish ye the gods, and may the gods nourish you; thus nourishing one another, ye shall reap the supremest good. For, nourished by sacrifice, the gods shall bestow on you the enjoyments you desire.' A thief verily is he who enjoyeth what is given by them without returning them aught. The righteous, who eat the remains of the sacrifice, are freed from all sins; but the impious, who dress food for their own sakes, they verily eat sin. From food creatures become; from rain is the production of food; rain proceedeth from sacrifice; sacrifice ariseth out of action; know thou that from Veda action groweth, and Veda from the Imperishable cometh. Therefore Brahman, the all-permeating, is ever present in sacrifice. He, who on earth doth not follow the wheel thus revolving, sinful of life and rejoicing in the senses, he, O son of Pritha, liveth in vain." (Verses 3—16, ch. III.)

Verses 10—14 explain what is meant by *yajna*, which is translated by the word sacrifice, though it hardly gives the whole or correct idea of a *yajna*. In verses 12 and 13 rather strong language is used in denouncing those selfish people who act with the sole purpose of self-enjoyment, without any altruistic motive and without any idea of *Dharma* or *Karma*. But this is only by the by. Verses 14 and 15 reproduce the idea which is very common in ancient Aryan literature, tracing the hand of God in every righteous action enjoined by the Vedas; while verse 16th emphatically lays down the consequence of neglecting them. Verses 17th and 18th are again puzzling and conclude in the language of riddles but the 19th is very clear and concludes the reasoning contained in verses 3 to 16. "Therefore, without attachment, constantly perform action which is duty, for by performing action without attachment, man verily reacheth the supreme." With verse 20 begins another link in the chain of Krishna's persuasive armoury. Citing the example of Raja Janaka (a highly respected name in Hindu theological literature), he tells Arjuna that having an eye to the protection of the masses also, he should perform action. He explains what he means, in verses 21 to 26:—

"Whatsoever a great man doeth, that other men also do; the standard he setteth up, by that the people go. There is nothing in the three worlds, O Partha, that should be done by me, nor any thing unattained that might be attained; yet I mingle in action. For if I mingled not ever in action, unwearied, men all around would follow my path, O son of Pritha. These worlds would fall into ruin, if I did not perform action; I should be the author of confusion of castes, and should destroy these creatures. As the ignorant act from attachment to action, O Bharata, so should the wise act *without attachment*, desiring the maintenance of mankind. Let no wise man unsettle the mind of ignorant people attached to action; by acting in harmony with me let him render all action attractive."

In verse 27 another argument is advanced, *viz.*, that "all actions are wrought by the energies of nature only; the self deluded by egoism thinketh: 'I am the doer.'" Verses 28 and 29 repeat that non-attachment to the fruits of actions is the sign of perfect knowledge, the possessor of which is exhorted not

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to unsettle the minds of those whose knowledge is imperfect. In conclusion the Lord calls upon Arjuna to surrender all actions to Him in all sincerity of heart and to engage in battle, giving up all hope and attachment and cured of mental fever. Verses 31 and 32 are an attempt to inspire faith in His teaching.

"Who abide ever in this teaching of mine, full of faith and free from cavilling, verily they are released from actions. But those who carp at my teaching and act not thereon, senseless, deluded in all knowledge, know thou them to be given over to destruction."

Verse 35 gives the finishing touch by once more alluding to Arjuna's own *Dharma* (duty) as a *Kshattriya* (warrior) and by holding up the danger-signal against the temptation of attempting to assume the duties (*Dharma*) of a different class. "Better death in the discharge of one's own duty; the duty of another is full of danger." Thus ends the masterly argument of Krishna. What follow are replies to questions put by Arjuna, elucidating the different points that had indirectly and collaterally arisen in the course of the above argument. These replies involve learned expositions of several knotty points of doctrinal philosophy, but, in reality they are neither material to nor important for, the main purpose of the dialogue. But there are plenty of indications all through, that the latter is never dropped. Chapter III concludes with an explanation of the origin of sin in answer to Arjuna's query, *viz.*, "dragged on by what does a man commit sin, reluctantly, indeed, as it were by force constrained?" In Chapter IV is discussed the philosophy of births and deaths, with a sermon on the nature, essence and kinds of sacrifices. The chapter, however, winds up with an exhortation to fight, in the last verse, which runs thus:—

"Therefore, with the sword of the wisdom of the self (आत्मज्ञान), cleaving asunder this ignorance-born doubt, dwelling in thy heart, be established in Yoga. Stand up, O Bhárata."

Chapter V begins with a question by Arjuna as to which of the two, 'Renunciation of activities' (सन्यास) or 'Yoga', is the better and more approved path. In the very next verse the Lord gives a very decisive opinion in favour of 'Yoga by action' (कर्म योग) in preference to 'Renunciation of activities.' The rest of the discourse is a detailed discussion of "*Sannyasa Yoga*" followed by an equally masterly exposition of 'Yoga by meditation' (ध्यान योग) in the VIth Chapter.

Chapters VII to XVI both inclusive contain the poetry of the book. From the doctrinal point of view, the subject is practically the same but the language and the sentiments constitute sublime poetry and divine music. To the language of philosophy and that of science, in explaining the mystery of life and death, are added the charm of expression and the freedom of flight on the wings of the imagination. Riddles are explained away by riddles. The solutions are as perplexing as the problems. All reserve is set aside and the most complex and difficult of questions are met with the greatest boldness and in a tone of absolute confidence and unswerving faith in self. It is, as if, talking of serious matters in the language of disquisition, the writer suddenly remembers that he is composing music and writing poetry and not a book on polemics. Seemingly forgetful of the actual object in view, he transports himself to the vastness of limitless space and lets his imagination go free. Absorbed in the beauty of his own expanded soul he sees nothing but beauty and harmony in this universe, nay, even beyond and out of it.

Considered from the point of view of the original object of the dialogue, it is a most daring and successful effort to over-awe Arjuna as well as to inspire him with confidence and faith in the wisdom of Krishna and in his right to elicit implicit obedience to his will. It is an appeal to fear, love, respect and admiration all combined, and wound up with the supreme authority of the Shastras. The concluding verses of the XVIth chapter lay down that

"he who, having cast aside the ordinances of the Shastras, followeth the promptings of desire, attaineth not to perfection, nor happiness, nor the highest goal. Therefore, let the Shastras be thy authority in determining what ought and what ought not to be done. Knowing what hath been declared by the ordinances of the Shastras, thou oughtest to work in this world."

The reason for reference to the authority of the Shastras as regards the Duty of Arjuna is clear enough.

In chapter XVII is explained, in reply to a question by Arjuna, the condition of a man who sacrifices with faith but casting aside the ordinances of the Shastras. This leads to a discourse on sacrifices, followed by a disquisition on the essence of 'Renunciation' (सन्यास) and 'Relinquishment' (त्याग) in chapter XVIII. In this last discourse, is practically recapitulated the substance of the whole teaching of the Gita in a rather simple form with special reference to the action of the three *Gunas* (*energies*), *Sattva*, *Rajas* and

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Tamas, because there is not an entity, according to Krishna, either on this earth or in heaven among the Gods that is free * from these three qualities born of matter. Then is described the distribution of duties according to the qualities born of their own natures amongst the four principal castes, *viz.*, Brahmans, Kshattriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras (41 to 44), every one reaching perfection by his being intent on his own *karma* (45).

The next verse points out that a man winneth perfection by worshipping Him from whom all beings emanate and by whom everything is pervaded, in his own duty (कर्म); from which it only naturally follows that

"one's own duty is better though destitute of mer its than the well-executed duty of another† ; he who doeth the *karma* laid down by his own nature incurreth no sin." (47).

Stress is again laid upon the same idea by saying (in 48) that "nature-born *karma*, though defective, ought not to be abandoned (as) all undertakings indeed are clouded by defects (दोष) as fire by smoke."

The reader must have seen through the masterly ingenuity with which repeated appeals are being made to Arjuna in the name of his *Kshattriya Dharma*. The language used is very guarded. A distinction is made in the different verses between *Dharma* and *Karma*,‡ which is not very clear. The words, "destitute of merit" and "defective" are evidently used in a comparative sense to denote the superior merit and eventual excellence of the Brahman's *Dharma* and *Karma* as compared with those of the Kshattriya. All the same the latter is clearly and unambiguously enjoined not to neglect his own. Not only does he incur no sin by performing his own duty but that is the only way for him to wash off his previous sins, and improve his nature (स्वभाव) in order to gain the next step; verses 49 to 53 pointing out the way 'to be fit to become a Brahman.' Even a Brahman, however, is not freed from the obligation to perform *karma*, though over and above that, he must take refuge in the Lord, as it is by His grace that he attaineth the eternal indestructible abode. Speaking on behalf of the Lord, in the first person singular, Krishna takes particular care not to let Arjuna elude obedience to his wishes. He says :—

Renouncing mentally all works in *Me*, intent on Me, resorting to the Yoga of discrimination (बुद्धियोग), have thy thought ever on Me. Thinking on Me thou shalt overcome all obstacles by my grace: *but if from egoism thou shalt not listen, thou shalt be destroyed utterly.* Entrenched in egoism thou thinkest, 'I will not fight'; to no purpose thy determination; nature will constrain thee. O son of Kunti, bound by thine own *Karma*, born of thine own nature, that which from delusion thou desirest not to do, even that helplessly thou shalt perform. *Ishwara* dwelleth in the hearts of all beings, O Arjuna, by His *Maya* causing all beings to revolve, as though mounted on a potter's wheel. Flee unto Him for shelter with all thy being, O Bharata; by His grace thou shalt obtain supreme peace, the ever-lasting dwelling place."

Reader, mark the threat contained in the words in italics and then the subsequent cajoling into action on other grounds.

It will be ridiculous to take every word literally as, in that case, the analogy of the potter's wheel will destory all freedom of action on the part of man, which is far from Krishna's mind. The net of logic, philosophy, reason and faith which Krishna so skilfully and so ingeniously wove round Arjuna's heart and brain, could not fail to have its effects. Arjuna's doubts were completely annihilated and having been entirely subdued he gave in. Says Arjuna at last,

"Destroyed is my delusion. I have gained knowledge through Thy grace, O *Achyuta*. I am firm, my doubts have fled away. *I will do according to Thy word.*"

So did Krishna triumph and verily. "Wherever is Krishna, Yoga's Lord, (योगेश्वर) and wherever is Partha, the Archer (धनुर्धर), assured are there prosperity, victory and happiness."

A nation's prosperity and success depend upon wisdom like that of Krishna and on bravery like that of Arjuna. The one without the other is incomplete and defective. Efficiency can best be secured by a combination of both. This is the corollary to the Bhagawad-Gita; disinterested performance of one's duty, without attachment to its fruits, at any cost and any risk, being its burthen. This is a message for all times to come and for men in general, be they of any color or clime; but this is THE message for the descendants, successors and countrymen of Krishna and Arjuna, swayed as they are, at present, by the forces of ignorance, superstition, chicken-heartedness and false ideas of *Dharma* and *Karma*. In unswerving loyalty to this truth—at any cost and under any circumstances—lies the salvation of the present-day Indians. If ever any nation stood in need of a message like that of Krishna, it is the Indians of to-day. If ever the inheritors of Krishna's name and glory stood in need of a sound doctrine to lead them to

* I have used this word in place of 'liberated.'

† The first line of XVIII. 47 is a verbatim repetition of the 1st line of III. 35.

‡ Mrs. Besant translates both by 'duty' in this chapter.

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success and prosperity amidst adverse circumstances of the greatest awe-inspiring and fear-generating magnitude, it is now. Let them invoke his aid by acting up to his message and we are sure all their doubts will be dispelled, their unmanliness gone and the road to success and glory gained steadily but surely. It will be a shame if the countrymen of Krishna let any false ideas of *Yoga* prevail amongst them or let any false doctrines of renunciation (सन्यास) and relinquishment (त्याग) enfeeble their arms. If no false notions of *Dharma* are allowed to paralyse their minds and their hands, we are confident their future is as assured as was the victory of Arjuna over the mighty forces of Duryodhana, even though the latter had the bodily support of a Bhishma and a Drona.

THE YELLOW GOD

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By H. Rider Haggard,

Author of "King Solomon's Mines," "She," "The Brethren," "Benita," &c.

CHAPTER IV.

Barbara.

There was no bridge or billiards at the Court that night, where ordinarily the play ran high enough. After Mr. Haswell had been carried to his room, some of the guests —among them Sir Robert Aylward—went to bed, remarking that they could do no good by sitting up; while others, more concerned, waited to hear the verdict of the doctor, who must drive from six miles away. He came, and half an hour later Barbara entered the billiard room and told Alan, who was sitting there, smoking, that her uncle had recovered from his faint and that the doctor, who was stopping there all night, said that he was in no danger, only suffering from a heart attack brought on apparently by over-work or excitement.

When Alan woke next morning the first thing that he heard through his open window was the sound of the doctor's departing dog-cart. Then Jeeki appeared and told him that Mr. Haswell was all right again, but that all night he had shaken "like one jelly." Alan asked what had been the matter with him, but Jeeki only shrugged his shoulders and said that he did not know—"perhaps Yellow God touch him up."

At breakfast, as in her note she had said she would, Barbara appeared wearing a short skirt. Sir Robert, who was there also, looking extremely pale even for him, and with black rims round his eyes, asked her if she was going to golf, to which she answered that she would think it over. It was a somewhat melancholy meal, and as though by common consent, no mention was made of Jeeki's tale of the Yellow God, and beyond the usual polite inquiries, very little of their host's seizure.

As Barbara went out she whispered to Alan, who opened the door for her, "Meet me at half-past ten in the kitchen garden."

Accordingly, having changed his clothes surreptitiously, Alan, avoiding the others, made his way by a circuitous route to the kitchen garden, which, after the fashion of modern places, was hidden behind a belt of trees nearly a quarter of a mile from the house. Here he wandered about till presently he heard Barbara's pleasant voice behind him saying:

"Don't dawdle so, we shall be late for church."

So they started somewhat furtively, like runaway children. As they went Alan asked how her uncle was.

"All right now," she answered, "but he has had a bad shake. It was that Yellow God story which did it. I know, for I was there when he was coming to, with Sir Robert. He kept talking about it in a confused manner, saying that it was swimming to him across the floor, till at last Sir Robert bent over him and told him to be quiet, quite sternly. Do you know, Alan, I believe your pet fetish has been manifesting itself in some unpleasant fashion up there in the office."

"Indeed! If so, it must be since I left, for I never heard of anything of the sort, nor are Aylward and your uncle likely people to see ghosts. In fact, Sir Robert wished to give me more than £15,000 for the thing only the day before yesterday, which doesn't look as though it had been frightening him."

"Well, he won't repeat the offer, Alan, for I heard him promise my uncle only this morning

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that it should be sent back to Tandeys at once." asked Barbara. "But why did he want to buy it for such a lot of money? Tell me quickly, Alan, I am dying to hear the whole story."

So he began and told her, omitting nothing, while she listened eagerly to every word, hardly interrupting him at all. As he finished his tale they reached the door of the quaint old village church, just as the clock was striking eleven.

"Come in, Alan," she said gently, "and thank Heaven for all its mercies, for you should be a grateful man to-day."

Then without giving him time to answer she entered the church, and they took their places in the great square pew that for generations had been occupied by the owners of the ancient house which Mr. Haswell pulled down when he built the Court. There were their monuments upon the wall and their gravestones in the chancel floor. But now no one except Barbara ever sat in their pew; even the benches set aside for the servants were empty, for those who frequented the Court were not church-goers, and "like master, like man." Indeed, the gentle-faced old clergyman looked quite pleased and surprised when he saw two inhabitants of that palatial residence amongst his congregation, although it is true that Barbara was his friend and helper.

The simple service went on; the first lesson was read. It cried woe upon them that join house to house and field to field, that draw iniquity with cords of vanity and sin as it were with a cart-rope; that call evil good and good evil, that put darkness for light and light for darkness, that justify the wicked for reward; that feast full but regard not the work of the Lord, neither consider the operation of His hand, for of such it prophesied that their houses, great and fair, should be without inhabitant and desolate.

It was very well read, and Alan, listening, thought that the denunciations of the old seer of thousands of years ago were not inappropriate to the dwellers in some houses great and fair of his own day, who, whatever they did or left undone, regarded not the work of the Lord, neither considered the operation of His hand. Perhaps Barbara thought so too; at any rate a rather sad little smile appeared once or twice upon her sweet, firm face as the immortal poem echoed down the aisle.

The peace that passeth understanding was invoked upon their heads, and rising with the rest of the scanty congregation, they went away.

"Shall we walk home by the woods, Alan?" "It is three miles round, but we don't lunch till two."

He nodded, and presently they were alone in those woods, the beautiful woods through which the breath of spring was breathing, treading upon carpets of bluebell, violet and primrose, quite alone, uncompanioned save by the wild things that stole across their path, undisturbed save by the sound of the singing birds and of the wind among the trees.

"What did you mean, Barbara, when you said that I should be a grateful man to-day?" asked Alan presently.

Barbara looked him in the eyes in that open, virginal fashion of hers, and answered in the words of the lesson, "Woe unto them that draw iniquity with the cords of vanity and sin as it were with a cart-rope, that lay house to house"—and through an opening in the woods she pointed to the roofs of the Court standing on one hill, and to the roof of the Old Hall standing upon another—"and field to field" and with a sweep of her hand she indicated all the country round, "for many houses great and fair that have music in their feasts shall be left desolate." Then turning, she said,

"Do you understand now, Alan?"

"I think so," he answered. "You mean that I have been in bad company."

"Very bad, Alan. One of them is my own uncle, but the truth remains the truth. Alan, they are no better than thieves; all this wealth is stolen, and I thank God that you have found it out in time before you became one of them in heart as well as in name."

"If you mean the Sahara Syndicate," he said, "the idea is sound enough; indeed, I am responsible for it. The thing can be done, great benefits would result—too long to go into."

"Yes, yes, Alan, but you know that they never mean to do it, they only mean to get the millions from the public. I have lived with my uncle for ten years, ever since my poor father died, and I know the backstairs of the business. There have been half a dozen schemes like this, and although they have had their bad times, very bad times, he and Sir Robert have grown richer and richer. But what has happened to those who have invested in them? Oh! let us drop the subject, it is unpleasant. For myself, it doesn't matter, because, although it isn't under my control, I have money of my own. You know we are a plebeian lot on the male side. My grandfather was a draper in a large way of business; my father was a coal merchant who made a great fortune. His brother, my uncle,

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in whom my father always believed, and he took to what is called finance, and when my father died he left me, his only child, in his guardianship. Until I am five and twenty I cannot even marry or touch a halfpenny without his consent; in fact, if I should marry against his will the most of my money goes to him."

"I expect that he has got it already," said Alan.

"No, I think not. I found out that, although it is not mine, it is not his. He can't draw it without my signature, and I steadily refuse to sign anything. Again and again they have brought me documents and I have always said that I would consider them at five and twenty, when I came of age under my father's will. I went on the sly to a lawyer in Kingswell, and paid him a guinea for his advice, and he put me up to that. 'Sign nothing,' he said, and I have signed nothing, so, except by forgery, nothing can have gone. Still for all that it may have gone. For anything I know I am not worth more than the clothes I stand in, although my father was a very rich man."

"If so, we are about in the same boat, Barbara," Alan answered with a laugh, "for my present possessions are Yarleys, which brings in about £100 a year less than the interest on its mortgages and cost of upkeep, and the £1,700 that Aylward paid me back on Friday for my shares. If I had stuck to them I understand that in a week or two I should have been worth £100,000, and now you see, here I am, over thirty years of age, without a profession, invalided out of the Army, and having failed in finance, a mere bit of driftwood without hope and without a trade."

Barbara's brown eyes grew soft with sympathy, or was it tears?

"You are a curious creature, Alan," she said. "Why didn't you take the £15,000 for that fetish of yours? It would have been a fair deal and have set you on your legs."

"I don't know," he answered dejectedly. "It went against the grain, so what is the use of talking about it? I think my old uncle Austin told me it wasn't to be parted with. No, perhaps it was Jeeki. Bother the Yellow God, it is always cropping up."

"Yes," replied Barbara, "the Yellow God is always cropping up, especially in this neighbourhood."

They walked on in silence, till suddenly Barbara sat down upon the bole of a felled oak and began to cry.

"What is the matter with you?" asked Alan.

"I don't know," she answered. "Everything goes wrong. I live in a kind of gilded hell. I don't like my uncle, and I loathe the men he brings about the place. I have no friends, I scarcely know a woman intimately. I have troubles I can't tell you and—I am wretched. You are the only creature I have left to talk to, and I suppose that after this row you must go away, too, to make your living."

Alan looked at her and his heart swelled within him, for he had loved this girl for years.

"Barbara," he gasped, "please don't cry, it upsets me. You know you are a great heiress—"

"That remains to be proved," she answered. "But, any way, what has it to do with the case?"

"It has everything to do with it, at least so far as I am concerned. If it hadn't been for that I should have asked you to marry me a long while ago, because I love you, as I would now, but of course it is impossible."

Barbara ceased her weeping, wiped her eyes with the back of her hand, and looked up at him.

"Alan," she said, "I think that you are the biggest fool I ever knew—not but that a fool is rather refreshing when one lives among knaves."

"I know I am a fool," he answered. "If I wasn't I should not have mentioned my misfortune to you, but sometimes things are too much for one. Forget it and forgive me."

"Oh! yes," she said, "I forgive you; a woman can generally forgive a man for being fond of her. Whatever she may say, she is ready to take a lenient view of his human weakness. But as to forgetting, that is a different matter. I don't exactly see why I should be so anxious to forget, who haven't many people to care about me," and she looked at him in quite a new fashion, one indeed which gave him something of a shock, for he had not thought the nymph-like Barbara capable of such a look as that. She and any sort of passion had always seemed so far apart.

Now, after all, Alan was very much a man, if a modest one, with all a man's instincts, and therefore there are appearances of the female face which even such as he could not entirely misinterpret.

"You—don't—mean," he said doubtfully, "you don't really mean——" and he stood hesitating before her.

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"If you would put your question a little more clearly, Alan, I might be able to give you an answer," she replied, that quaint little smile of hers creeping to the corners of her mouth like sunshine through a mist of rain.

"You don't really mean," he went on, "that you care anything about me, like, like I have cared for you for years?

"Oh! Alan," she said, laughing outright, "why in the name of goodness shouldn't I care about you? I didn't say that I do, mind, but why shouldn't I? What is the gulf between us?"

"The old one," he answered, "that between Dives and Lazarus."

"Alan," said Barbara, looking down, "I don't know what has come over me, but for some unexplained and inexplicable reason I am inclined to give Lazarus a lead— across that gulf."

Now, like the glance which preceded it, this was a saying that Alan could not misunderstand. He sat himself on the log beside her, while she, still looking down, watched him out of the corners of her eyes. He went red, he went white, his heart beat very violently. Then he stretched out his big brown hand and took her small white one, and as this familiarity produced no remonstrance, let it fall, and passing his arm about her, drew her to him and embraced her, not once, but often, with such vigour that a squirrel which had been watching these proceedings from a neighbouring tree, bolted round it scandalized, and was seen no more.

"I love you, I love you!" he said huskily.

"So I gather," she answered in a feeble voice.

"Do you care for me!" he asked.

"It would seem that I must, Alan, otherwise I should scarcely—oh! you foolish Alan," and heedless of her Sunday hat, which never recovered this encounter, but was kept as a holy relic, she let her head fall upon his shoulder and began to cry again, this time for very happiness.

He kissed her tears away; and then, as he could think of nothing else to say, asked her if she would marry him.

"It is the general sequel to this kind of thing, I believe," she answered, "or, at any rate, it ought to be. But if you want a direct answer—yes, I will, if my uncle lets me, which he won't, as you have quarrelled with him, or, at any rate, two years hence, when I am five-and-twenty and my own mistress; that is, if we have anything to marry on, for one must eat. At present our worldly possessions seem to consist chiefly of a large stock of mutual affection, a good stock of clothes and one Yellow God, which, after what happened last night, I do not think you will get another chance of turning into cash."

"I must make money somehow," he said.

"Yes, Alan, but I am afraid it is not easy to do—honestly. Nobody wants people without capital whose only stock in trade is a brief but distinguished military career and a large experience of Africa fever."

Alan groaned at this veracious but discouraging remark, and she went on quickly.

"I mean to spend another guinea upon my friend the lawyer at Kingswell. Perhaps he can raise the wind by a post-obit or something," she added vaguely, "I mean a post-uncle-obit."

"If he does, Barbara, I can't live on your money alone; it isn't right."

"Oh! don't you trouble about that, Alan. If once I can get hold of those dim thousands you will soon be able to make more, for unto him that hath shall be given. But at present they are very dim, and for all I know may be represented by stock in deceased companies. In short the financial position is extraordinarily depressed, as they say in the Market Intelligence in 'The Times.' But that's no reason why we should be depressed also."

"No, Barbara, for at any rate we have got each other."

"Yes," she answered springing up, "we have got each other, dear, until Death do us part, and somehow I don't think he'll do that yet awhile; it comes into my heart that he won't do that, Alan, that you and I are going to live out our days. So what does the rest matter? In two years I shall be a free woman. In fact if the worst comes to the worst I'll defy them all," and she set her little mouth like a rock, "and marry you straight away, as, being over age, I can do, even if it costs me every halfpenny that I've got."

"No, no," he said, "it would be wrong, wrong to yourself and wrong to your descendants."

"Very well, Alan, then we will wait, or perhaps luck will come our way—why shouldn't it? At any rate for my part I never felt so happy in my life, for, dear Alan, we have found what we were born to find, found it once and for always, and the rest is mere etceteras. What would be the use of all the gold of the Asiki people that Jeeki was talking about last night, to either of us, if we had not each other? We can get on without the wealth, but we couldn't

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get on apart, or at least I couldn't, and I don't mind saying so."

"No, my darling, no," he answered turning white at the very thought, "we couldn't get on apart—now. In fact I don't know how I have done so so long already, except that I was always hoping that a time would come when we shouldn't be apart. That is why I went into that infernal business, to make enough money to be able to ask you to marry me. And now I have gone out of the business and asked you just when I shouldn't."

"Yes, so you see you might as well have done it a year or two ago when perhaps things would have been simpler. Well, it is a fine example of the vanity of human plans, and Alan, we must be going home to lunch. If we don't, Sir Robert will be organizing a search party to look for us; in fact, I shouldn't wonder if he is doing that already, in the wrong direction."

The mention of Sir Robert Aylward's name fell on them both like a blast of cold wind in summer, and for a while they walked in silence.

"You are afraid of that man, Barbara," said Alan presently, guessing her thoughts.

"A little," she answered, "so far as I can be afraid of anything any more. And you?"

"A little also. I think that he will give us trouble. He can be very malevolent and resourceful."

"Resourceful, Alan; well, so can I. I'll back my wits against his any day. He shan't separate us by anything short of murder, which he won't go in for. Men like that don't like to break the law; they have too much to lose. But no doubt he will make things uncomfortable for you, if he can, for several reasons."

Again they walked on lost in reflections, when Barbara suddenly saw her lover's face brighten.

"What is it, Alan?" she asked.

"Something that is rare enough with me, Barbara—an idea. You remember speaking about that Asiki gold just now. Well, why shouldn't I go and get it?"

She stared at him.

"It sounds a little speculative," she said, "something like one of my uncle's companies."

"Not half so speculative as you think. I have no doubt it is there, and Jeeki knows the way. Also I seem to remember that there is a map and an account of the whole thing in my Uncle Austin's diaries, though to tell you the truth the old fellow wrote such a fearful hand that I have never taken the trouble to read it. You see," he went on with enthusiasm, "it is the kind of business that I can do. I am thoroughly salted to fever; I know the West Coast, where I spent three years on that Boundary Commission; I have studied the natives and can talk several of their dialects. Of course there would be a risk, but there are risks in everything, and like you I am not afraid of that, for I believe that we have got our lives before us."

"Read up those diaries, Alan, and we will talk the thing over again. I'll pump Jeeki, who will tell me anything by coaxing, and try to get at the truth. Meanwhile what are you going to do about my uncle?"

"Speak to him, of course, and have the row over."

"Yes," she answered, "that is the best and the most honest. Of course he can turn you out, but he can't prevent my seeing you. If he does, go home to Yarleys and I'll come over and call. Here we are, let us go in by the back door," and she pointed to her crushed hat, and laughed.

While Alan and Barbara were away in the woods another interview had been taking place in Mr. Champers-Haswell's private suite at the Court, the decorations of which as he was wont to inform his visitors, had cost nearly £2,000. Sir Robert had come to see Mr. Haswell, who presently emerged from his bedroom, wrapped in a dressing gown and looking very pale and shaky.

"Delighted to see you all right again," said Sir Robert, as he wheeled up a chair into which Mr. Haswell sank.

"I am not all right, Aylward," he answered; "I am not all right at all. Never had such an upset in my life; thought I was going to die when that accursed nigger told his beastly tale. Aylward, you are a man of the world, tell me, what is the meaning of the thing? You remember what we thought we saw in the office, and then—that story?"

"I don't know," he answered; "frankly I don't know. I am a man who has never believed in anything I cannot see and test, and who utterly lacks faith. In my leisure I have examined into the religious systems and found them to be rubbish. I am convinced that we are but highly-developed mammals born by chance, and when our day is done departing into the black Nothingness out of which we came. Everything else, that is what is called the higher and spiritual part, I attribute to the superstitions incident to the terror of the hideous positions in which we find ourselves, that of gods of a sort hemmed in by a few years of fearful and tormented

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life. But you know the arguments, so why should I enter on them? And now I am confronted with an experience which I cannot explain. I certainly thought that in the office on Friday evening I saw that gold mask, to which I had taken so strange a fancy that I offered to give Vernon over £15,000 for it because I thought that it brought us luck, swim across the floor of the room and look first into your face and then into mine. Well, the next night that negro tells his story. What am I to make of it?"

"Can't tell you," answered Mr. Champers-Haswell with a groan. "All I know is that it nearly made a corpse of me. I am not like you, Aylward; I was brought up as an Evangelical, and although I haven't given much thought to these matters of late years, well, we don't shake them off in a hurry. I daresay there is something somewhere, and when the black man was speaking, that something seemed uncommonly near. It got up and gripped me by the throat, shaking the mortal breath out of me, and upon my word, Aylward, I have been wishing all the morning that I had led a different kind of life, as my old parents and my brother John, Barbara's father, who was a very religious kind of man, did before me."

"It is rather late to think of all that now, Haswell," said Sir Robert, shrugging his shoulders. "One takes one's line and there's an end. Personally, I believe that we are overstrained with the fearful and anxious work of this flotation, and have been the victims of an hallucination and a coincidence. Although I confess that I came to look upon the thing as a kind of mascotte, I put no trust in any fetish. How can a bit of gold move, and how can it know the future? Well, I have written to them to clear it out of the office to-morrow, so it won't trouble us any more. And now I have come to speak to you on another matter."

"Not business," said Mr. Haswell with a sigh. "We have that all the week and there will be enough of it on Monday."

"No," he answered, "something more important. About your niece Barbara."

Mr. Haswell glanced at him with those little eyes of his which were so sharp that they seemed to bore like gimlets.

"Barbara?" he said. "What of Barbara?"

"Can't you guess, Haswell? You are pretty good at it generally. Well, it is no use beating about the bush. I want to marry her."

At this sudden announcement his partner became exceedingly interested. Leaning back in the chair he stared at the decorated ceiling and uttered his favourite wind-in-the-wires whistle.

"Indeed," he said. "I never knew that matrimony was in your line, Aylward, any more than it has been in mine, especially as you are always preaching against it. Well, has the young lady given her consent?"

"No, I have not spoken to her. I meant to do so this morning, but she has slipped off somewhere with Vernon, I suppose."

Mr. Haswell whistled again, but on a new note.

"Pray do stop that noise," said Sir Robert, "in gets upon my nerves, which are shaky this morning. Listen. It is a curious thing, one less to be understood even than the coincidence of the Yellow God, but at my present age of forty-four, for the first time in my life, I have committed the folly of what is called falling in love. It is not a case of a successful middle-aged man wishing to *ranger* himself and settle down with a desirable *partie*, but of sheer, stark infatuation. I adore Barbara: the worse she treats me the more I adore her. I had rather that the Sahara flotation should fail than that she should refuse me. I would rather lose three-quarters of my fortune than lose her. Do you understand?"

His partner looked at him, pursed up his lips to whistle, then remembered and shook his head instead.

"No," he answered. "Barbara is a nice girl, but I should not have imagined her capable of inspiring such sentiments in a man almost old enough to be her father. I think that you are the victim of a kind of mania, which I have heard of but never experienced. Venus—or is it Cupid?—has netted you, my dear Aylward."

"Oh! pray leave gods and goddesses out of it, we have had enough of them already," he answered exasperated. "That is my case at any rate, and what I want to know now is if I have your support in my suit. Remember, I have something to offer, Haswell; for instance, a large fortune, of which I will settle half—it is a good thing to do in our business—and a baronetcy that will be a peerage before long."

"A peerage! Have you squared that?"

"I think so. There will be a General Election within the next three months, and on such occasions a couple of hundred thousand in cool cash come in useful to a party that is short of ready money. I think I may say

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that it is settled. She will be the Lady Aylward, or any other name she may fancy, and one of the richest women in England. Now have I your support?"

"Yes, my dear friend, why not, though Barbara does not want money, for she has plenty of her own, in first-class securities, that I could never persuade her to vary, for she is shrewd in that way and steadily refuses to sign anything. Also she will probably be my heiress—and Aylward," here a sickly look of alarm spread itself over his face, "I don't know how long I have to live. That infernal doctor examined my heart this morning and told me that it was weak. Weak was his word, but from the tone in which he said it, I believe that he meant more. Aylward, I gather that I may die any day."

"Nonsense, Haswell, so may we all," he replied with an affectation of cheerfulness which failed to carry conviction.

Presently Mr. Haswell, who had hidden his face in his hand, looked up with a sigh and said,

"Oh! yes, of course you have my support, for after all she is my only relation, and I should be glad to see her safely married. Also, as it happens, she can't marry anyone without my consent, at any rate until she is five and twenty, for if she does, under her father's will all her property goes away, most of it to charities, except a beggarly £200 a year. You see my brother John had a great horror of imprudent marriages and a still greater belief in me, which, as it chances, is a good thing for you."

"Had he?" said Sir Robert. "And pray why is it a good thing for me?"

"Because, my dear Aylward, unless my observation is at fault, there is another Richard in the field, our late partner, Vernon, of whom by the way, Barbara is extremely fond, though it may only be in a friendly fashion. At any rate she pays more attention to his wishes and opinions than to mine and yours put together."

At the mention of Alan's name Aylward started violently.

"I feared it," he said, "and he is more than ten years my junior and a soldier, not a man of business. Also there is no use disguising the truth, although I am a baronet and shall be a peer, and he is nothing but a beggarly country gentlemen with a D. S. O. tacked on to his name, he belongs to a different class to us, as she does, too, on her mother's side. Well, I can smash him up, for you remember I took over that mortgage on Yarleys, and I'll do it, if necessary. Practically our friend has not a shilling that he can call his own. Therefore, Haswell, unless you play me false, which I don't think you will, for I can be a nasty enemy," he added with a threat in his voice, "Alan Vernon hasn't much chance in that direction."

"I don't know, Aylward, I don't know," replied Haswell, shaking his white head, "Barbara is a strong-willed woman and she might choose to take the man and let the money go, and then—who can stop her? Also I don't like your idea of smashing Vernon. It isn't right, and it may come back on our own heads, especially yours. I am sorry that he has left us, as you were on Friday night, for somehow he was a good, honest stick to lean on, and we want such a stick. But I am tired now, I really can't talk any more. The doctor warned me against excitement. Get the girl's consent, Aylward, and we'll see. Ah! here comes my beef tea. Good-bye for the present."

(To be continued.)

CONVERSION AND EDUCATION OF INDIANS

THE SITUATION IN 1813.

IN the Charter Act of 1813, to promote the happiness of the heathens of India, it was proposed that

"Such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement; and in furtherance of the above objects, sufficient facilities ought to be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to and remaining in India, for the purpose of accomplishing those benevolent designs." * *

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to point out the diplomatic language of the above clause of the Charter Act. It is language befitting a Machiavelli or a Talleyrand—which does not so much express as conceal the thoughts and objects which the framers of the Act had in view. Who are the persons referred to as "desirous of going to and remaining in India, for the purpose of accomplishing those benevolent designs?" They were Christian missionaries.

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It would have been outraging the feelings of Indians to have informed them of the Ecclesiastical Department that they were going to be saddled with, for the benefit of the Christian natives of England. Hence the diplomatic language of the Charter Act. Christian missionaries were not required in India—they were not for the benefit of the heathens of that land. The witnesses examined before the Committees of the two Houses were mostly opposed to the sending of them to India. Mr. Warren Hastings was asked by the Lords' Committee :—

"Would the introduction of a Church establishment into the British territories in the East Indies, probably be attended with any consequences which would be injurious to the stability of the Government of India ?"

In reply, he said :—

"I have understood that a great fermentation has arisen in the minds of the natives of India who are subject to the authority of the British Government, and that not partial, but extending to all our possessions, arising from a belief, however propagated, that there was an intention in this Government to encroach on the religious rights of the people. From the information of persons who have recently come from the different establishments of India, Your Lordships will easily know whether such apprehensions still subsisted when they left it, or whether the report of them is groundless; but if such apprehensions do exist, everything that the irritable minds of the people can connect with that will make an impression upon them, which they will adopt as certain assurances of it. So far only, considering the question as a political one, I may venture to express my apprehension of the consequences of such an establishment at this particular season ; in no other light am I permitted to view it." * *

In answering the question,

"Do you conceive that any attempts to introduce the Christian religion among the natives would be attended with dangerous political consequences ?"

Sir John Malcolm told the Lords' Committee :—

"With the most perfect conviction upon my mind, that, speaking humanly, the Christian religion has been the greatest blessing that could be bestowed on mankind, * * nothing but the strongest impression of the danger that would attend, not merely the attempt, but an impression among the inhabitants of India that such an attempt would be made, could lead me to give a decided opinion that it would be attended with the most dangerous consequences ; and I think the risk of those dangers would be encountered without the slightest prospect of accomplishing the object ; my reasons for this opinion refer to the present political situation of the British Government in India. The missionaries sent to India by nations who have not established any political power in that quarter, have, I conceive, a much better chance of effecting their object than those under other circumstances ; but even the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Danes and the French (all of whom endeavoured to establish the Christian religion), were in a situation in India completely different from that in which the British now are. *In the present extended state of our Empire, our security for preserving a power of so extraordinary a nature as that we have established, rests upon the general division of the great communities under our Government, and their subdivision into various castes and tribes ; while they continue divided in this manner, no insurrection is likely to shake the stability of our power.* There are but few general motives that could unite communities of men so divided, and many of whom are of a weak and timid character ; but it is to be remembered that there is one feeling common almost to them all ; that is, an attachment to their religion and prejudices, and this is so strong that I have myself seen it change, in an instant, the lowest, the most timid and most servile Indian into a ferocious barbarian. In a Government so large as that of British India, there must be many who desire its subversion, and who would be ready to employ any means they could to effect that object ; such would, I conceive, find those means in any attempt that was made to convert the natives of India, upon a scale that warranted them in a belief it had the encouragement of the British Government. It would not signify to such persons what was the conduct of the missionaries employed, or the tenets of that religion which they taught ; their object would be misrepresentation ; and they would, I believe, not find it impossible to kindle a flame, which might in its progress not only destroy the British Government, but all who profess the faith it was designed to propagate."

Sir John Malcolm was a past master of diplomacy—both oriental and occidental—a term almost synonymous with hypocrisy, lying and corruption. He was the biographer of Clive, and knew fully well the principle or principles which guide the British administration of India. From the sentences put in italics in the above, it is clear that he also was of opinion that "*Divide et impera* should be the motto of the Indian Administration." Regarding this point he was more explicit in his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons. He wanted to keep Indians ignorant. He was asked :—

"Do not you think that it would be good policy in the British Government to increase the means of information to the natives of India ?"

In reply he said :—

"I consider that in a state of so extraordinary a nature as British India, the first consideration of the Government must always be its own safety ; and that the political question of governing that country must be paramount to all other considerations. Under that view of the case, I conceive every subordinate measure (and such I conceive that referred to in the question) must be regulated entirely by the superior consideration of political security.

"Might not an increase in the knowledge of useful arts in the natives, conveyed by British subjects resident in India tend to strengthen the British Government in India ? I conceive that such knowledge might tend in a considerable degree to increase their own comforts and their enjoyment of life; but

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I cannot see how it would tend in any shape to strengthen the political security of the English Government in India, which appears to me to rest peculiarly upon their present condition."

To explain his meaning more clearly, Sir John Malcolm appeared again of his own accord before the above Committee when he said:—

"I wish to add, that I mean by stating that the political security of the English Government in India appears to rest peculiarly upon the present condition of the native subjects, to refer to their actual division into castes, with particular duties and occupations, and to that reverence and respect which they entertain for Europeans, not only on account of their knowledge of the superior branches of science, but also of their better knowledge of many of the mechanical and more useful arts in life; and therefore, though I conceive that the communication of such knowledge to the natives would add to their comforts, and their enjoyments of life, and would increase their strength as a community, I do not think that the communication of any knowledge, which tended gradually to do away the subsisting distinctions among our native subjects or to diminish that respect which they entertain for Europeans, could be said to add to the political strength of the English Government. * * * *

"Are not you of opinion, that to increase the comforts and enjoyments of life of the native population of India, would tend to strengthen their attachment to the British Government, and consequently to strengthen and insure the stability of that Government in India? From all I have ever been able to observe of nations, I do not think we can calculate upon gratitude for benefits of the nature described as an operating motive that would at all balance against the danger of that strength which such a community as that of our Indian subjects might derive from the general diffusion of knowledge and the eventual abolition of its castes, a consciousness of which would naturally incline them to throw off the yoke of a foreign power; and such they always must consider the British in India; I wish to be understood as alluding in this answer to a danger that is very remote, but yet, in my opinion, worthy of attention.

"Are not the natives of India, in your opinion, susceptible of gratitude in the highest degree; have you not known instances of generosity and liberality on the part of the natives of India which would have done honor to any man in any age?—I think the natives of India, individually considered, are susceptible of gratitnde, and I have known many instances of liberality and generosity among them; but I do not conceive that we can, as I stated before, calculate upon such motives as likely to influence the community, which we shall always find it difficult to rule in proportion as it obtains union and possesses the power of throwing off that subjection in which it is now placed to the British Government."

Mr. Warren Hastings, and especially Sir John Malcolm and others opposed the introduction of Christian missionaries in India and the imparting of knowledge to its inhabitants from considerations of political expediency. But it was on grounds of political expediency, too, that these two measures were advocated.

It was Mr. Charles Grant, described as the Christian Director of the East India Company, who was the first to press upon the British public the expediency of sending Christian missionaries to India for the conversion of its heathen inhabitants, and imparting them education. Charles Grant was in the service of the East India Company in India and was brought up in the school of Clive, Warren Hastings and those Anglo-Indians of the eighteenth century, who according to Burke were "birds of prey and passage in India," and according to Herbert Spencer, "were only a shade less cruel than their prototypes of Peru and Mexico." Like others of his class, he shook the pagoda tree in India, grew rich by amassing a large fortune and then retired on a very handsome pension to England. He took a house at Clapham where he made the acquaintance of Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Thornton. We read in his biography that Mr. Grant always kept his eye fixed on the chief object of his heart—the evangelisation of India. Having this object in view, he prevailed upon Mr. Wilberforce, when the Company's Charter was about to be renewed in 1793, to introduce two clauses into the Act of Parliament confirming the Charter. These clauses ran as follows:—

"That it is the peculiar and bounden duty of the Legislature, to promote, by *all just* and *prudent means*, the interests and happiness of the inhabitants of the British dominions in India; and that for these ends, such measures ought to be adopted, as may *gradually* tend to their advancement in *useful knowledge*, and to *their religious and moral improvement*.

"That sufficient means of religious worship and instruction be provided for all persons of the Protestant communion in the service, or under the protection of the East India Company in Asia, proper ministers being from time to time sent out from Great Britain for those purposes;" &c., &c.

Although these two clauses were passed on the first two readings of the Bill, they were rejected on its third reading, because the great body of the East India proprietors, who elected the Directors, were opposed to these clauses for almost the same reasons as those of Mr. Warren Hastings and Sir John Malcolm mentioned above. The following is an abstract of all the arguments, or objections urged against them, as they are reported by Mr Woodfall.

Objections stated generally:—

"That sending missionaries into our Eastern territories, is the most wild, extravagant, expensive, unjustifiable project, that ever was suggested by

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the most visionary speculator. That the principle is obnoxious, impolitic, unnecessary, full of mischief, dangerous, useless, unlimited."

Specific arguments, *First Class:*

"The plan would be dangerous and impolitic; it would affect the peace and ultimate security of our possessions. It tends to endanger and injure our affairs there most fatally, it would either produce disturbances, or bring the Christian religion into contempt. Holding one faith or religion, is the most strong common cause with mankind, and the moment that took place in India there would be an end of British supremacy.

"That the principle of proselyting was *impolitic*, and was, or ought to be exploded, in so enlightened a period as the eighteenth century.

"That it would be a most serious and fatal disaster, if natives of character, even a hundred thousand of them, were converted to Christianity.

"That the establishment of seminaries and colleges in America, was one of the most efficient causes of the loss of that country.

"That suffering young clergymen, (who are usually of pleasurable habits,) to overrun the interior of India, would be dangerous, and prove ultimately destructive to the Company's interest."

Second class:

"The scheme would be unsuccessful. It is extravagant to hope for the conversion of the natives. They are invincibly attached to their own castes; their prejudices, manners, and habits, are all against a change.

"It is vain to attempt to overcome prejudices fixed by the practice of ages, far exceeding the time in which Britons had any idea of religion at all. The attempt is, in these views, idle, absurd, and impracticable.

"Only the dregs of the people can be converted; they will pretend conversion, and disgrace Christianity.

"The higher and more respectable natives, are people of the purest morality, and strictest virtue.

"The services of religion are devoutly performed in the Company's settlements and ships, either by clergymen or laymen, and their ecclesiastical establishments are sufficient."

Third class:

"*The scheme would be expensive.* The expense would be enormous, intolerable; one, two, or three hundred thousand pounds."

Fourth class:

"The scheme would be unlimited, in respect of the numbers and qualifications of the missionaries."

European Christians in general and natives of England more especially are not remarkable for being strict in the observance and practice of the tenets of their religion or for their spread. They were not like the Muhammadans or even the Roman Catholics of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—the authors of the Holy Inquisition—desirous of making converts. The natives of England understand the pleasures, comforts and conveniences of this world. They as a nation do not seem to care much for the Other World and, therefore, do not trouble themselves for saving the souls of other peoples. It was on these grounds then that the clauses in the Charter Bill of 1793, respecting sending missionaries to India and educating its inhabitants, were not passed.

Mr. Grant was not greatly disappointed. He tried to become a Director of the East India Company and was elected on May 30, 1794. He also entered Parliament in 1802. Whether in the India House or in Parliament, he exerted the influence which he wielded in inducing his countrymen to allow missionaries and schoolmasters to proceed to India in order to convert and enlighten its heathen population. He wrote a pamphlet entitled

"Observations on the state of Society among the *Asiatic* subjects of *Great Britain*, particularly with respect to Morals; and on the means of improving it."

This was meant to refute the arguments of those who were opposed to sending Christian missionaries to India. In order to succeed in his endeavour, he had to appeal to the two classes of his countrymen, *viz.*, those who professed or pretended to be philanthropists, and secondly, the men of the world, which constituted by far the larger class of his countrymen, with whom "£. s. d. is their Trinity." To appeal to the philanthropic instinct of his countrymen, he did what the Christian missionaries are in the habit of doing to this day, that is, vilifying, and painting the natives of India in the blackest colour possible. No unprejudiced man knowing anything of the character of the Hindoos would or could say that the chapters in the pamphlet regarding "view of the Morals of the Hindoos" and "causes of the situation and character of the Hindoos" are a fair, just or correct estimate of the character of the Hindoos. He very wantonly attacked them and painted them in the blackest colour possible, which was not fair. He had to serve his purpose and it seems to us that he did so on the principle of the end justifying the means.

However, in appealing to the philanthropic instinct of his countrymen, he was obliged to refer to the dark side of the British administration of India. He wrote:—

"All the offices of trust, civil and military, and the first lines of commerce, are in the hands of foreigners, who after a temporary residence remove with their acquisitions in constant succession. The government is foreign. Of *native* rulers, even the *rapacious* exactions went again into circulation, and

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the tribute formerly paid to Delhi, passing almost entirely to Calcutta, by the medium of private commerce, when a general communication throughout the Empire gave Bengal great advantages, was little felt. But the tribute paid to us extracts every year a large portion of the produce of that country without the least return. * *

"These observations, and the review which precedes them, are intended forcibly to impress upon the mind the sense of those peculiar obligations under which we lie to the people of our Asiatic territories, on account of benefits we draw from them, the disadvantages they have suffered, and must still in certain ways suffer from their connection with us, and the relation in which they stand to us as our subjects. * * * * In decreeing that our subjects shall be delivered from oppression and injustice, in setting an equitable limit to our own demands, and in establishing rights of property * *, have we done all that the circumstances of the Hindoos require, all that is incumbent upon us as rulers? * * * * We ought also to remember how much the authority of a handful of strangers depends on *opinion*. To reduce the sources of prejudice against us, and to multiply impressions favourable to us, by assimilating our subjects to our modes of thinking, and by making them happy, and teaching them to understand and value the principles of the people who confer happiness upon them, may be some of the surest means of preserving the footing we have acquired."

Even from the above extract it will be noticed that it was not purely philanthropic or altruistic considerations which prompted Mr. Charles Grant to advocate the sending of Christian missionaries to India and the imparting of instruction to its inhabitants. His philanthrophy or altruism was largely tempered or rather alloyed with selfish motives. This will be evident from the extracts from his pamphlet which we give below.

The mask of philanthropy which Mr. Charles Grant put on, when he advocated the evangelisation and education of the heathens of India was not the one calculated to inspire confidence in his co-religionists and compatriots. Therefore, in order to convince his countrymen that it would pay them if natives of India were educated and also converted to Christianity, he was obliged to remove the mask and appear in his real character. Towards the end of the pamphlet referred to above, he wrote, **"Wherever, we may venture to say, our principles and language are introduced, our commerce will follow."**

Here, at last, the cat is out of the bag. This convinced the Christian natives of England more forcibly than all the arguments which had been advanced from philanthropic considerations for the education and conversion of heathens. Again he wrote :—

"By planting our language, our knowledge, our opinions, and our religion, in our Asiatic territories, we shall put a great work beyond the reach of con- shall probably have wedded the inhabitants of those territories to this country."

That is quite true. The Christian nations and countries of the West send missionaries of their faith to non-Christian nations not so much for the spiritual welfare of the latter, as the worldly good which these missionaries bring to them.

That Indian patriot, Lala Lajpat Rai, who was deported out of India without any trial and without knowing the nature of the charges preferred against him, and over whose deportation almost the whole of the Christian Anglo-Indians—whether clergymen or lay men—greatly rejoiced, wrote in one of his letters from America, which he visited in 1905 :—

"The other day there was held a conference of missionaries in which President Copen is said to have advocated the extension of the mission work for the benefit of the American trade. I cull the following report from the *Boston Advertiser* :—'Save the world to save America' was the theme of the annual address of President Copen. He said, in part we need to develop foreign missions to save our nation commercially. * * * * It is only as we develop missions that we shall have a market in the Orient which will demand our manufactured articles in sufficient quantities to match our increased facilities. The Christian man is our customer. The heathen has, as a rule, few wants. It is only when man is changed that there comes this desire for the manifold articles that belonged to the Christian man and the Christian home. *The missionary is everywhere and always the pioneer of trade.*'"

Commenting on the above extract, Lala Lajpat Rai very rightly observed :—

"The Indian admirers and friends of Christian missions ought to note this commercial ideal of the American missionary. The missionary is not 'the pioneer of trade' only but also the pioneer of the political supremacy of the Boston people in the East. I think that the frank statement of leading Christians ought to open the eyes of all who see no danger in the work of the Christian Missions in the East."

If truth be told, it must be admitted that Christian nations are not anxious to save the souls of the heathens but wish to enrich themselves, and, therefore, send missionaries to non-Christian lands.

Mr. Charles Grant, although he called himself a Christian, did not really believe in the brotherhood of man. He was in favour of converting and educating the heathens of India, but certainly he was not in favour of giving them any political rights and privileges. The chief argument against the diffusion of useful knowledge amongst, and conversion to Christianity of, the natives of India, was that they would demand independence and throw off the yoke of England.

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Mr. Charles Grant thought otherwise, for he wrote :—

"The grand danger with which the objection alarms us is, that the communication of the Gospel and of European light, may probably be introductive of a popular form of Government and the assertion of independence. Upon what grounds is it inferred, that these effects must follow in any case, especially in the most unlikely case of the Hindoos? The establishment of Christianity in a country, does not necessarily bring after it a free political constitution. The early Christians made no attempts to change forms of Government; the spirit of the Gospel does not encourage even any disposition which might lead to such attempts. Christianity has been long the religion of many parts of Europe, and of various protestant states, where the form of Government is not popular. It is its peculiar excellence, and an argument of its intended universality, that it may subsist under different forms of Government, and in all render men happy, and even societies flourishing; * * It does not, in the pursuit of these objects, erect a peculiar political system; it views politics through the safe medium of morals." * *

We do not wish to enter into the discussion whether Christianity has the power of uplifting any people. But this much is evident that Mr. Charles Grant did not believe in the Rights of Man which Thomas Paine, a pronounced non-Christian, did. How can a religion make a man happy and prosperous, if he is not allowed to have some share in the good things of this world? Our Christian friends are very anxious to save our souls, but at the same time wish to keep us slaves. The words of the Italian patriot, Joseph Mazzini, should be poured into the ears of these good Christians. Mazzini wrote:—

"Is it then by leaving man in the hands of his oppressors that you would elevate and emancipate his soul? Is it by leaving erect the Idol of blind Force, in the service of Imposture, that you think to raise in the human soul an altar to the God of a free conscience?"

Yes, Mr. Charles Grant wanted to keep the natives of India perpetually under the leading strings of his own countrymen. He wrote that,

"We can foresee no period in which we may not govern our Asiatic subjects, more happily for them than they can be governed by themselves or any other power; and doing this *we should not expose them to needless danger from without and from within, by giving the military power into their hands.*"

Mr. Charles Grant was a Christian and believed in the "Brotherhood of Man!"

According to him, neither conversion to Christianity nor imparting of instruction to the natives was calculated to inspire them with any desire for liberty. He wrote:—

"Where then is the rational ground for apprehending that such a race will ever become turbulent for English liberty? A spirit of English liberty is not to be caught from a written description of it, by distant and feeble Asiatics especially. It was not originally conceived nor conveyed by a theoretical scheme. It has grown in the succession of ages from the active exertions of the human powers; and perhaps can be relished only by a people thus prepared. Example is more likely to inspire a taste for it than report; but the nations of Europe have seen that liberty and its great effects, without being led to imitation of it; for the French Revolution proceeds not upon its principles; it is an eruption of atheism and anarchy.

"The English inhabiting our settlements in India, have no share in the British Government. Some are employed as servants of the public, but no one possesses any legislative right. Why then should we give to the natives, even if they aspired to it, as it is unlikely that they will thus aspire, what we properly refuse to our own people? The British inhabitants would be extremely averse to such a participation."

Such were the views of this model Christian according to whom Indians should be looked upon as foes and aliens in the land of their birth, as helots who ought not to possess any rights and privileges.

We need not quote any further from the writings of this man. It was he by whose endeavour were introduced in the Charter Act of 1813 those clauses permitting missionaries to proceed to India, and establishing the Ecclesiastical Department at the expense of the natives of India, although it did not benefit them in the least, and also made the authorities of the East India Company set apart one lakh of rupees for the instruction of the natives of India. Neither Charles Grant nor the other natives of England were prompted by any motive of philanthrophy or altruism to grant these measures to India. It was sordid considerations of worldly gain which led the people of England to adopt the above measures under the cloak of philanthrophy.

It was political expediency which was at the bottom of the desire of the natives of Engand for the conversion of the heathens of India. This is quite clear from what Mr. Charles Grant wrote, extracts from whose writings have already been given above. We are borne out in our view of the case by the writings of another Englishman who possessed the reputation of being a very zealous Christian. The name of this Englishman is Mr. William Edwards. He served in India during the Indian Mutiny and after that event, he rose to be a Judge of Her Majesty's High Court of Agra. In 1856, he published his "Reminiscences of a Bengal Civilian." In the last chapter of his work, he says:—

"*We are*, and ever must be, regarded as foreign invaders and conquerors, and the more the people

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become enlightened and civilised the more earnest will, in all probability, be their efforts to get rid of us. Our best safeguard is in the evangelization of the country; for although Christianity does not denationalize, its spread would be gradual, and Christian settlements scattered about the country would be as towers of strength for many years to come, for *they* must be loyal so long as the mass of the people remain either idolators or Mahomedans." *

Considerations like the above must have influenced the English—a nation of shopkeepers—in favour of the conversion of the natives of India. They were told that the presence of the Christian missionaries in India would not contribute to the happiness of its inhabitants. The missionaries are as a class very aggressive, and wantonly outrage the religious susceptibilities of others who do not subscribe to their dogmas and tenets. This leads not very rarely to bloodshed even. This is exactly what was anticipated in India by those who were opposed to the Christian Missions. But perhaps the scheming and designing politicians of England thought that such a state of affairs would keep India under the control of England. The missionaries by exasperating the heathens provoke breaches of the peace, but they are not punished but the heathens. We see this tragedy or comedy being enacted every day in non-Christian countries. Lufcadio Hearn, Lecturer on English Literature in the University of Tokyo, says:—

"Force, the principal instrument of Christian propagandism in the past, is still the force behind our missions. Only we have, or affect to have, substituted money-power or menace for the franker edge of the sword; occasionally fulfilling the menace for commercial reasons in proof of our Christian professions. We force missionaries upon China, for example, under treaty-clauses extorted by war, and pledge ourselves to support them with gun-boats and to exact enormous indemnities for the lives of such as get themselves killed. So China pays blood-money at regular intervals, and is learning more and more each year the value of what we call Christianity."

In his despatch presented to Parliament in March 1895, Sir Gerald Portal said:—

"The race for converts, now being carried on by the Romish and Protestant missionaries in Uganda, is synonymous with the race for political power. That the missionaries on both sides are the veritable political leaders of their respective factions, there can be no doubt whatever. The Romish Fathers would admit this to be the case; on the Protestant side, it would not be admitted, but the fact unfortunately remains. The three great parties of Islam, Rome and Protestantism, though nominally only divided by religious tenets, are in reality adverse and jealous political camps, and the leadership of two of these camps is practically in the hands of European missionaries."

Mr. George Nathaniel (afterwards Lord) Curzon wrote in the *National Review* for 1893:—

"Without hostility to the missionaries, it is impossible to ignore the fact that English missionaries are a source of political unrest and frequently of international trouble, subversive of the national institutions of a country in which they reside."

But India is a land of toleration. Here the Christian missionaries have not been so roughly handled as they seem to have been in some other non-Christian countries. So the schemes of the designing politicians of England have been to some extent frustrated in India at least.

The people of India, although they do not owe allegiance to Christ, are saturated through and through with those principles which Christ preached. They do not and never did stand in need of Christian missionaries. On the contrary, it is the Christian islanders, whether natives of England or Scotland, who very sadly require the ministrations of their clergymen. The amount of immorality which prevails in those Christian countries is simply appalling. Debauchery, drunkenness, in short every sort of crime and vice, grows and thrives luxuriantly in the soil of Christian England and Scotland. General Booth was not wrong in branding large portions of the land of his birth and living as "Darkest England." So when we find the natives of that country instead of trying to remove the darkness that overspreads their own homes, sending missions to other lands, we must naturally conclude that they must have some other ulterior motives in view, and not merely the salvation of the souls of the dark heathens.

Thus it was selfish and certainly not philanthropic considerations which prompted the people of England to send Christian missions to India and impart instruction to its natives.

* p. 336.

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REFLECTIONS ON THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S CHARTER OF 1813

THE five articles entitled "The Genesis of the British Idea of Civilising India," "The Market for British Goods in India a Century Ago," "The Forcing of British Free Trade on India," "The Free Influx of Englishmen into India," and "Conversion and Education of Indians" (published in our November, December, January, February and March numbers respectively), are based mainly on the evidence taken by the committees of the two Houses of Parliament before the renewal of the East India Company's Charter in 1813. We now conclude the series with some reflections.

The far-reaching consequences of the terms on which the Charter of the East India Company was renewed in 1813 have not received that attention from the writers of Indian history which they deserve. India had been conquered and ruled by other nations before the English became masters of the country. But none inflicted such miseries on her as the English. Other rulers of India were imperialists, that is to say, they were content to keep power in their hands and exercise it. But the English were primarily a nation of shopkeepers. They were not satisfied merely with becoming the rulers of India; they desired also to become shopkeepers in India and, therefore, opened shops in this country. Thus it has come to pass that under the British rule India is being crushed and ground fine in a mill, the upper stone of which is Imperialism and the nether stone Commercialism.

And the commercial character of British rule in its present form dates from the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1813. True it is that the East India Company was a trading corporation. But they were not so much the importers of English manufactured goods into India as exporters of Indian goods from India to Europe. The deliberate destruction of Indian industries dates from 1813 when English goods were forced on India on the principle of Free Trade. Since that date has commenced India's degradation. If India is poverty-stricken to-day, that should be attributed to the Charter of 1813—to the crushing of India's manufactures.

If economically the renewal of the Company's Charter was disastrous to India, it was no less morally also. Since time immemorial, "plain living and high thinking" has been the guiding principle of the natives of Hindustan. But the philanthrophists of England, on the occasion of the renewal of the Charter in 1813, were anxious to see Indians give up plain living. They wanted to make them luxurious and addicted to drinking, &c.* How often was the question put to the witnesses who appeared before the Select Committees of the two Houses of Parliament whether the rich natives spent their superfluous wealth in the purchase of English commodities! Unless the natives of India were of luxurious and to some extent depraved habits, there was not much likelihood of their patronising English goods. So India which was sober, India which was abstemious, was to be made intemperate and luxurious, in order to extend the market of England. But the masses of the Indian people did not require any luxuries, for they

* Mr. Holt Mackenzie, in his evidence before the Commons' Committee, on the 23rd February 1832, said :—

"I believe intercourse with Europeans leads to indulgence in the use of wine and spirits, which, though it may be lamented on the score of morals, must be beneficial to the revenue ; their servants are generally better clothed, and the articles of clothing being subject to taxation, that would increase the revenue, * * * *

"Judging from Calcutta, there has been, I think, a marked tendency among the natives to indulge in English luxuries ; they have well-furnished houses, many wear watches, they are fond of carriages, and are understood to drink wines."

Yes, it gladdened the hearts of many a Christian Anglo-Indian that the natives had taken to the drinking of wines. In his evidence before the Commons' Committee, on the 24th March 1832, Mr. Bracken said that

"Liquors in Calcutta are now consumed in large quantities by natives who can afford to purchase them."

In answer to another question, the same witness said :—

"I heard from a native shopkeeper in Calcutta, who is one of the largest retail shopkeepers, that his customers for wines, and brandy, and beer, were principally natives.

"1936. What should you say was the favorite wine among the natives?—Champaigne.

"1937. Formerly did they not consume any wine?—Very little, I believe.

"1938. Is it not contrary to their religion?—I do not know whether it is contrary to their religion, but it is contrary to their habits ; * * It is not done openly, but when done it is a violation of their custom rather than of their religion."

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had hardly any wants. And the wants they had were supplied by Nature and the arts of their country. So England had to destroy the industries of the Indians in order to oblige them to purchase English goods.

It is a pity that there was no Indian living in 1813 who could see through the designs of the English when the Company's Charter was renewed. Even the enlightened and far-seeing Ram Mohan Roy failed to do so. Had the Indians been able to understand the intentions of their rulers in 1813, the birth of the Swadeshi *cum* boycott movement would have then taken place. The success of that movement in India would have been as great then as it had been in America on the eve of the Revolution. But unfortunately the natives of India had been so successfully hypnotised by the English, that they believed them to be their benefactors and that whatever they did was for the benefit of India.

It was because England wanted to create and extend her market in India, that the policy of exterminating the native states of India was mercilessly pursued. On the occasion of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter in 1793, through the exertions of Sir Philip Francis, a clause was inserted in the Charter Act that

"To pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish, the honor, and policy of this nation," &c.

But no inquiry was made in 1813 whether that clause had been violated or not by the Company. No, in the Charter Act of 1813, when its framers showed their solicitude for promoting the happiness of the natives of India, knowing how flagrantly the provision of the Charter Act of 1793 contained in the clause quoted above, had been violated by Wellesley, did nothing to restrain any other Governor-General from following his example. That omission in the Charter Act of 1813 was a significant one. No, it was not the interest of the English in 1813 to express their repugnance at the schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India as it was in 1793. They had to create and extend the market in India for English manufactures, and, therefore, it was necessary to bring as much territory under the dominion of England as it was possible by means of fraud and force.

About the time when the Company's Charter was to be renewed in 1813, Sir Thomas Munro wrote :—

"It is our political power, acquired by the Company's arms, that has made the trade to India what it is : without that power, it would have been kept within narrow bounds by the jealousy and exactions of the Native Princes, and by some, such as Tippoo, could have been prohibited altogether."*

Sir Thomas Munro represented the opinions and views of the politicians and statesmen of his time who had anything to do with India. Under the circumstance, it is quite reasonable to infer that the wars which were waged against the native Powers of India after 1813 were not "repugnant to the wish, the honour, and policy" of the natives of England. That accounts for the honors and rewards that were conferred on Earl Moira and every subsequent Governor-General who followed in his footsteps.

While it is considered indefensible on moral considerations to tax the Roman Catholics of Ireland to maintain Protestant clergymen in their land, while people although Christian, are protesting loudly against the Church of England Establishment in their midst, it is sad to think that the Charter of 1813 saddled India—a non-Christian country—with the cost of the Clerical Establishment. It was not fair dealing, nay, it was not even honest to do so.

The principle of religious neutrality which was the boast of the English in their Government of India was sacrificed when the Charter of 1813 permitted missionaries to proceed to India to preach the Gospel and convert its inhabitants. Religious neutrality demanded that the East India Company should have when they permitted Christian missionaries to proceed to India and sanctioned a Clerical Establishment at the expense of the heathens, encouraged Hindoo and Muhammadan priests to preach and practise their religion by giving them stipends out of the revenues of India. But this they did not do.

Next to the destruction of the Indian industries, the greatest wrong which the Charter of 1813 inflicted on the Indian people was the permission granted to Europeans to freely resort to India. They believed that this would in time lead to the colonization of India. And this there can be no doubt was their intention. In this, they considered, lay the security and permanence of their rule over the natives of Hindustan. The oppressions and cruelties practised by the adventurers of England on the inhabitants of India would they probably thought, serve to strengthen the British dominion, by dispiriting and disheartening the latter. Colonization meant displacement, and so, perhaps it was thought that the lives of the inhabitants of India

* Gleig's Life of Sir Thomas Munro, vol. II (1831), p. 347.

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would be almost of as much value to the British adventurers as those of the North American aborigines were to the Pilgrim Fathers, of the Mexicans and Peruvians to the Spaniards, of Kaffirs to the South African settlers and of Maoris to the Australian colonisers. It was probably for this reason, that, in spite of the protests of Warren Hastings and others who could speak with authority on the subject, the free influx of Europeans into India was demanded. But owing perhaps to the numerous population of India, her advanced civilization and latent strength, Indians could not be treated as the natives of other regions had been, by the white adventurers.

The deliberate destruction of the Indian industries, making Indians give up their plain living and take to some of the vices as well as the luxurious life of the Western nations and thus demoralizing them, allowing adventurers of Great Britain to freely resort to India to oppress and plunder its inhabitants, saddling non-Christian natives of India with the expense of a costly Christian Clerical Establishment, permitting missionaries of the Christian persuasion to proceed to India to insult and outrage the religious susceptibilities of the non-Christians, conniving at the wars on the Native Princes and the annexation of their dominions in order to extend their commerce, (for trade follows the flag), were considered by the scheming and designing politicians of England of a century ago as promoting the interest and happiness of the natives of India. It was "the duty" of England to pursue these measures from motives of philanthropy and altruism!

If India is to-day poverty-stricken, if the land of plenty is the home of scarcity and recurrent famines and of plague, if the people have been demoralized and Indian society disorganized, if there is unrest in India, the cause of all these troubles may to a great extent be traced to the Charter of 1813. It did not confer any concessions on Indians—on the contrary, it had the effect of making their lot much worse than before. Had the framers of the Charter Act of 1813 used plain and unvarnished language, they should have worded the 33rd section of that Act as follows:—

"Whereas it is the duty of this country to inflict miseries and degradation on the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India;" &c.,

instead of the language of that section breathing lofty philanthropy and altruism. The sum total of the Charter of 1813 was that India was not for Indians but for England and Englishmen.

THE STORY OF JANJAL NAGARI

JANJAL NAGARI was a flourishing town in the province of Andhera-khata—the Land of Darkness. The people of that place were very learned and were reputed for their extraordinary wisdom. There was not a child among them who did not know all about the earth and the movements of the stars and other heavenly bodies. Sextants, globes and astrolabes were the plaything of these infants. The men were very fond of the study of law and metaphysical hair-splitting. No stranger ever visited the town but came out a wiser though a poorer man. Many were seen to enter it who never returned. A rumour had of long been current among the neighbouring towns that the inhabitants of Janjal Nagari were sorcerers, and kept unwary travellers metamorphosed into goats, sheep or other lower animals. Of course, there was no truth in this, and the rumour had its origin in the great learning of the people. In fact, the inhabitants, though very argumentative and contentious, were but a lot of simple creatures, who were totally inexperienced in the practical concerns of life. Their terrible repute had kept them isolated, and they had little occasion for interchanging thoughts with other people.

Once a rich merchant entered the city to make some purchases. He went to the public square, which was the place where every sort of commodity was sold. When he reached it he saw a person crying aloud:—"Three thousand rupees for three good sayings. My name is Hushiar Khan. I sell proverbs, maxims, words, and advice." The merchant wondered very much in his mind at this strange advertisement, thinking what could be the three sayings for which such a high price was demanded. After a good deal of hesitation, he made up his mind to purchase them. So going up to Hushiar Khan, he offered three purses full

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of gold, each containing one thousand rupees, and said :—" Sir, here is the money: kindly sell me the sayings." Hushiar Khan took up the purses, counted the money, and then taking the merchant apart, whispered these words in his ears :—" Trust no cook, trust no friend, trust in God." The merchant thought that he had paid too much for the whistle; and his countenance rather betrayed his inward feelings, for he was disappointed.. Seeing this, Hushiar Khan said :—" Friend merchant, my object is not to cheat or deceive men. You will understand the truth of these sayings in your own life, and then you will thank me. However, that you may not think that I have overreached you, I give you these seven seeds of mango, orange, guava, apple, melon, pomegranate and grape, which, as soon as you sow them, will grow into big trees in a minute and bear ripe fruits, and then you have only to say vanish and the trees will vanish and you will get back the seeds." The merchant, whose name was Kam-Aql (Little Intellect), was very glad to get such wonderful seeds, and thought himself amply repaid.

When he returned home, the first thing he did was to go to his cook and show him the wonderful seeds. He planted them on a plot of ground before his house, and at once they shot forth into large trees and brought forth fruits, and the merchant and his cook ate of them plentifully and distributed them among his friends, and then he said :—" Vanish," and the trees all vanished, and he got back the seeds. Now the cook was a man of a bad character, and dealt in stolen goods with another merchant called Kam-Ikhlaq (Little Morality), who was also a bosom friend of Kam-Aql. The cook of the latter one day finding an opportunity when he was out, called in his partner and said to him :—" Friend, what shall we do now? Since my master brought back those seeds he has left off all idea of going out on travels, and is never absent from home. We cannot enrich ourselves so long as he remains here; you know it was with much difficulty that I had persuaded him to go to Janjal Nagari. I had thought and hoped that he would be metamorphosed there, but unfortunately he has returned again to mar our happiness; moreover he has grown suspicious and watches me strictly. I wish to rid myself of him. Will you help me?" The latter promised to do as he directed, and then he unfolded his plans to him and he approved of them heartily.

When Kam-Aql returned home he found that his friend Kam-Ikhlaq was waiting for him, and very glad was the simple merchant to see his teacherous friend. They sat together, and after the dinner was over, Kam Ikhlaq suddenly exclaimed, as if the idea had just flashed over his mind :—"Friend, is it true what people say about your wonderful seeds? Do they really grow in a minute? Though some time ago you sent me the fruits, yet I could not believe that they were the products of those seeds. It is so very unnatural." The simple-minded merchant who had as strong a faith in his seeds as in his senses, replied sharply :—" What, do you think that I have circulated a fib or a falsehood? You shall see with your own eyes and believe." The friend replied calmly :—" I do not doubt your veracity, but your seeds are so very extraordinary. I cannot bring myself to believe in the existence of such things. Well, if your seeds do grow before my eyes, I promise to give you anything from my house on which you may place your hand and lay hold of, but if you do not succeed, promise that you will give that on which I may first place my hand in your house." " Agreed," cried Kam-Aql, and rushed into the house and said :—" Cook, give me the seeds which I brought from Janjal Nagari, to show its wonderful virtues to my friend Kam-Ikhlaq." The cook gave him the seeds, and he came out with them and sowed them within sight of his friend. What was his surprise and terror when he saw that no tree grew out of them! He then took them out of the ground and carefully examined them, and muttered aside :—" Cursed be thou treacherous man; thou hast boiled these seeds. True are the words of Hushiar Khan, when he said: 'Trust no cook.'" Then addressing his friend Kam-Ikhlaq he said :—" Look here friend; these seeds are boiled. I have lost my bet but it is through no fault of mine. Will you waive your claim?" Then the friend tauntingly replied :—" Ah, I knew that it would come to this. How can there be such seeds? Now I am not to be so easily deceived. Come now, fulfil your promise or I hand you over to justice; do not prattle with me." Then poor Kam-Aql's eyes were opened, and he found that it was all a conspiracy of his friend and his cook, who were both false and faithless. He then implored for fifteen days of grace after which he would fulfil his promise. Kam-Ikhlaq was at first loth to grant this indulgence, but at last after much entreaty and prayers granted the request.

Kam-Aql at once went into a mosque and began to pray, saying :—" Lord, I trusted to a cook, and I found him false, I trusted in a friend, and I found him faithless. I now trust in Thee. So help Thou me." He prayed the

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for seven days and seven nights, when he heard a voice which said:—"Go to Janjal Nagari, and search out Hushiar Khan; he will help thee out of this difficulty." He at once set out for that city on a horse, upon which he placed his bag of money, and precious stones, and reached that city when it was about noon. When he saw the walls of the town, he jumped down from his horse and began to walk through the crowded streets, leading the animal by the rein.

As he was passing through a bazaar a butcher met him, who laying his hands on the animal, asked:—"Traveller, what price will you take for this?" Kam-Aql, naturally thinking that the butcher had asked the price of the horse, said:—"Friend, I will sell it for four hundred rupees."

Now this was an exorbitant price for the horse, which was but a sorry jade, but what was his surprise when the butcher counted him out the sum demanded, and taking hold of the rein began to lead it off homeward. Kam-Aql cried out:—"Stay, butcher, stay, let me take away my bag of gold and precious stones, which is hanging by the saddle of the horse." On this the butcher replied:—"Friend, what do you say? Did you not sell me the whole for four hundred rupees? Did you then make any exceptions in favour of your bag or saddle or rein or stirrup? Am I not justified in taking the animal with everything on it?" said he appealing to the passers-by. And they all decided in favour of the butcher, and he led away the animal and the bag in triumph.

Kam-Aql went forward, very much grieving in his mind at being thus suddenly reduced to poverty in such a strange and ill-reputed city. Complaining against his stars and the evil hour in which he started from home, he began to search out the house of Hushiar Khan. In a street he saw some boys playing. So going up to them he asked the way to Hushiar Khan's house. The boys said:—"What will you give us for showing you the house"? "Why, I will give you the largest lumps of sweatmeats that you ever had," said Kam-Aql. The boys then sat down on the ground; one little urchin took out a sextant, another a compass, and the third one a map of the world. Then observing the position of the sun and the direction of the winds, they made nice calculations, in which the words sines and cosines, latitudes and longtitudes fell often upon his ears, and confounded him more and more. After an hour the boys exclaimed:—"We have found it, we have found it." Then they conducted the merchant to the house of Hushiar, cheering and hurrahing all the way. We need not say that the merchant was greatly impressed with the learning and intelligence of these little fellows, but the fact was the boys already knew the house of Hushiar Khan, in fact they were his sons and nephews, and they made this show of learning only to impose upon the stranger. When he reached the house, the boys demanded their reward, and the merchant purchasing a rupee's worth of sweatmeats, presented it to them. The boys would not take it, but said:—"Sir, you promised to give us the *largest lumps*, we will have nothing but the *largest lumps*." The merchant then doubled the quantity, but still they were not satisfied; he then rose higher, till he gave them fifty rupees' worth of sweetmeats, but still they cried out:—"We will take nothing but the *largest lumps*, we will take nothing but the *largest lumps*, give us the *largest lumps*, we won't take seers, maunds or tons, but the *largest lumps*." The poor fellow was embarrassed by the obstinacy of the boys and the absurdity of their demand, which was however true according to the letter of his promise, though not its spirit.

In the meantime while the boys were wrangling about the '*largest lumps*' Hushiar Khan came there, and recognising the merchant cordially welcomed him to his home. Then learning the cause of the dispute, he turned towards the boys and said:—"Wait, little gentlemen, for a moment and I will settle matters." He then brought a rupee's worth of sweetmeats, and divided it into as many unequal shares as there were boys, and placing the whole before them, said:—"Boys, what do you call these separate heaps of sweatmeats?" All answered:—"Why, everybody knows it; they are called lumps." "Well then," said Hushiar Khan, calling out the foremost of them, "take out the largest of these. Now, you have got the largest lump, have you not?" "Yes," said the boy. Then calling out another, he told him to take up the largest of the remaining lumps, and when he had picked up what appeared to him the largest, he said:—'Now have you not got the largest lump?" "Yes, Sir," answered the boy, "I have also got the largest." Similarly every one of the other boys selected from the remainder successively and declared that he had got the largest lump. When they had taken up every one his share, Hushiar Khan addressed them in the following words:—"Friends, as now all of you have got the largest lump, I hope you are satisfied. Now go to school." The boys ran to school, every one congratulating himself on his having got the largest lump, and were

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never afterwards disabused of their folly and mistake in refusing fifty rupees and contenting themselves with five pice worth of things, till they got a sound caning from their teacher for their folly.

Then Hushiar Khan asked Kam-Aql what business had brought him so far, and learning the whole story, said: "Friend, do not be cast down, we will soon manage it all, rest now for the night." When it was morn, Hushiar went out to the shop of the butcher and asked:—"Friend, what will you take for all the *sirees* (meaning heads of the slaughtered animals, as well as human heads,) that you have got? The butcher who had at that time a hundred heads in his stock asked a hundred rupees for them all. Hushiar Khan paid him the money, and asked him to bring them out. Then the butcher brought all the *sirees* which he had and gave them to him, and taking up the money was going away; when Hushiar exclaimed:—"Tarry friend, do not play me false. Have you given me all the heads in your house? I see some sheep and cattle tied up in that shed. Bring their heads too." The butcher *nolens volens* slaughtered them too and gave the heads to him. But Hushiar Khan was not yet satisfied, and he said:—"Friend, I saw just now some one peep out of that window. I think she is your daughter, and I heard an infant crying, so you have got another child, and I doubt not that you have got a wife too. So bring the heads of these three also, for they have also heads and all heads have been sold to me." The butcher found himself in a fix, and falling on his knees asked his mercy and indulgence. Hushiar Khan then thundered out:—"Rascal, you deserve no consideration. But I pardon you this time; go, bring out the horse which you took from my friend yesterday, together with the bag of gold and precious stones, and a thousand rupees as fine for your misconduct." The butcher complied and congratulated himself on his escape.

Hushiar Khan then came home and returning his property to the merchant, said:—"Friend, tarry here for three days, after which we will go to your city and see what can be done. But beware how you conduct yourself in this place. For though the people are not the sorcerers they have been described to be by their enemies, yet they are a headstrong, hair-splitting race of beings. Beware of them." Kam-Aql promised to abide by his advice.

The next day, the merchant had an occasion to buy a pair of shoes, as his old one was no longer fit to be worn. He went to a shoe-maker and said:—"Sir, give me a pair of shoes. We shall not have to haggle about the price. I will make you happy (*Main tumko khush kar doonga*);" meaning of course that he would pay a fair and reasonable price. The shoe-maker showed many samples, and the merchant selected the one that best fitted him and offered to pay four rupees, which was the ordinary price of such shoes in his country. But the fellow refused even to touch the money, and the merchant went on offering rupee after rupee till he had paid about fifty rupees. But the shoe-maker would not agree, but went on saying:—"Sir, you promised to make me happy, and I ask nothing but to be made happy. I will not accept millions were you to give me so much, I ask nothing but to be made happy." The merchant saw that here was another dilemma, and thought of consulting his friend about it; and therefore said:—"Friend, wait till to-morrow, let me consult my friend, and I will fulfil my promise." So returning home Kam-Aql related his adventure to Hushiar, and asked him what to do. The friend said:—"Ah! Kam-Aql, here is another sign of the wisdom of our people. If they are anything, they are true to their words, and know the value of words. When will you learn to speak simply and rationally? When will you leave off all similes, metaphors, and what do you call those redundancies, the flowers of speech? Our people are intensely practical, and do not understand your loose mode of transacting business. Weigh well the words you use in your intercourse with them. As regard this little job, you will see how I finish it to-night." When it was about midnight, Hushiar Khan and his friend took two big *lathis* (sticks) and going up to the shoe-maker's house, began to hammer the door and call aloud:—"Shoe-maker, shoe-maker, are you awake, shoe-maker, are you awake?" The shoe-maker dreaming that some robbers had come to attack him, jumped out of bed and cried, "who are there?" Hushiar Khan replied in a gruff voice:—"We are officers of the king, and have come to inform you that a son and heir-apparent is just born to His Majesty. So get up and make rejoicings, if you are a loyal subject." The shoe-maker hearing the news and in order to please the officers, so that they might make a good report about him came running down and saying:—"Tarry gentlemen, tarry, take some refreshments you do not know how happy you have made me." "Have we made you happy?" asked Hushiar Khan. "Undoubtedly," answered the unsuspicious artisan. "Have I made you

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happy?" asked Kam-Aql. "Certainly gentlemen you have; may I take my oath?" said the maker of shoes. Then the friends laughing out said:—"Now friend, have you recognized us? We are not the king's officers. Are we not more than quits? You said twice that you were happy. Now keep one happiness for yourself, and pay two hundred rupees as the price of the other happiness which we have given you. Certainly you must not enjoy double such mental felicity without paying for it." The poor artisan was caught in his own snare, and paid the sum demanded without much ado. The two friends shared the profits amongst themselves and returned home in high spirits, chuckling in their minds over the happy issue of their adventure.

The next day Kam-Aql went out to take a walk in the city, inwardly vowing not to have anything to do with its troublesome people, but only to enjoy its fair sights and good buildings. So wandering on he came to a large square, where there was a great gathering, and in the midst of which was a very beautiful woman. She was crying out in a very sweet but loud voice:—"Ten thousand rupees for a summersault in the middle of this square. Let some one offer me ten thousand rupees, and I will cut a summersault in the middle of this square, and in such a public place." Now, cutting a summersault was considered the greatest indelicacy and indecency of which a woman could be guilty; it was an offence which made her liable to be stoned to death, by the laws of the land of which Kam-Aql was the native; and it was held equally indecorous in Janjal Nagari also. Therefore, the first idea of the merchant was that the woman was joking, but when he saw that she was in earnest, he thought 'very well, let me test how far the impudence of this female can go, though it may cost me ten thousand rupees.' Then he spoke aloud; "Well, perform the summersault, and I will pay you ten thousand rupees." The woman at once stood on her head, and cut a clean summersault, to the great disgust of the bye-standers, and horror of the merchant. Then she demanded the reward from him and the merchant brought her home to give her the money. He was about to give her the large sum, when fortunately Hushiar also came up there, and seeing him deliver such a heavy purse to an abandoned woman, asked him what it was for. And when he knew the reason, he said:—"Stop, let us see whether it cannot be done more cheaply." Then going up to the square with the woman and his friend, asked her to show the spot where she had performed her feat of brazen indelicacy. The spot was not very difficult to identify, and as there were still many spectators lingering there, they also corroborated her account, and said:—"Hushiar, though we also strongly condemn the character of the woman, yet your friend must pay the wager, however dishonourable it may be for her to accept it. He had no business to accept the challenge." "Gentlemen," said Hushiar, "my friend is perfectly willing to pay the wager, but I have come to satisfy myself about the correctness of the account." Then taking a measuring tape out of his pocket, Hushiar began to measure the sides of the square, and measuring also the spot where the feat was performed from the four sides, he found that it was not exactly the *middle* of the square, but somewhat nearer to one side than the other. Then turning to the people and the woman, he said, "Woman, did you not promise to do this most shameful thing in the *middle* of the square? And now gentlemen, do you see that it is not the *middle*, but very far from it. So has she not lost her wager?" All were very much pleased at the ingenuity of Hushiar, and unanimously cried out:—"Yes, she has lost her wager." Then Hushiar addressing the woman, said:—"Thou vile creature, thou hast first done a very shameful deed, for which thou oughtst to be hanged, then thou falsely demandedst a heavy reward for thy misdemeanour, for which thou shouldst be heavily punished. Therefore give us ten thousand rupees or we drag thee before the king." The poor woman was obliged to pay the money to save her head, and was never heard again to say that she would cut capers in the middle of the public square. The friends shared the booty between themselves, and Hushiar again warned his comrade not to meddle with the muddle-headed citizens.

On the third day of his stay in the city of Janjal Nagari, Kam-Aql took a heavy oath not to go out, but to remain all day long in the house. So he did not stir a foot out of it. But finding that his beard had grown too long, he sent for a barber to shave him; and when he arrived, asked him to do so, saying:—"Barber, trim me and I will pay you something for your trouble." The barber performed the office, and asked for the remuneration. The merchant then gave him two rupees, as his dues, and it was more than sufficient, but the barber did not accept it, saying:—"Sir, give me *something*, I want nothing but *something*." The merchant biting his lips, and cursing the thick-headedness of the barber, doubled the amount, but still the fellow would

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not touch the money, repeating;—"I will accept nothing but *something*, give me the something which you promised." Poor Kam-Aql offered him by degrees so much as fifty rupees, but the man of the razor grew more and more obstinate and headstrong, and noisily cried out:—"Sir, I spit on your offer. Do you wish to tamper with my honesty? Do you think I will accept your bribe of fifty rupees, or for the matter of that fifty thousand rupees, and budge from my contract? Never, Sir, never, I will take nothing but *something*." The merchant was thinking what to do, when fortunately Hushiar came there and asked what was the dispute about. Kam-Aql told him the case, and then Hushiar turning to the barber, said:—"Friend, come early to-morrow morning and you will get your dues." The barber went away and Hushiar taking a cup of milk put a dead cricket in it, and kept it on a niche. When it was morning the barber returned to claim his fee, and Hushiar pointing to the cup, said, "Bring that cup of milk to me, I wish to drink it." The barber took down the vessel, and seeing the cricket floating in it, and, which, by the bye, had swollen by being soaked in the milk, involuntarily cried out: "Sir, do not drink it, there is *something* floating in it." "Ah friend," said, Hushiar, "that *something* is for you; give me the milk." The man taking the disgusting insect by the leg, went out very much pleased, showing it to all the passers-by and crying out:—"I have got *something*, I have got *something*. I did not accept fifty rupees, but I have got at last my *something*." All who heard his story highly praised his prudence and veracity, and said that he was a true son of Janjal Nagari and had well maintained its credit.

The three days of stay of Kam-Aql had expired by this time, and Hushiar Khan told his guest:—"Friend, let us now go to your city. So you have realised the truth of the three sayings which I sold you some time ago. Now what do you fear from your friend?" The merchant replied:—"I am convinced that my cook has conspired with my friend Kam-Ikhlaq to rob me. I have promised to give my friend anything in my house on which he may first place his hand. What do you think that he will place his hand upon, but on my caskets of precious jewels? So I have come to implore you to save me from this calamity." Saying this the merchant wept bitterly in the anguish of his heart. Then Hushiar comforting him said:—"Let us start at once. Be not afraid; all will go well. As regards the three thousand rupees you gave me, I hope I have repaid more than enough during your three days' residence here. But to save my credit as a seller of maxims, riddles, proverbs, &c., I must help you out of this difficulty, of which I was the indirect and remote cause." The friends then started on their journey, and reached the merchant's city.

When Hushiar came to the house of Kam-Aql, he told him to raise a spacious scaffold, fourteen feet high, in the middle of the *dalan* (square) and to arrange everything in his house on the structure. The merchant very soon had such a scaffold erected, and placed, in good order, everything which his house contained, on it. Then Hushiar told him to place his caskets on the top of all his other property. This was also done by the merchant. Then a wooden ladder just fourteen feet high, was placed perpendicularly on the ground touching the edge of the top of the scaffold, and all other means of ascending it were removed. Now the straight ladder was the only way of reaching the top and that also was almost impossible to scale. Then Kam-Aql sent for Kam-Ikhlaq, and when he arrived said:—"Behold, on that platform displayed all the wealth of my house. Behold there boxes containing the richest diamonds, clothes and ornaments. There you might see also my cattle, horses and slaves. Go and select any thing which you like." Kam-Ikhlaq looked on the ground and then on the scaffold and saw how high it was,—a slip from the ladder would instantly dash his brains out. Then also the ladder was so exactly perpendicular and placed on the edge without any support that the boldest hearts would have been daunted to try the ascent. But led away by obstinacy and blind through avarice the faithless friend put one foot on the first step of the ladder, and catching hold of the next by his hands, was going to ascend, when Hushiar caught him by the wrist and said:—"Desist, foolish and faithless friend. You have put your hand first on this ladder; so take it away. You have got your wager,—won a ladder." The treacherous friend went away baffled and disappointed, carrying the ladder on his shoulders through the crowded town, and in the midst of the ridicule of all men.

SHAIKH CHILLI.

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RAILWAY TRANSPORT IN INDIA

IN my address as President of the Third Indian Industrial Conference held at Surat I referred briefly to two of the important short-comings of the Indian Railway administration in the conveyance of goods, *viz.*, excessive delay and comparative costliness. To people actually engaged in industries and trade, these are very serious drawbacks, though ultimately the whole community is affected by them. The hardships and grievances of the poor third class passengers, who contribute 80 p. c. of the coaching traffic, have been often vividly brought to the notice of the Government by public-spirited men, and by the indigenous press, and it must be acknowledged that within the last few years, the authorities have shown a disposition to remedy some of them. But the grave defects pertaining to the traffic in goods by rail from one part of the country to another have hardly received any attention at all from the general public, mainly for the reason that they have not been forcibly realized by the intelligent section of the community that directs the public prints; and also because those who are affected by them in the first instance have generally chosen to suffer their wrongs in silence. Even if the numbers of the latter were inconsiderable, it would be the duty of every publicist to turn his attention to the delays, irregularities, and burdens to which they are constantly subjected by the railway management. The question of an efficient and cheap railway administration of goods traffic is a matter of concern to the whole public; for it must be remembered that though the direct and first sufferer by its inefficiency may be the consignee or consignor of goods, the burden must and does fall eventually on the consumer, *i.e.*, the community as a whole. Moreover, railways by affording a cheap, expeditious and safe means of transport, can very materially stimulate production of all kinds, agricultural as well as industrial; and conversely, a bad or costly railway management must retard the industrial and agricultural development of the country. I propose in this paper to deal with some of the most salient defects of the railway management as regards the traffic in goods.

The length of the open lines of railways in British and Native India is in round numbers nearly 30 thousand miles. It was for a long time the stock complaint of British merchants that the provision of railways in India was inadequate to the needs of the country: British capitalists and their organs emphasized the complaint probably from business motives, and the manufacturers of rails, and ironmongers naturally supported them. Whatever their motives, it would be unfair to say that their advocacy of railway extension was wrong from the point of view of Indian interests. Next to peace, personal security, and good government, there is hardly any economic condition which conduces more directly to the rapid growth of agricultural and manufacturing prosperity than cheap and rapid transport. Even in the middle ages when Italy enjoyed commercial supremacy, her roads and canals were the best in Europe, and the prosperity of Flanders was especially promoted by the circumstance that her ruling counts recognized the value of public security and of good roads and manufactures before all other potentates. (List's National Pol. Eco., p. 22). The vast facilities for inland transport in England afforded by her public roads, canals, and railways are reckoned among the causes of her commercial pre-eminence. The extraordinary development of America in agriculture and manufactures is in no small measure due to the unrivalled facilities of transport it provides. It is true that transport facilities do not necessarily promote at all times and under all circumstances the industrial or manufacturing advancement of a country in a state of free competition. Railways and canals simply carry goods from one point to another, and the question of the balance of economic advantage to be derived from them, by a country at a given period, may fairly be a matter for calm discussion. For good or for evil, however, India has now 30 thousand miles of railways. The destruction of old Indian manufactures has perhaps been hastened and completed by them, but agriculture has been vastly extended in the bargain. In times of famine, the railways have

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done incalculable good; and their strategic utility to the Government as an instrument for preserving internal peace is very great. What we have now got to do is not to discuss how railway construction in the past might have been more profitably regulated, but to set to ourselves the problem of extracting the greatest benefit from the system as it exists and as it is going to be in the near future. Now in dealing with this practical question it may be safely asserted that the Indian railways have hitherto failed to render to the country the full economic service that they are intended to do; and that unless a radical improvement takes place in all the branches of traffic and management, the railway administration must remain open to this charge. The shortcomings of the passenger service are too well-known to need repetition. It is as regards the goods traffic that the railway managment is more seriously faulty.

The first complaint that is urged in this connection is the very extensive pilfering of goods and blackmailing that prevails in almost every system without exception. This pernicious practice assumes two forms;—firstly, systematic pilfering is committed in transit or at stations in respect of goods consigned or received. Small portions are abstracted sometimes in the passage and oftener at the place of consignment or destination. The menial railway servants are believed to be the direct perpetrators of these larcenies, but their superiors are not above suspicion of complicity. An experienced station-master at an important railway station was not ashamed to own within public hearing that every package of goods received at his station was subject to his toll. This was some years ago, but the general impression still continues that the same practice still lurks everywhere in a more or less aggravated form. Petty thefts of goods are still widely prevalent. No one accuses all the railway officials concerned in handling the goods traffic of this shameful malpractice; but the black sheep are very numerous and the honest men are comparatively few. The other form is the systematic levying of a bribe for every wagon supplied for traffic in the busy season. The heaviest and most costly traffic in India is seasonal:—say, between December and May, and it is during this period that merchants are most anxious to push their goods to the sea-board or to the consuming centres. The need of the merchant is thus the opportunity of the corrupt railway official. It is difficult to estimate in rupees the amount thus levied as blackmail throughout India. Very likely it comes to lacs of rupees. The eagerness with which members of the railway traffic-staff covet posts at the principal traffic centres can only be fully explained by this fact. It is stated that the charge of such a station for a few years enables the holder to amass a decent competence. This scandalous state of things is a matter of public notoriety and the highest authorities are officially aware of it. It was stated to Mr. Robertson, Special Commissioner for Indian Railways (*Vide* his Report, p. 61), that many station-masters considerably increased their incomes by requiring traders to pay them fees before they would supply them with wagons to carry their goods. Though Mr. Robertson was unable to verify these reports, yet from inquiries made he *felt satisfied that there is a good deal of truth in them.*

The gross inadequacy of the rolling stock in almost all the railway systems in India naturally causes a keen competition among merchants to secure wagons for their goods and the corrupt railway official is not slow to take advantage of his position. Lately this long-standing grievance of the merchants assumed the magnitude of a grave public scandal and even touched the big European traders at the principal export centres. Questions were asked in Parliament and personal appeals were made to the Secretary of State to stop this evil. The result has been so far beneficial. In the year 1905-06 nearly 3 crores of rupees were sanctioned for the increase of rolling stock on Indian railways; in the following year nearly 4 crores were allowed for the same purpose and in the current year more than $5\frac{1}{2}$ crores have been assigned. The extreme tension felt in the busy season will no doubt be partly relieved when the sanctioned money has been fully expended. The public will wait and judge by the results. It was strange, however, that the Government of India and the railway administration required the impetus of a strong European agitation before they were awakened to a sense of the grave wrong from which the public have long suffered. Whether the benefit of a more extensive supply of rolling stock will filter down to the poor Indian merchant remains to be seen. There is little doubt, however, that this evil acts as a direct tax on the trade of the country, and urgently calls for a speedy reform.

There are several ways which may at least partially palliate these evils, even if they do not succeed in suppressing them altogether. The petty larcenies committed may be considerably reduced, if the superior officers of

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the traffic staff will honestly endeavour to eradicate them by all the means in their power. The Police stationed at the bigger stations may be made to co-operate in the task, if the higher Police officers will severely punish every Policeman suspected of connivance or complicity in this nefarious practice. For this as well as for the larger evil of systematic corruption, a vigorous public opinion requires to be cultivated. The new supply of rolling stock ought, it is hoped, to reduce the opportunities for corruption. The superior officers of the railway will render much help if they will see to it that every station gets its quota of railway wagons in regular course, and that they are supplied to traders on a regular system without favouritism. But in this, as in all other matters, self-help and self-reliance on the part of the traders directly concerned can alone effect the desired result. For people engaged in trade it is indeed very inconvenient to have recourse to law for small losses. The delays and cost of a legal prosecution are practically a bar to a resort to law, not to speak of the imprudence of being at enmity with the railway staff with whom traders are forced to have almost daily dealings. But what individuals cannot do may be attempted by associations of traders. These can represent hardships and inconveniences and can by combined, sustained endeavours bring defaulters to the right path. Even individual traders will find that it occasionally pays better to withstand the extortions of the railway staff, than to submit to them as a necessary evil. Railway servants are human beings and they will hesitate to use their customary weapons against men who want to stand by their rights manfully.

Next to the prevalence of corruption, thefts and extortion, there is another evil of apparently a more innocent character, but equally or perhaps more pernicious in its effects on the economic well-being of the community as a whole, *viz.*, inordinate delay in the carriage of goods. It will be difficult at first sight for one not in the line to realise the losses inflicted on the internal industries and trade of the country by the very snail-like and sluggish pace that the Indian railways have hitherto adopted in the carriage of merchandise, from one place to another. Merchants think themselves fortunate if goods consigned by them for delivery at stations not more than 300 miles distant even on the same system reach the consignee in a week. When goods are sent from Ahmedabad to Madras or Calcutta or Cawnpore, the time taken by the railways seldom falls short of two weeks and often amounts to a month. There is a dead loss of interest to the merchant for the whole period of transit. Capital is thus practically locked up and the interests of all parties from the producer to the final consumer suffer. It would be difficult to estimate the sum total of the loss caused by mere delay to the whole industry of the country, and consequently to the people generally by the present slow rate of moving our goods. If this undue delay could be reduced even by half, the trade would be relieved of a heavy incubus and a new life would be imparted to all the factors of production. There is at present a very enthusiastic desire all over the country to promote our industries and commerce by all possible means. Want of capital, absence of technical skill and knowledge, and a low spirit of commercial enterprise which operate as solid barriers to our advance, can be removed only gradually and by patient and well-organised effort. But there is no reason why we should not obtain the fullest possible advantage of our transport system for which the country has made enormous sacrifices and still bears a heavy burden of recurring interest. An acceleration of internal transport is urgently needed. It will operate as so much capital added to our poor resources and as so much wasted time utilized for the good of the nation. We have the high official authority of Mr. Robertson for the view that the present working of the railways is not at all satisfactory (*Vide* Report, page 2). In his opinion,

> "The great railway undertakings in India are reduced more or less to the same dead level as other departments of Government and are not administered as large commercial concerns on the lines on which such undertakings can only be successfully worked." "The time taken by goods in transit between stations is so slow as seriously to interfere with the prosperous development of traffic." (Robertson's Report, page 65).

Mr. Robertson has given a table showing the speed per hour of a goods train on the principal lines. On the B. B. & C. I. lines the average is $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles per hour. On the G. I. P. about 8 miles and on the E. I. Railway about the same figure. The general public could hardly have thought that the trade is served so badly by our railways. The speed could easily be doubled with advantage to all parties concerned; *viz.*, the owners of the railways as well as the public. The low rate of speed is, however, not wholly responsible for the mischievous delay to which all goods traffic is now subjected. The whole delay does not appear from the receipts given by the

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railway officials. At some stations receipts are given, not on the day the goods are booked, but on the following day. Even after the goods are receipted for, they are not always despatched by the next available train. We know of an instance at an important railway station where goods booked and receipted for were allowed to remain on a siding for nearly a week through sheer neglect. Much unnecessary time is wasted by the railway staff at intermediate and engine-changing stations and junctions. A spirit of listless indifference seems to dominate their movements. Even after goods reach the destination a similar absence of the business spirit is frequently visible. Often a day passes before the train is shunted to the siding where goods are to be unloaded; and after they are there, the inadequacy of the unloading arrangements causes further delay. One crane is only provided and the unloading process is very slow.

"The dilatory and almost casual way in which the station and train staff often deal with trains is a matter which impresses one the more, the longer one travels in India" (Robertson's Report, page 59).

The more one gets acquainted with the conditions of railway transit and the cause of the delay, the more he gets convinced that the public have been hitherto treated in this respect by the railway management with culpable indifference. It is high time that every intelligent person who cares for the rapid industrial advance of the country should seriously turn his attention to the question of Railway transport, remembering that without a rapid and cheap transport our industries cannot advance at the rate at which we wish them to progress. It is quite possible to double the present speed for goods. Mr. Robertson thinks that doubling the present speed will cause a saving in the supply of rolling stock, besides offering other advantages to the railways and the public. A spirit of business ought to be infused into the working staff. There may be technical difficulties, but they ought to be made to yield to the paramount necessity of rendering a quick transport service to the country. It is imperative on all of us to demand that the speed of the railways shall be very much increased, and that the transport of our goods shall be as quick and cheap as possible.

The third complaint against our railways is the high rates that are charged by them for the conveyance of goods. I stated in my address that it costs nearly 15 rupees per bale of cloth or yarn sent by rail from Ahmedabad to Calcutta, while the charge for the same by rail and steamer combined is about Rs. 8. The railway rates for goods are in fact too high all over India. This is not my view alone. It is also the view of a highly qualified expert, Mr. Robertson, the Government Commissioner, who says,

"Taking the cost of construction and working in England and comparing them with the cost of construction and working in India, and in every other respect if like is compared with like, I think it will be found that fares and rates in India should broadly speaking be only about 1/6 of those charged in England."

Again

"Before the fares in India can be regarded relatively as equal to those in England, the former would require to be lower than the rates now charged by about 18 to 40 p. c. for passengers, and for the general merchandise by about 30 to 60 p. c."

The average cost of bringing goods from Europe to Bombay or Calcutta is about Rs. 10 per ton or roughly speaking Rs. 2 per bale of cloth of 400 lbs. This is for a distance of 4,000 miles or more. Compare with this the rates charged by our Indian railways. Calcutta is about 1,500 miles from Ahmedabad and the charge for carrying coal from the one place to the other, which as reduced is considered by the authorities to be very low, is still nearly Rs. 11 per ton, *i. e.*, as much as that for fetching coal from Europe. It is futile to expect our trades and industries to show any extraordinary vigor of growth in the face of our present railway rates, which act as a preventive barrier to the free flow of internal traffic. There are no financial grounds now for maintaining the scale of railway rates at the present high level. The railways of India taken as a whole have for a succession of years shown a balance to their credit, after allowing for working expenses, interest on capital expended, charges for annuities in redemption of capital, and all miscellaneous expenditure, as the following figures show:—

	Rs.
For 1901-2	1,27,00,000
„ 1902-3	34,34,000
„ 1903-4	1,29,10,000
„ 1904-5	3,15,82,000
„ 1905-6	3,00,29,000
„ 1906-7	3,22,00,000

These profits are carried to the general revenues of the country and have contributed in no small degree to swell the financial surpluses shown by the Government of India. The interests of our trades and industries require that the profits of our railways should be earmarked and spent on improving the rolling stock and travelling facilities, and more particularly for the purpose of reducing

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the rates and fares now charged for the conveyance of goods from one part of the country to another. It is highly probable that a reduction in the rates and fares now charged will react on traffic and that the immediate loss will be more than made up in a very short time. That is the lesson taught by our past experience in this country. In the South of India Railway Line the minimum rate of 1/10 pie per maund per mile for rice and paddy carried over distances of 350 miles and upwards was tried as an experiment, but it proved so successful in opening and developing the new long-lead traffic that the same rate was extended to all kinds of goods. The experience of all the leading countries of the world is similar. In any case one sees no reason why the industries and trade of the country should be made to suffer in order that the Finance Department may be able to show a surplus. The course of treating the railway profits as a source of improving traffic arrangements is one against which nothing can be urged on principle, and is the only one that will do real justice to our growing desire to see our industries and manufactures rapidly developed. There is an eager and very honourable wish in all the provinces of our vast country to see manufactures established and extended, and factories scattered broadcast all over the land. Now even with the best equipment of technical skill and with a sufficiency of cheap capital, this universal desire is doomed to certain and bitter disappointment, if railway rates are allowed to remain at their present prohibitive level. What is the good of enthusiastically dwelling at our conferences on the spread of our industries in the several parts of India, if the goods manufactured in one part cannot be carried with profit to the other parts of the country, because of the railway rates standing in the way, and if the foreigner can with his subsidized shipping and cheap freights land his goods at less cost at our ports, than we can carry our manufactures to the same ports by our railways? The awakened enthusiasm of our industrial captains will no doubt do a good deal and the propagation of the gospel of Swadeshism will mightily strengthen their hands; but it is well that we should remember that even the purest and most intense sentiment can be baffled by material obstacles. The present unduly high railway rates for goods are a material barrier that requires to be substantially lowered, before the sugar manufactures of the United Provinces, the cotton factories of Ahmedabad and Bombay, our match factories, porcelain, pencil, and glass manufactures, or the thousand and one small industries that are now being daily established, can reap the fullest advantage that is their due, by being enabled to offer their products to each and every part of the country, and satisfy the growing demand for Swadeshi goods which all parties now view with sincere gratification.

AMBALAL S. DESAI.

THE GREAT WAR IN BENGAL, 1658-1660

CHAPTER I.

The New Scene and its Actors.

Shah Jahan's reign.

On the 7th March, 1657, began the thirty-first year of the reign of Shah Jahan.* The occasion was celebrated with all the pomp of a Mughal coronation day. The *darbar* hall was gaily decked; the Emperor sat on the throne; the nobles and officials of the Court and the Provinces offered their congratulatory presents and received promotions and gifts in return; decorations, music, and illumination delighted the populace.

* *Amal-i-Salih*, 1, *b*. Khafi Khan, i. 755.

His splendid buildings.

During this long reign most parts of the country had enjoyed unusual peace and freedom from internal disorder. The people were happy and prosperous. The artistic taste of the ruler had decorated Agra and Delhi with splendid monuments of architecture. Shah Jahan was the builder in marble as Akbar had been in red sand-stone. The crowning glory of the age was the Taj Mahal, that dream in marble which enshrines a lover's devotion and an emperor's grief. Next to it must rank the stupendous pile of the Cathedral Mosque of Delhi, wrongly ascribed to Aurangzib, and the Pearl Mosque of Agra with its snowy purity of cupola, arcade,

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cloister, wall, and even pavement. Hidden from the eyes of the public were smaller but not less precious jewels of art,—the Halls of Private Audience, the Jasmine Towers, and the Ladies' Baths in the palace-forts of Agra and Delhi. On them the Emperor had lavished his wealth, and cunning craftsmen of various lands,—Bussora, Constantinople, and Venice, as well as India,—had spent all their skill in building, inlaying, carving, and painting. The many royal buildings of the reign gave employment to large numbers of people. In a list of the builders of the Taj we find workmen from every part of Hindustan. The Jumna and Lahore Canals, first dug in this reign, brought fertility to vast tracts.

His character.

As is the rule in autocratic countries, the splendour and prosperity of the reign were mainly due to the autocrat himself. Shah Jahan had been a hardy soldier in youth; he had passed through the severe ordeal of long adversity before coming to the throne. So, when he attained to power, he used it wisely and well. He had the true master's eye for choosing the best servants, and the truly royal policy of treating them well. Round his throne were gathered Ali Mardan Khan, the eminent Persian administrator and designer of the Jumna Canal, Sadullah Khan, the best renowned of Indian *wazirs*, Chandra Bhán, the elegant scribe and diplomat, Mirza Rajah Jái Singh, the hardy veteran and shrewd politician, and—in his closing years—another gifted son of Persia, Mir Jumla, great in war, greater still in counsel. Historians relate how considerate Shah Jahan was to the peasantry,* how anxious to put down every kind of oppression for exaction, how scrupulously just in cancelling enhancement of revenue by over-zealous collectors.† In private life he was a model husband and father, and the kindest of men. He broke the Mughal (and Hanoverian) royal tradition by not quarrelling with his eldest son! Anecdotes of his gentleness of heart were long remembered and lovingly recorded by later writers.‡

His Court.

His Court was at once gorgeous and refined. There the play of wit and wisdom had the fullest encouragement under a master who put his servants at their ease by his familiarity of treatment, wisely gave them freedom of speech,§ joined their debates on questions of literature and history, and even exchanged repartees with them. He contributed his own share to these intellectual feasts in the form of anecdotes from the Chaghtai annals,‖ episodes of the romantic history of Alexander the Great,¶ and ethical maxims of his own composition.**

Transfrontier wars.

But the reign had not been one of undimmed brilliancy. Two wars, extending over several campaigns, outside the Indian frontier, had ended in failure and a frightful waste of Indian lives and Indian revenue. The fugitive King of Balkh had not been replaced on his throne and Qandahar had not been recovered from the Persians, though successive Mughal princes had toiled their hardest for these objects. Towards the close of the reign coming calamities cast their shadows before, and the aged Emperor had his hours of depression and gloomy foreboding, known only to the confidential ministers who had access to his closet.††

His sons.

The bitter rivalry of his sons was a matter of common knowledge. Peace had been secured only by keeping them as far apart as possible. The storm had been averted for a time, but it was sure to burst one day. The Emperor was now in his 68th year and could not be expected to fill the throne very much longer. The outlook, therefore, was one of anxiety.

God had blessed Shah Jahan with four sons, each of whom was now of mature age and more than ordinary ability, each had gained some experience in war and administration, and each ruled over a province.

1. Dara Shikoh.

The eldest, Dara Shikoh, was believed to be his father's favourite and intended heir (*wali ahad*). His high title of "*Shah-i-buland-iqbal*" (Prince of Exalted Fortune) and first rank in the peerage (commander of sixty thousand horse), his constant attendance on the Emperor, the gold throne on which he sat facing his father at *darbars*, all encouraged this idea.‡‡ Indeed, much of the central administration now passed through his hands, evidently to train him to wield the sceptre in the days to come. Dara was a philosopher. In his thirst for pantheistic teaching§§ he had studied the *Pentateuch*, the Gospels, and the *Psalms*, the

* Khafi Khan, ii. 187, *Ruqaat*, Nos. 70 and 46.

† India Office MS. 370, interleaf facing 68, *a* and *b*.

‡ *Ruqaat*, No. 51. Bhimsen's *Dilkasha* (India Office MS. No. 94), p. 51.

§ Ruqaat, Nos. 150, 34 and 46.

‖ India Office MS. 1344, 5,*a*—6,*b*.

¶ Khafi Khan, i. 541.

** Irvine MS. 350, ff. 37,*a*—43,*b*.

†† *Ruqaat*, Nos. 48 and 54.

‡‡ Masum, 6,*a*.

§§ See the preface to his *Sarr-ul-asrar* as trans. in Rieu's *Catalogue* vol. i. 54 *a* and *b*.

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works of the Sufis, and the Sanskrit *Upanishads*. But he was no apostate from Islam.* Hindu pantheism may have been his intellectual recreation, but in faith he was an initiated disciple of the Qadiri sect † under Mir Muhammad of Siwistan (or Mian-jiu), which no "infidel" could have been. His liberality of views and religious toleration made him as hateful to the bigoted *mullahs* of the day, as the great Akbar had been. But the sunshine of royal favour, the indolence of a Court life, and the smooth government of peaceful and settled provinces like Allahabad and Delhi, had undermined his capacity for action and made him unfit to outwrestle adversity or to force Fate to yield to his will. He had, besides, some vices unworthy of a philosopher and fatal to an aspirant to the throne: he was vain, imperious, easily irritable, and insolent to the nobles.‡ Thus, in his day of adversity he found himself alone in the world without a single friend or devoted follower to stand by him. It speaks ill of his practical wisdom that he alienated a model minister like Sadullah Khan and thoroughly under-rated Aurangzib's genius for business and the management of men.

2. Shuja.

The second Prince, Shuja, was a man of great intelligence, elegant taste, and amiable disposition. But his constant devotion to pleasure, the easy administration of Bengal, and his 17 years' residence in that enervating country had made him weak, indolent and negligent, incapable of arduous toil, sustained effort, vigilant caution, and profound scheming. He had allowed his administration to drift, his army to grow inefficient, and all his departments to fall into a slack and sleepy condition. "Small things like the *chameli* flower escaped his sight," as Shihabuddin Talish puts it.§ His health had been impaired by the pestilential climate of Bengal, and he already felt the touch of age, though only turned of forty-one. His mental powers were as eminent as before; but they required great emergencies to call them forth, and shone only by flashes; he was still capable of vigorous action, but only fitfully.

3. Aurangzib.

His younger brother, Aurangzib, was a cold-blooded calculating prince, a man of infinite patience and fortitude, of dauntless resolution and varied resources, an indefatigable worker and hard rider, simple and abstemious like a hermit, but possessed of a passive valour which was equalled only by his profound statecraft. The very narrowness of his mind was an advantage to him, as it gave a singleness to his aims and an intensity to his efforts which insured their success. He was now governor of the Deccan, and kept his soldiers in trim by campaign and inspection, and picked out a very able band of officers whom he tied to his side by unstinted favours, confidence, and honourable treatment.

4. Murad Bakhsh.

The youngest prince, Murad Bakhsh, a foolhardy soldier and intemperate pleasure-seeker, was the simpleton of the family, and governed Guzerat.

Shah Jahan's illness.

Suddenly the whole scene changed. On the 6th September, 1657, Shah Jahan was || taken very ill at Delhi. The royal physicians laboured in vain. The Emperor was too weak to sit in the Audience Hall or even to appear at the window (*jharoka-i-darsan*) where he used to show his face to his adoring subjects. Dara Shikoh was untiring in his attendance on his father; but he occupied the ante-room, shut out the courtiers from the sick-bed, guarded the ferries and passes leading to the provinces, and imprisoned the Court Agent of Aurangzib. He hoped thus to prevent his brothers from getting timely news. But their ignorance only served to alarm and excite them the more. The wildest rumours spread over the empire, and lawless men raised their heads in many places in order to profit by the confusion and add to it. The frontiers were violated by the tribes beyond.¶

After some weeks the Emperor recovered strength enough to peep out of his window, but it had no re-assuring effect. It was openly said that the real emperor was dead or dying and that a slave clad in the royal robes personated him at the window and returned the *salams* of the on-lookers.**

LABORAMUS.

(*To be continued.*)

* For the heretical practices ascribed to him, see *Alamgirnamah*, pp. 34 and 35. Aurangzib's letters during the War of Succession charging Dara with Hinduism, must be considered as political manifestoes issued for damaging an enemy's cause and cannot be relied upon by any impartial historian.

† Rieu's *Catalogue*, notice of *Sakinat-ul-aulia*, i. 358 *a*.

‡ *Ruqaat*, Nos. 5, 47, and 53.

§ *Continuation*, 112, *b*. I have lost another reference.

|| *Amal-i-Salih*, 6, *a*. *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 213, *b*. *Alamgirnamah*, 27, Masum, 29, *b*.

¶ *Alamgir namah*, 28. Masum, 30, *a*—31, *a*. *Amal-i-Salih* 9, *a*.

** Masum, 32 *a* and *b*.

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THE BARRACKPORE "MASSACRE" *

ALTHOUGH it was the Native Indian Army with whose help the British succeeded in building up their Empire in India, yet it is a fact that the sepoy has been always ill-treated by his foreign masters. It is not necessary here to dilate on the many virtues possessed by the swarthy and heathen sepoy. These have been borne testimony to by all those who knew that creature well. Almost all the military witnesses examined before the Select Committee of the House of Commons held in 1832 to inquire into the affairs of India, spoke very highly of the Indian sepoy. Sir Jasper Nicolls, who rose to be the Commander-in-Chief in India answered the question put to him as follows: –

"12. What are the habits of the native soldier, is he orderly and easily managed?—Very much so; his habits are very simple, and he is very easily managed.

"13. How, as compared with European soldiers?—I think the command of an European regiment would be more difficult than the command of a brigade of sepoys; it would be much easier to control 5,000 sepoys than it would be 1,000 Europeans."

Major General Sir Thomas Reynell who had served in India from 1805 to 1828, gave, in his evidence, the following character to the sepoys:—

"They are subordinate; they are patient; and they are certainly obedient to their orders. I consider them to be animated by a good spirit, and I have had a good opportunity of witnessing it in the late service before Bhurtpore. There I have seen them in the trenches, working at very laborious employments, and, I believe, contrary to their own religious feelings. * * I consider them, generally speaking, an efficient army, the Bengal army."

He answered the question

"271. Now, as compared with the European soldier; I mean, as to order and being easily managed?—I think he is much more orderly than European soldiers in general from the mere circumstance of his not being so given to drink."

According to Major-General Sir Theophilus Pritzler who had served with the Madras troops—

"There is no greater punishment that you can inflict upon a sepoy than to order him to be discharged."

It would seem that because the Indian sepoy was always a very docile animal, therefore, perhaps, he used to be ill-treated. The historian Lecky in one of his well-known works has said:—

"A people who are submissive, gentle, and loyal fall by reason of these very qualities under a despotic government."

It is not necessary here to multiply instances to show the ill-treatment the sepoys have been subjected to.† Suffice it to notice the grievances under which the sepoys generally and those of Bengal especially were smarting at the time of the first Burmese War of 1824.

The Bengal troops were as regards pay worse off than their comrades of Bombay and Madras. The pay of the former was only five and a half rupees a month while that of the latter seven rupees. Col. J. Munro, in his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons held in 1832 to inquire into the affairs of the East India Company answered the question:—

"1043. Is that difference a matter of complaint or discontent? ——— * * * I have understood that the Bengal sepoys on some occasions have stated as a grievance, the superior pay received at all times by the Bombay and Madras sepoys."

Even in 1832, the pay of the sepoy compared with the wages of labour and price of subsistence was not very high. Sir Jasper Nicolls in his evidence before the Committee referred to, answered the question:—

"17. How is that (the pay of the sepoy) compared with the wages of labour and the price of subsistence?—The lowest servant of any officer gets four rupees, some as high as twenty, *so that in fact it is very low compared with servants;*" * *

The same officer in answering the question to specify the particular advantages of Madras and Bombay over those of Bengal, stated:—

"Under the Madras Presidency, upon every removal of a corps, they receive hutting money, eight rupees to a native officer, two to a private sepoy, which allowances are unknown in Bengal. The Madras sepoy is never more than 15 days in arrear, and if he is ordered to move after the 24th of any month he is paid to the end of it; the Bengal sepoy a month and a half in arrear. The Madras sepoy, when grain

* Herbert Spencer and Kaye.
† See, for example, the article "How the Sepoy is housed," in Vol. II, September number.

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exceeds a given sum receives the difference for life and the family from the Government. Native officers are very handsomely rewarded for meritorious actions, by extra pensions (for they are all entitled to pensions), grants of land, horses occasionlly for cavalry service, palanquins and an allowance for their carriage of 70 rupees a month, which is a great advantage and an honour; which allowances are unknown, with few exceptions, in Bengal. There are 70 recruit and pension boys upon each regiment; 30 recruit boys and 40 pension boys, children of soldiers, borne upon the strength of each corps at Madras; this is unknown in Bengal. * * * *

"There is a native adjutant to each battalion at Madras which is certainly a benefit; promotion is very much quicker, and they are sent at an earlier period of life to the invalid corps or pension list, which though not a personal is a general advantage to that army. Bombay has also the same establishment of recruit and pension boys; the sepoys receive their full pay on furlough monthly, wherever they are, which the Bengal sepoys do not. They receive a higher rate of pension; they receive for their clothing, I think, three articles in two years, whereas the Bengal sepoy receives only two articles in two years. The Bombay sepoy, when he marches under command, receives nine and a half rupees a month; the Bengal sepoy eight and a half. The Bombay sepoy when he marches receives his *batta* three days before he sets out under command, and the Bengal sepoy on the day he sets out. *They are apparent trifles, but they are very important to a sepoy.* No deductions are made from the Bombay sepoy, who has had leave of absence, when he returns to his corps; from the Bengal sepoy there are. The Bombay sepoy receives presents on Christmas day, New Year's day and the King's birthday, the Bengal sepoy does not. The Bombay sepoy, in taking up a new cantonment receives two rupees; the non-commissioned officer four, the jemmadar 12, the subadar 24; the Bengal officer nothing. The Bombay sepoy, on changing quarters, receives half the above allowance; the Bengal sepoy nothing. From the Bombay sepoy no deduction is made when he is in the hospital; from the Bengal sepoy one anna per day. The Bombay sepoy receives a coat every year, pantaloons every third year; the Bengal sepoy receives a coat and a pair of pantaloons alternately. Thus the Bombay sepoy receives three coats and a pair of pantaloons in three years, and the Bengal sepoy two coats and a pair of pantaloons, or a pair of pantaloons and a coat. The Bombay sepoy receives two yards of nankeen, a pair of sandals, and cloth for a turban every year, which is unknown in Bengal. The knapsacks for the Bombay sepoys are found by the government, not so with the Bengal."

So then it is clear that the Bengal sepoys had legitimate grievances against the Indian Government. But the sepoys as a class were not so fairly treated as the European troops then serving in India. The native sepoy did not receive any bounty on enlistment as did the British recruit. Then again while the European soldier was provided with barracks in the cantonment, the native sepoy had to shift for himself, and to make his own hut.

Captain Balamain in his letter dated 31st March, 1832, to Mr. Villiers, published in the appendix to the Fifth Report from the Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 16th August, 1832, wrote;—

"The European soldier is very well provided for in every respect and his situation, on the whole, is probably more comfortable than that of the private in any other country. The men ought only to be enlisted for a term of years."

But he could not give such a rosy account of the situation of the native sepoy, regarding whom he wrote:—

"The native soldiery in the Company's service is composed of men of a great variety of country, caste and disposition; * * They are easily managed by gentle treatment, but quite unnerved by harshness. * * They are very sensible of disgrace or injury, particularly the Mahomedans. * * The fear of being hastily punished by some young officer, or of being flogged for some purely military offence, prevents many men from entering the service; and it is remarked that of late years few native officers place their sons in the army. There is, I fear, no great attachment to the service. The causes of this are numerous. The prominent one, almost an unavoidable one, is the depression of the whole native soldiery. In an army of between 200,000 and 300,000 men, no native can rise above the rank of subadar-major, about equal to troop serjeant-major. There are many men of talent, more of spirit and ambition among them and these can never be satisfied with such a state of things; they have not only their own feelings to contend with, but they are continually taunted and excited by their countrymen not in the service. Could any safe opening, however small, be made for the advancement to higher office of some of the natives it would have a most beneficial effect. Among the lesser causes of discontent are the frequent changes in dress and drill; the great strictness in little points of etiquette; the curtailment of liberty when off duty; the irregularity of relief of corps, the insults of the European soldiery; they being most frequently placed under the command of officers not acquainted with their manners and customs, and often regardless of them. * * * * The insults of the European soldiery have increased from the more frequent reliefs of His Majesty's regiments. It originates in the ignorance of, and contempt for, what the men call 'black fellows' and is chiefly felt by them on their first arrival. Thirty years ago, there was no such thing as the hanging of European soldiers for shooting natives, which is now so common; nor is there such a sight now to be seen as European and native soldiers walking arm in arm, and frequenting each other's barracks and tents, as used then to be the case."

Other eminent officers also gave evidence to the same effect. Thus to quote Major-General Sir H. Worsley on the subject. In his letter dated 30th March, 1832, to Mr. Villiers, he wrote:—

"For the purposes of service or war I should deem it very desirable to have a larger proportion of troops armed and organized as light infantry. Nor can I omit the opportunity for observing, that I have always considered the musket in general use for the infantry as cruelly heavy, burthensome and unwieldy

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for that country, when it is recollected that the native soldier's inferior stamina is moreover loaded with a pouch calculated to carry 60 rounds of balled cartridges (40 would be abundant for every occasion), a heavy laden knapsack containing all his necessaries, often including cooking utensils; * * *.

"With regard to the pay and allowances of the Native soldiers, it is at this day the very same in amount as when it was first fixed, which was in so early a period of our establishment in that country, that in a code of Pay Regulations, published by the Military Auditor-general in 1810, it is stated, 'that the same rates as therein stated of pay and *batta* have been always passed to the native troops but that no record of the authority establishing them in the first instance is anywhere to be found.'"

In the footnote to the above, he adds:—

"Nor do the Native troops ever receive any bounty on enlistment, whilst on every relief or change of situation they have to provide quarters at their own expense."

Then Sir H. Worsley proceeds:—

"It may be safely assumed that since the early period of time in question, all necessaries of food and raiment have risen from 50 to 100 per cent. 2ndly, that the country then occupied was bounded by the Currumnassah river, progressively extended to the Vizier's dominions, and now bounded by the river Sutledge and the deserts of Bikaneer; and that in like manner have the labours and duties and the wear and tear consequent on distant marches, in peace as well as in war, proportionately increased, with expense and inconvenience, enhanced in many cases where water carriage cannot be employed for the conveyance of the baggage, families, etc. of the troops.

* * * *

"It will be no disparagement of any other troops to say, that hitherto the native army of India has never been surpassed for fidelity to the Government, and attachment to their officers; nor 'yielded to those of any other nation in point of discipline and effective valour.' But it is, I fear, too true, that there is, in some respect, a falling off from its former excellence, as it regards the inclination to enter the service on the part of the same respectable classes that formerly sought it with avidity; nor does the same spirit of contentment and satisfaction seem to prevail. They seem to have lost much of their characteristic purity and simplicity of manners, by which their moral and military virtues were formerly enhanced. They are, nevertheless, the most orderly, respectful and obedient soldiers in the world; and I fervently trust and hope they will not fail to continue so to the end of time, provided their habits and prejudices are duly attended to; by which their attachment and fidelity has hitherto been secured, and a lesson taught to after ages, 'that their lives may be commanded through the medium of their affections.'"

* Thornton's History of British India, vol. v. page 105. He writes:—

"The European does not carry even his knapsack. The sepoy is not excused from this burden, but, in addition to ordinary necessaries, he must find means of conveyance for a set of utensils for cooking, with which each man is provided and these, added to his clothing, appointments, and ammunition, would constitute a load which the comparatively slender frames of the native troops would be altogether unable to bear through a lengthened march, more especially if it were to be performed, as most frequently happens, under unfavourable circumstances. Carriage-cattle are, for this reason, of prime necessity for the movement of an army; but it is to be observed, that *the expense of these animals, and their drivers, so far as employed for the use of the sepoys, had been accustomed to be defraid by the sepoys themselves.*"

The European troops in India always had a good time of it. They were pampered and they almost did next to nothing. Thus Lieutenant-Colonel Baker wrote in his letter dated 29th February, 1832, to Mr. Villiers:—

"That in Bengal, except in time of war or on actual service, or for the political purpose of overawing the native army, they (the European troops) are entirely useless to the Government for the ordinary duties of the country. They perform no duties that can be possibly avoided, or which involve any exposure to the climate. The Governor-General's and the Commander-in-Chief's guards are solely furnished by the native regiments. Even in Fort William but half the main guard is supplied by His Majesty's regiments in garrison there, to furnish the *covered sentries, i. e.*, in the shade of some building, veranda or gateway. Even the orderly to carry the adjutants' orderly-book is a native soldier from Barrackpore. On a march in Bengal, a regiment of His Majesty's dragoons or infantry must have a detachment of native infantry (generally a company under an English officer) to perform most of their duties for them in camp."

The native troops had many grievances and were labouring under many disadvantages. But no one ever bestowed a thought to redress the former or remove the latter. It would be no exaggeration to say that year after year their grievances and disabilities increased rather than in any way diminished. During the Burmese War, as more troops were needed for the front, one of the native infantry regiments stationed at Barrackpore, namely, the 47th, was ordered for the service. Of course, the sepoys had to obey the orders. But it was the bounden duty of the authorities to see whether it was possible for the sepoys to obey those orders. They should have attended to the comforts of the sepoys towards whom cold and unsympathetic was their attitude. But they did nothing of the sort. The natives had to pay for their transport whenever they were ordered to move from one place to another.*

But when the native infantry regiment was ordered from Barrackpore to proceed to the front, it was impossible for it to secure any transport of any sort. The East India Company's historiographer, Mr. Thornton, is obliged to write:—

"In the instance under notice, however, no bullocks could be provided; none could be hired, and they

That the sepoy's knapsack was a curse even in the year of grace 1858, will be evident from what Sir Mark Cubbon, K.C.B., Commissioner for the Government of the territories of His Highness

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could only be purchased at an extravagant price. An application for assistance from the commissariat department was made, but was answered by an intimation that the men must provide the required accomodation for themselves."

Of course, this was impossible; the Commanding Officer of the regiment, Colonel Cartwright, spent money from his private funds for the purchase of transport animals. At that moment, the Government also advanced money for the same purpose. But then it was too late. The disease had passed the stage of the application of any correct remedy.

It was given out that the regiment would be transported by sea from Calcutta to Rangoon. The men in the regiment—all high caste Hindus--had not enlisted for service in countries to which they could not march. It does not appear that any steps were taken to remove this impression (assuming it to have been a false one) from the minds of the sepoys. In the petition which they presented to the military authorities to which reference will be made presently, they stated this to be the ground of their complaint and grievance.

The regiment was ordered to parade on the 30th October, 1824, in marching order. The men appeared without their knapsacks. The explanation which they offered was that their knapsacks were old and worn out ones not fit to be used. They stated their grievances, which were not unreasonable. They said they would not proceed to Rangoon or anywhere by sea as that was not in the bond which they had executed; and that if they were to be sent to the front, they should be granted extra allowances or double batta as they called it, which claim they based on the grounds first, that increased pay had been given to bullock-drivers and persons engaged in similar services; secondly, that according to report, everything was very dear in the country to which they were ordered to proceed.

No measures were adopted to conciliate them or to remove their causes of discontent. But the parade was dismissed and the commanding officer sought the advice of the general officer commanding at Barrackpore, who proceeded to Calcutta to consult the then Commander-in-Chief, General Sir Edward Paget.

As the result of the deliberations of these higher authorities, two British infantry regiments, *viz.*, His Majesty's 1st Royals and 47th, a corps of artillery, and a troop of the Governor-General's body-guard were brought from Calcutta to Barrackpore and the disaffected regiment was ordered to parade on the 1st November, when the men found themselves surrounded by the British troops.

They had forwarded to the Commander-in-Chief a memorial stating their grievances. This document was written in the vernacular and was translated, it seems not quite correctly, by the Persian interpreter. In it they wrote:--

"The case is this:—The soubahdar major and havildar major told the sepoys, &c., they were going to Rangoon, and would be embarked on board ship, and he told all the sepoys that when the company went to war they ought not to shrink. After this the soubahdar major and havildar major sent for four men from each company, and said, 'those who wear the *takee khoo* ought not to cast it off. This also they ought not to do.' The sepoys replied, that they never could put their feet on board ship, and that no person would forfeit his caste. For this reason all the sepoys swore by the Ganges water and *toolsee*, that they never would put their feet in a ship; and every gentleman knows that when a Hindoo takes Ganges water and *toolsee* in his hand, he will sacrifice his life. In this way the regiment, &c., pledged themselves. This which is written is our representation. And further, the soubahdar and havildar before mentioned went to the commanding officer, Colonel Cartwright, and stated that the regiment was ready to march; that all the sepoys had agreed (to march), whereas the sepoys knew nothing of this circumstance. Now, you are master of our lives; what you order we will do; but we will not go on board ship, nor will we march for that purpose. Formerly our name was good, but it has now become bad, our wish is therefore, that our names be effaced, and that every man may return to his home."

It does not seem that this representation of the sepoys couched in respectful language was taken into serious consideration by the Commander-in-Chief or his staff. Had kindness and a conciliatory spirit been shown to them and they had also been assured that they would not be required to embark on

the Rajah of Mysore, wrote in his letter, dated Banglore, July 24, 1858, to Colonel Durand. He wrote:—

"The present musket is good enough, though it would be better if it were somewhat lighter. But the sepoy does not complain of the weight of his present musket, his great grievance is his present knapsack; relieve him of that, and he will consider it as great a boon conferred upon him, as if the Government had given him a considerable increase of pay. When the knapsack was first introduced into the Madras army, it was a small and convenient pack, the present knapsack or its like was introduced in 1817, and it is the curse of the native army. More men have been invalided and pensioned from the chest-foundering action of the knapsack than ever would have been from the ordinary risks of the service. The knapsack is looked upon as the bore of the service, and were it to be removed altogether, it is certain that the sepoys of the whole army would greet the measure as a great boon, and the service would instantly become much more popular than it has recently been, and plenty of recruits would be found; why should not this be done at once?"—P. 106 of *Papers connected with the Re-organization of the Army in India*, presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. 1859.

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board ship for Rangoon, in all probability they would have behaved as all good soldiers ought to do. But to treat the sepoys kindly was not the policy of the European military officers. By the order of the Commander-in-Chief, the sepoys were ruthlessly "massacred" on the morning of the 1st November. Kaye writes:—

"A hard, strict disciplinarian, with no knowledge of the native army, and a bitter prejudice against it, Sir Edward Paget was a man of the very metal to tread down insurrection with an iron heel, regardless both of causes and of consequences. * * * * Some attempt was made at explanation—some attempt at conciliation. But it was feeble and ineffectual; perhaps not understood. They were told, then, that they must consent to march, or to ground their arms. Still not seeing the danger, for they were not told that the artillery guns were loaded with grape, and the gunners ready to fire,* they refused to obey the word; and so the signal for slaughter was given. The guns opened upon them. The mutineers were soon in panic flight. Throwing away their arms and accoutrements, they made for the river. Some were shot down; some were drowned. There was no attempt at battle. None had been contemplated. The muskets with which the ground was strewn were found to be unloaded."†

That this bloodshed indulged in by the Commander-in-Chief, could have been prevented, will be evident from what Kaye says on this subject:—

"A few sentences of well-chosen, well-delivered Hindoostanee, on that fatal November morning, might have brought the sepoys back to reason and to loyalty. But they had the benefit of neither wise counsel from within nor kindly exhortation from without. Deprived, by the reconstruction of the Army, of the officers whom they had long known and trusted, they were more than ever in need of external to bring them back to a right state of feeling. They wanted a General of Division, such as Malcolm or Ochterlony, to re-awaken their soldierly instincts—their pride in their colours, their loyalty to their salt. But instead of such judicious treatment as would have shown them their own folly, as in a glass, the martinets of the Horse Guards, stern in their unsympathising ignorance, their ruthless prejudices, had, in our own territories, at the very seat of Government, in the presence of no pressing danger, no other lessons to teach, no other remedies to apply, than those which were to be administered at the bayonet's point and the cannon's mouth."‡.

The demoralising effects of this massacre have been described by the same authority as follows:—

"But this display of vigour, though it checked mutiny for the time, tended only to sow broadcast, the seeds of future insubordinations. It created a bad moral effect throughout the whole of the Bengal army. From bazaar to bazaar the news of the massacre ran with a speed almost telegraphic. The regiments, which had already marched to the frontier were discussing the evil tidings with mingled dismay and disgust before the intelligence, sent by special express, had reached the ears of the British chiefs. 'They are your own men, whom you have been destroying,' said an old native officer; and he could not trust himself to say more." §

The brutal Commander-in-Chief was not content with mowing down the sepoys by artillery fire. He court-martialed the survivors, when many were hanged. The regiment was afterwards struck out of the Army List.

Thus ended the disgraceful affair of the Barrackpore massacre. Had justice been done, it was the Commander-in-Chief and members of his staff who deserved the gallows and being blown from the mouths of cannon rather than the sepoys. But in this nether world of ours, justice is not always to be had, but might is right.

There have been many English writers who have not scrupled to add insult to injury by blackening the character of the sepoys. According to them the refusal of the sepoys to proceed to the front proceeded from fear, cowardice and other similar causes. Thus Metcalfe, who ought to have known better, wrote:—

"Now what does this mutiny proceed from? Either from fear of our enemy, or from disaffection to our Government. * * They (the sepoys) detest the eastern part of Bengal more than the western; and the country beyond our frontier they believe to be inhabited by devils and cannibals; the Burmans they abhor and dread as enchanters, against whom the works of mere men cannot prevail. What does all this amount to in brief but this—that we cannot rely on our Native Army? Whether it be fear of the enemy or disaffection toward us, they fail us in the hour of need. What are we to think of this, and what are our prospects under such circumstances? It is an awful thing to mow down our own troops with our own artillery, especially those troops on whose fidelity the existence of our empire depends."‖

But Mr. Herbert Spencer, when referring to the Barrackpore massacre, wrote:—

"Down to our own day continues the cunning despotism which uses native soldiers to maintain and extend native subjection—a despotism under which, not many years since, a regiment of sepoys was deliberately massacred, for refusing to march without proper clothing."

* "It is doubtful, indeed, whether they knew that the guns were in the rear of the European regiments."—Kaye.

† Kaye's *History of the Sepoy War*, Vol. I (1870) pp. 268-69.

‡ *Ibid* pp. 270-271.

§ *Ibid* p. 269.

‖ Kaye's Selections from the papers of Lord Metcalfe, p. 153.

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THE MISHMIS

THE Mishmis are an aboriginal tribe of Assam. Mishmi settlements extend as far south as the Nemlang river, thence sweeping round to the east of the great mountain called Dapha Bhum and then up the valley of the Brahmaputra proper to the confines of Tibet and in the west up to the Digaru river.

There are three tribes of the Mishmis,—the Digaru, Miju and Chulikata. The Mishmis situated to the west of the Du river, an affluent of the Brahmaputra above the Brahmakunda, trade with British possessions, and the tribes to the north-east of that river trade only with Tibet. Those who trade with British possessions are quiet and inoffensive, but very keen traders. Those beyond them have shown themselves hostile to the visits of British officers. Several expeditions, of course armed, were sent to their country, but all of them proved more or less disastrous.

A more rugged, a more difficult but a more beautiful country than that settled by the Mishmis it would be difficult to find; and the exertion necessary to travel in it is powerfully illustrated in the fine development of the calves and muscles of the thighs by which the Mishmi lads and lasses are invariably distinguished. Steady nerves are as necessary as strong limbs to cross a swollen torrent roaring hundreds of feet below by a suspension bridge. The point selected for these aerial bridges is where the river is most narrowly confined by rocks; across this a rope made of three or four rattans is flung, the extremity fastened to rocks or trees, and the rope tightened as much as possible. On this rope a movable ring of the same material is bound. The person who has to cross, places his body in the ring, and, if necessary, his head in a small loop formed for the purpose, and then with his face turned upwards, he allows the ring to move. It shoots down rapidly to the middle, and the remaining portion of the distance the passenger accomplishes by grasping the suspender and working his way up with hands and feet. It is not a pleasant way of crossing a raging torrent, but use soon accustoms a person to cross without difficulty.

The Mishmi settlements consist of a few houses, sometimes of only one, but each house capable of holding all the members of a family and numerous slaves and retainers. These are built of bamboos, raised high from the ground and divided into some dozen compartments. The roof of dry grass projects in long eaves reaching down to the level of the floor, and hiding the walls, which with the floor are some six feet from the ground, and made of bamboo wicker-work, and admit a strong current of air. The houses are generally 12 feet wide, while the length varies according to circumstances, generally regulated by the number of wives of the owner, each of whom has a separate room for herself, so that in the case of a rich chief the houses are often forty yards long. The door, about five feet high, situated at the end, is reached by means of a balk of timber, with notches cut in it. On entering, a long passage presents itself, from which the rooms open just as stalls in a stable. The first or the stranger's room has in it a movable stove. In the passage are arranged the skulls of the cattle the chief has killed, including mithuns, deer, bullocks, buffaloes, and pigs, and also of bears, tigers, and monkeys. In the house of a powerful chief several hundreds of skulls are hung up along the walls of the passage. It is considered shabby for a chief to retain in his show-room the skulls of animals killed by his predecessors. On the other side of the passage are also kept the domestic utensils. Each compartment contains a fire-place, over which hangs a tray for the meat that they wish to smoke. The chief's house is the manor house or the head quarters of the settlement. During the cold weather they keep small fires in almost every room, so that the houses, being low; are constantly filled with smoke, and many old people suffer from smoke blindness.

At some distance from every house a number of little store-houses are erected, each on four uprights, and from the number of these one may count the number of wives possessed by the owner of the house. Each wife has a store-house of her own, in which she stores all the grain and other produce she is able to raise by her own industry. An invasion of these store-houses is considered so great an offence that the Mishmis say it could not happen.

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Nearly every house swarms with rats, which live in the skulls ornamenting the walls, and one or more cats live on these. Dirt and filth abound.

A Mishmi's wealth is always calculated according to the number of skulls possessed, which form a kind of currency among the tribes,--slaves and knives being purchased for so many heads each. The Mishmis are constantly on the move in their trading expeditions and attend less to cultivation. But they are rich in flocks and herds. They purchase cattle every year in Assam, and have besides the fine hill-ox, the mithun; they call it *cha*. The possession of these animals, is, next to the number of their wives, the chief indication of their wealth. They do not use them for agricultural purposes or for their milk, but on great occasions they are slaughtered and eaten and are given in exchange for brides. They are allowed to remain in a wild state, roving through the forests as they please; but they are fed with salt by their master, and when he calls, they know his voice and respond. The chief sources of wealth to the Mishmis are the poisonous roots of *Aconitum*, the valuable medicinal plant *Mishmi Teeta* and the musk bags of the musk deer. With these and a few articles of hardware and woollen goods obtained from Tibet, they carry on an extensive trade with the people of Assam and the other neighbouring hill tribes. Everything that a Mishmi trader carries about him, to his last garment, is purchasable; and, therefore, they do not comprehend why any one should be unwilling to part with any of his stores for an equivalent, and it is very amusing to see their cunning attempt to draw one into making a bargain about a thing to which they have taken a fancy.

During the summer the Mishmis appear to live on the store of food gathered during the cold weather, consisting of dried fish and various kinds of grain. A kind of flour made from the sago palm forms a considerable item in their stocks, but such is their idleness that they are often reduced to great straits for want of food towards the end of the summer. Cultivation among them is little understood and less cared for except in the case of opium. Much attention is bestowed on the production of this baneful drug; while tobacco, which they consume to excess, seems to grow plentifully without having much care bestowed on it. Where food is scarce tobacco is plentiful; indeed, the pipe is scarcely ever out of their mouths. From the youngest toddling children up to the oldest men and women, all smoke small pipes, the bowls of which are made from a kind of very hard bamboo, and fitted with reed stems. They also use brass pipes, many of them of Chinese manufacture. When they are not sleeping or eating they are certain to be smoking.

The women and slaves do all the cultivation, using a kind of wooden hoe for all purposes of tillage; hence all the crops are scanty. Occasionally some thrifty Mishmi wife scratches up a little ground and raises a small crop of very inferior cotton. Wild honey is gathered in great quantities, and wax forms a great article of barter. They prepare a kind of waxed meal made from the seed of the sago palm, mixed with bees' wax and take with them on their trading visits to the plains. During the wet summer months they live pretty well.

The Mishmis never name their villages. To a certain extent they are nomadic. A clan, consisting of three or four houses, will settle on a spot, and while their houses are habitable they will reside in them, but when old and decayed, new houses are built sometimes miles away from the old ones, which are then deserted. From this custom a village is named after its chief, and on his death the place takes his son's name.

The Mishmis are extensive polygamists. Each man may have as many wives as he can afford to purchase, the price ranging from a pig to twenty oxen. On the death of a Mishmi all his surviving wives become the property of his heir with the exception of the mother of the heir,—should she be amongst them,—who would go to the next of kin amongst the males. A large family of daughters are considered very valuable, especially if they be well favoured, for they are sure to fetch a handsome price. The marriage ceremony of the Mishmis is highly original. When the eldest son and heir of a family has made his choice he speaks to his father, who undertakes to bargain with the young lady's parents; if the coveted fair one be very beautiful it sometimes takes months to complete the bargain. When, however, this matter is settled the young man pays his future father-in-law a visit, taking with him a number of heads as part of the purchase money, which he hands over to his would-be father-in-law and is then allowed to court the young lady, whose heart he seeks to gain. If they are mutually satisfied, the father-in-law hands over the daughter, giving her as a dowry a share of the heads paid for her. Until they have become the parents of grown-up children, they never eat meat in each other's presence, nor can a man eat meat in his father-in-law's

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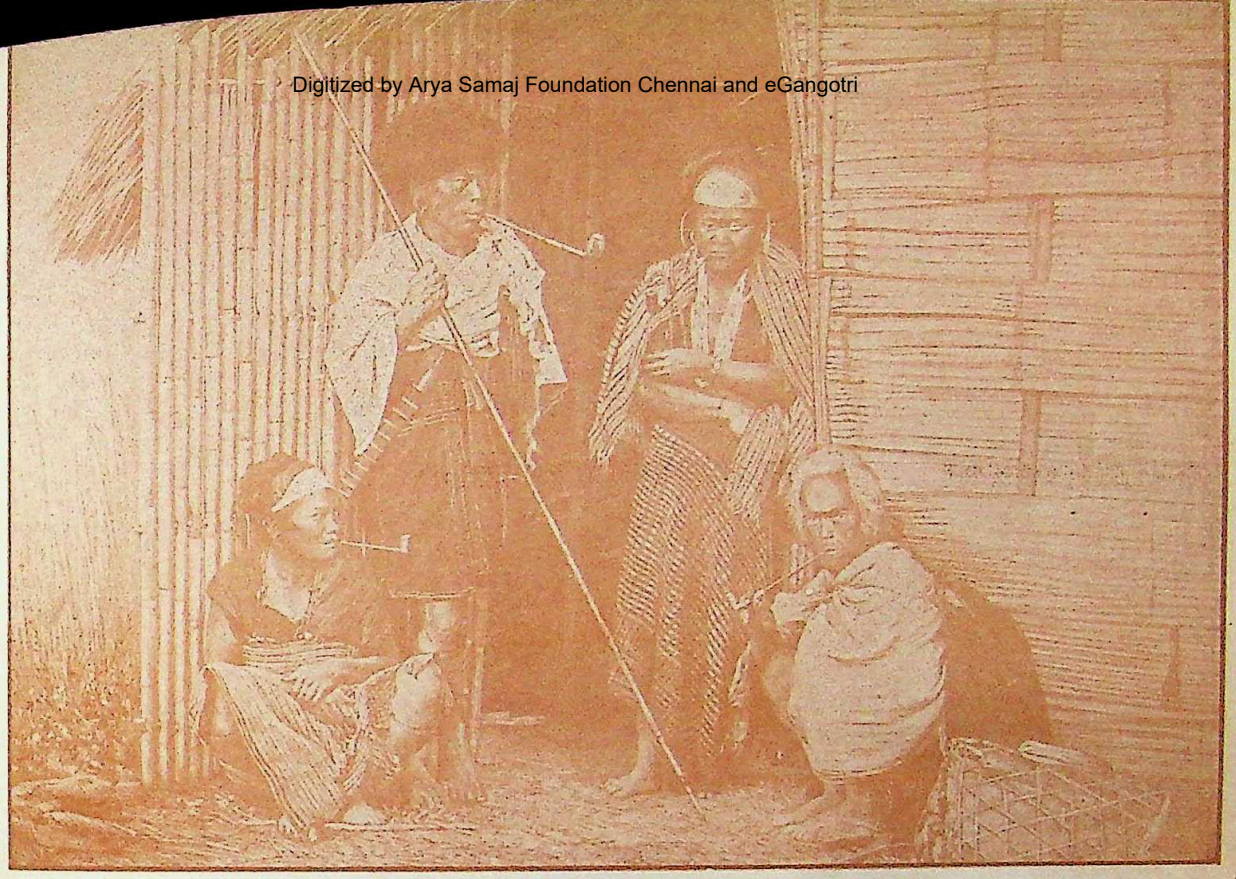

GROUP OF DIGARU MISHMIS.

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GROUP OF MIJU MISHMIS.

THE INDIAN PRESS, ALLAHABAD.

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GROUP OF CHULIKATA MISHMIS.

MAN

WOMAN

DIGARU MISHMIS.

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house. This peculiar custom often prevents a man from eating flesh in any house in the village save his own, he having married girls from almost every house in the village. Poor younger sons have to work very hard for a wife, for they get no help from their father, but have to trade sometimes for years before they can bring their wives to a house of their own; but on payment of a part of the purchase money the youth may marry and visit his wife at her father's house, though she and her children can never leave it until every head is paid. This custom is a great stimulus to the young men in their musk-hunting and trading excursions.

When a woman's canfinement is near at hand, a small shed is erected for her in the jungle near the house and there she must remain till delivered and till the days of her purification—ten days for a boy and eight for a girl—are completed.

Next in importance to the marriage are the ceremonies attending deaths. In the case of sickness a soothsayer is called in and he generally prescribes the sacrifice of fowls or pigs according to the state of the patient. These sacrifices he orders as a propitiation to the demon who is supposed to be instrumental in causing sickness. When death ensues, particularly in the case of a chief, mithuns, pigs and fowls are killed and all the old men and women feast to their hearts' content, hospitality being considered a great virtue. They eat in honour of the departed, talking the while of his great and good qualities. The body is either burnt and the ashes collected and placed in a miniature house erected close to the family residence, or interred near the house covered with a roof, under which are suspended the deceased's clothes and drinking cup. For several days previous to the arrival of the priest, an attendant is employed singing a mournful devotional chant to the accompaniment of a small bell. Then there is a preliminary sacrifice of a red cock and hen, the blood of which is received in a vessel containing some other fluid, and the mixture carefully examined, as it is supposed to indicate if the result will be fortunate or otherwise. At last the priest arrives, dressed like an ordinary chief, but wearing a rosary of shells and, attached to the front of his head-dress, two appendages like horns. For two days at intervals the priest and his attendant employ themselves in singing chants, marking the time by waving a fan and ringing a bell; on the third day he puts off his chief's Tibetan robe and assumes what may be regarded as his pontifical dress,—a tight-fitting coat of coloured cotton, a small apron, a deer skin as a mantle; from his right shoulder descends a fringe of long goat's hair dyed bright red, and over his left shoulder he wears a broad belt embossed with four rows of tiger's teeth and having attached to it fourteen small bells. On his head he has a bandeau ornamented with shells and round the knob of hair at the top of his head a movable plume which turns like a weathercock. Then follows a wild demoniacal dance, the object of which is to make as much noise as possible to frighten the devils. After this all the lights are extinguished and the party remain in darkness, till a man suspended from the roof obtains a fresh light from a flint. He has to be careful not to touch the ground as he produces the light, as the light thus obtained is supposed to be fresh from heaven. When the burial is of a person of note skulls are arranged round the tomb; and under the shed built over the grave raw and cooked flesh with grain and spirits are placed and all the arms, clothes and implements he was in the habit of using when living, which serve as a monument of his past hospitality; while the rest of his treasures are divided among his sons, the son-and-heir taking the lion's share. When there are no sons the skulls go to the nearest male relations. The eldest son holds a yearly feast in honour of his deceased father, which is considered one of the most sacred observances amongst them. The poor burn the dead without much ceremony, or throw the bodies into the river.

The laws which regulate their social system are simple but most effective. In case of a murder a Council of Chiefs is held and on proof of guilt the nearest male relative of the deceased cuts up the culprit at pleasure or takes a heavy compensation. Any owner may kill his slave at pleasure. In cases of the seduction of a married or a single woman the whole clan—of which the woman is a member—resent the wrong. The head of her house slaughters a bullock or a yak and invites the elders of his clan to a feast. The skull and the jawbones of the animal are placed on the highway on the top of bamboo posts about twelve feet high and remain there as a sign to all passers-by, who soon spread the news that such and such a clan has been wronged. Then all the chiefs of the clan assemble in council to decide on the amount of damage to be paid by the male offender. But if previous to this the offender has paid the price of the bullock and taken the woman to wife, the skulls and bones are removed and the matter looked upon as

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settled; if not, the Council of Chiefs award heavy damages to the head of the woman's family, father or husband as the case may be, who in case of default by the offender, takes revenge on his clan and in doing so is helped by all the chiefs and their followers.

As to religion their notions are very vague. Polytheism encumbered with all the rites and ceremonies of fetishism is their true creed. The yearly sacrifice and feast in honour of their deceased parents shows that they have some idea of a future state. Death is a disagreeable subject of conversation. Whenever illness or misfortune visits them they propitiate demons. On these occasions a sprig of a plant is placed at the door to intimate to strangers that the house is for the time under *tabu*. They appear to have no notion of a supreme and benevolent deity. They worship the god of destruction, the god of the chase and knowledge, the god of wealth and disease, and a great many others without name. The Mishmis have priests, but they are few in number.

The ordinary clothing of the lower class Mishmis consists of a single strip of cloth as narrow as its purpose possibly permits bound round the loins and passing between the legs and fastened in front; and a coat without sleeves reaching from the neck to the bend of the knee and made of a straight piece of blue and red striped cotton cloth or yak haircloth, doubled in the middle, the two sides sewn together leaving holes for the exit of arms and a slit in the middle, formed in the weaving, for the passage of the head. From a piece of hide or cord round the waist an apron-like piece of cloth hangs down to the knee. Over this they wear a sporran, made of either bear or monkey skin, which serves as a pocket for tobacco, flint and steel, etc. The richer have coats of Tibetan coarse woollens generally stained of a deep red, and sometimes ornamented with white spots which are preserved from the action of the dye by tying. A chief wears large fur caps made of the skin of a little animal somewhat resembling a fox, peculiar to the Mishmi hills. Two pouches covered with fur, attached to leather shoulder belts with large brass plates before and behind like cymbals, which appear to be rather ornamental than useful; a knapsack ingeniously contrived to fit the back covered with the long black fibres of the great sago palm of these hills and further decorated with the tail of a Tibetan cow; are all his dress. The head-dress of the Mishmis is not remarkable: in the fields it is merely a hemispherically-shaped helmet of wicker-work and in their homes a fur cap or a red strip of cloth encircling the head as a turban. As ornaments, the men wear rings of brass on their arms; but the most remarkable ornaments are the earrings, which are large discs of bamboo or silver. These are nearly an inch in diameter, the lobes of the ears having been gradually stretched and enlarged from the age of childhood to receive these singular ornaments. Their earrings differ according to their wealth: those most esteemed (and when the lobes of the ears have been sufficiently extended) are formed of a cylinder of thin plate silver, tapering in diameter to the centre: the latter, being often one inch and the former one inch and a half.

The women wear a coloured cloth fastened loosely round the waist, which reaches to the knees and a very scanty bodice which supports without entirely covering the breasts. They wear a profusion of beads, not only of common glass but of cornelian, agate and porcelain, which must weigh at least ten pounds. Round the head they wear a silver band in the shape of a coronet, broad over the forehead and tapering off on each side towards the back of the head which is fastened there with a chain of shells. One sort of earring has a remarkable appearance; it is a brass-wire ring three or four inches in diameter, put through the top of the ear, and having suspended to it a triangular plate of silver, which hangs over the shoulders. They also wear rings and bracelets of silver or brass, principally of Chinese manufacture and procured from the Tibetans. Small girls go naked about the villages, but wear a little billet of wood suspended from a string round the loins which hangs in front and serves as a sort of covering; they look as if they were ticketted for sale.

Both men and women wear the hairs long, turned up all round and gathered in a knot on the brow secured by a bodkin.

Their weapons consist of bows and poisoned arrows; a staff eight feet long shod with a spear at one end and a spike at the other serves the double purpose—the spear for the chase and the spike for assisting them to climb their rugged mountains. A small knife attached to a green hide strap or belt, slung over the shoulder, hangs under the right arm. This belt in the case of a chief is ornamented with large brass studs and shield-shaped pieces of brass, three inches in diameter. The most important weapon of a chief next to the bow and arrow, is the long keen edged Tibetan knife, of which they are exceedingly proud.

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It is about three feet long, and of uniform width from hilt to point.

The Mishmis are a short, sturdy race of fair complexion, well-knit figures, and active like monkeys. They vary much in feature, generally exhibiting a rather softened phase of the Mongolian type, but sometimes with regular, almost Aryan, features, the nose higher and nostrils longer than is usually seen in the Indo-Chinese races. The lower classes of the Mishmis are very rude looking but inoffensive. They never wash, so that their otherwise fair complexion is generally begrimed with soot, through which in the case of old people, each wrinkle is plainly visible, giving a most grotesque appearance to their faces, as though painted with white lines. A great number of the Mishmis have their brows habitually contracted from the custom of half-shutting their eyes against the penetrating gas arising from their wood fires. The women, when young, are pretty. Like the men they are hardy and active, tripping along under heavy burdens with the ease and graceful gait which belongs only to the true daughters of the mountains. Free and unreserved in their manners to strangers, they are yet modest.

The hill country bordering on Assam, between the Digaru and the Dibong rivers, is occupied by the Chulikata Mishmis, so called by the Assamese in consequence of their habit of cropping the front hair on the forehead. The hills occupied by them being loftier it is more rugged and difficult of access even than the country of the other Mishmis described before; so difficult indeed, that an expedition into the interior of their country has never been attempted. There is only one route to their country along the cliffs of the Dibong river; the path is generally a narrow ledge winding round a precipice, but in one place there is *no* ledge, *only holes in the face of the rock for the hands and feet.*

The proper name of the Chulikata is Midhi. They are greatly detested and mistrusted by their neighbours, and much dreaded in consequence of the prowling expeditions to kidnap women and children. They are full of deceit. They come down in innocent-looking parties of men and women to the plains, apparently groaning under the weight of the baskets of merchandise they are importing for barter. They proceed thus till they find an unprotected village; then throwing aside their fictitious loads, they pounce on the women and children and carry them off to the hills.

The Midhi have some villages situated in low hills which are easily accessible. These villages contain ten to thirty houses, each very lightly framed; they are long and narrow, about 60 feet by 12. One side has a narrow passage from end to end, the remainder is divided into small apartments in some of which are seats—a sign of civilization not often met with in Indian huts.

The chiefs rejoice in very sonorous names, as Alundi, Alunga, &c. They are hereditary chiefs, and have considerable influence over their clansmen, but no power over their persons or property and no authority to punish crime or even to take notice of it. If an injury is inflicted on one of them by a member of another tribe, it is incumbent on the tribe of the injured party to avenge it; if one of his own tribe offend, it is the business of the offended person only. He has no law except that which he can take in his own hands, and between people in the same village feuds are thus perpetuated for ages.

Marriage ceremony there is none, it is simply an affair of purchase and the women thus obtained, if they can be called wives, are not much bound by the tie. The husbands do not expect them to be chaste; they take no cognizance of their temporary *liaisons* so long as they are not deprived of their services. If a man is dispossessed of a wife, he has a private injury to avenge, and takes the earliest opportunity of retaliating, but he cannot see that the woman is a bit the worse for her incontinency. They take as many wives as they can afford to purchase, and the number of wives, therefore, is with them an indication of wealth.

The Chulikatas are also a trading people. Every man among them is a petty merchant. Large parties are continually on the move trading with Tibet. On such occasions men, if they cannot go themselves, send their wives, and the men and women promiscuously bivouac at night. They were probably the first people on this side of the Himalayas to discover the valuable properties of the Rhea and many other plants of the nettle tribe; with the fibres of these they weave a cloth so strong and stiff that, made into jackets, it is used by themselves as a sort of armour. They supply themselves and their neighbours with clothing and their texile fabrics of all kinds always sell well in the markets. It is very interesting to watch the barter that takes place between these suspicious, excitable savages and the cool, wily traders of the plains. The former take salt chiefly in exchange for the commodities they bring down, and they would not submit to its being measured or weighed to them by any known process. Seated in front of

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the trader's stall, they cautiously take from a well-guarded basket one of the articles they wish to exchange. Of this they still retain a hold with their toe or their knee, as they plunge two dirty paws into the bright white salt. They make an attempt to transfer all they can grasp to their own basket, but the trader, with a sweep of his hand, knocks off half the quantity, and then there is a fiery altercation, which is generally terminated by a concession on the part of the trader of a few additional pinches. In addition to the cloths, the Chulikatas bring to market large quantities of bees-wax, ginger and chillies.

The colour of the Chulikatas varies from dark brown to a fairness equalling that of a European brunette. Some among them have rich red lips and ruddy complexions, and decidedly good looking girls are not uncommon, but their beauty is terribly marred by their peculiar method of cropping the hair. The front hair is combed down on the brow, then cut straight across from ear to ear giving them foreheads villanous low, and they are generally begrimed with dirt. The back hair is collected in a knot behind, and secured with long bodkins of bone or porcupine quills. The men wear wicker helmets that come down in front right to the eye-brow. This gives them the appearance of having very large heads (they have not got small ones) and very scowling countenances. Their features are of a coarse Mongolian type,—the faces flat and broad, the nostrils wide and round, and the eyes small and oblique. The women are comparatively taller and finer creatures than the men.

The costume with the exception of the head-dress, is very similar to that of the Mishmis proper, but the jackets worn by the women are larger and sometimes tastefully embroidered. This garment is generally worn open, exposing an ample bust heaving under a ponderous weight of agate and glass beads. The favourite weapons of the Chulikata Mishmis are straight Tibetan swords, daggers, bows and arrows. They have neatly-made oblong shields of buffalo hide, attached to which, inside, is a quiver full of finely-made poisoned arrows. By an exchange of weapons warriors become sworn comrades, and if one falls, it is the duty of the other to avenge his fate and recover his skull.

For the entertainment of their guests, the Chulikata Mishmis arrange a very characteristic dramatic entertainment. The first scene represents a peaceful villager with his children hoeing the ground, and singing and conversing with them as if utterly unconscious of any danger. A villanaous-looking crop-hair glides in like a snake scarce seen in the long grass, takes note of the group, and glides away again. Presently armed savages are seen at a distance. They come gradually and stealthily on, till within a convenient distance they stop and watch their prey like so many cats. Then there is a rush in, the man is supposed to be killed, and the children carried screeching away. Dancing is another amusement. On such an occasion they put on very imposing dresses, and dance in pairs a stately measure. On this occasion the dresses worn by the females are ampler than usual and have a fringe of more than a foot in breadth. The women bear aloft as they move each a small drum which gives forth its sound at every motion. The male performer has a head-dress with horns, a broad belt round his waist and an embroidered shoulder-belt with its peal of small bells. This is a religious dance, used generally at funerals and other ceremonies.

They bury their dead away from the village in the wood. The arms and clothes of the deceased are placed in the grave. They then dance over it.

The Chulikatas are entirely devoid of religious feeling. They have no notion of a future state or of immortality of any kind. The spirits they propitiate are, according to their belief, mortal like themselves, and though they admit there must have been a Creator, they cannot at all believe that the Being who called into existence their hills, rocks, rivers, forests and ancestors could still be alive. Men die and worms eat them, is their creed, and the custom of placing in the grave with the dead food and clothes, etc., they maintain, did not originate in an idea that the spirit would regain such things, but it was done as a mark of affection to their departed relatives—a feeling that indisposed them from using what he has used, and thus benefiting by his death.*

CHARUCHANDRA BANDYOPADHYAY.

* This article has been compiled from *The Records of the Bengal Government* (published by authority), *The Mishmi Hills* by T. T. Cooper, F. R. G. S., and the *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* by Col. E. T. Dalton, C. S. I.

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WOMAN

MAN

CHULIKATA MISHMI.

MISHMI WOMAN.

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MIJU MISHMI.

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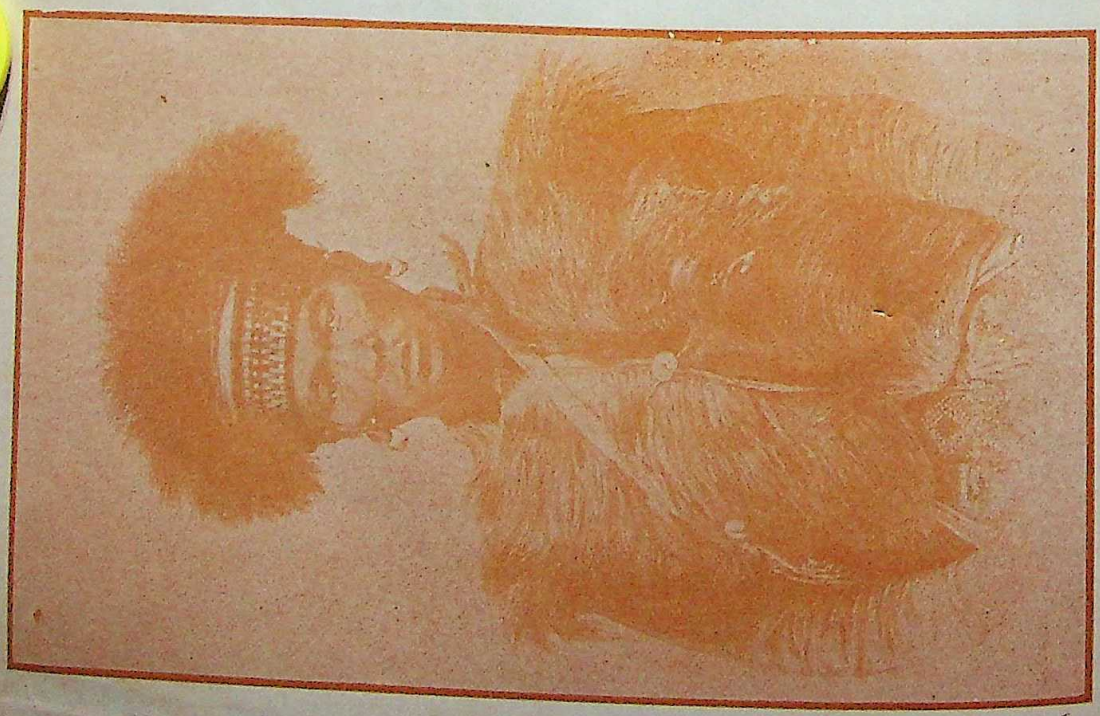

MIJU MISHMI IN FULL DRESS.

Supplement to "The Modern Review."

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NARRATIVE OF THE INCIDENTS OF MY EARLY LIFE

VI

2nd August.—The sky was clear, and the sun bright as ever. Rain had fallen at night. The day was a general holiday: all the lay population of the country—men, boys, women, (some with infants in their arms)—came to visit the monastery from the adjacent villages. The doors of all the monk-cells, chapels, and shrines were thrown open. This is one of the privileged days when women, who are excluded at all other times, are allowed to visit the monastery; unlike the men, who have access at all times. The wives of noblemen (Jongpons) and rich merchants, dressed in their richest apparels and ornaments, visited the four gold-roofed Mausolea, shrines and the grand hall of religious observances, besides numerous shrines and colleges. The alleys too were filled with them. Their head-dresses struck me much. The prevailing form consisted of two, or sometimes three, circular bands of plaited hair forming a gear, placed crosswise, richly studded with pearls, cat's-eyes, and small rubies, emeralds, and diamonds; corals, turquoises and ambers some as large as hen's eggs, and pearl drops, and various sorts of stones and jade encircled their heads, like the halo of light round the head of the goddess Kali, or the *nimbus* of a Christian saint. These circles were attached to a circular head-band, from which six to eight short strings of pearls, and regularly-shaped drops of corals and other precious stones, terminated by a large oval turquoise, hung down towards the forehead. The poorer women wore only one head-gear of plaited hair with roundish lappets hanging from the side of their ears. Rich China and Benares kincob cloaks, China satin tunics, and velvet boots, with gold and silver girdles, completed their dress. The ladies walked by the side of their husbands, the father often carrying the child. I had a good chance of estimating the average beauty of Tibetan females; but the priestly character which I had to maintain did not allow me to look much at them. From what I did see, however, I was pleased with their joyous and thoughtless countenances, and mild and gentle manners, though I occasionally noticed a few beauties amidst hideous ugliness, with high cheek bone or flat Chinese nose. Among the Tibetans a round face, with very high cheek bones, a moderately raised nose, a short chin and large eyes, with elongated eye-brows, and a middling stature, are considered to be marks of beauty: a pointed nose or chin is thought ugly. A slender waist is not a condition of beauty among them. Judging by this standard, I am sure there were many beauties assembled within the monastery walls that day. At 12 A.M. Ugyen Gya-tsho was sent for by the Minister to accompany him to the Grand Lama's. He put on my monastic habit, as he had not a suit of his own. The Minister gave the Tashi Lama a long account of our privations and perseverance during the journey, assured him of our faith in him, and our determination to study the Buddhist scriptures, to which we were then strangers; and he enumerated the presents we had brought for him. The Grand Lama requested the Minister to take us to him in his own sitting-room, wishing the interview to be private. The Tashi Lama's palace is a four-storied building, constructed of dark red stone, of irregular shape but neatly laid, and presenting a pretty even surface. No plaster or paint is used on the outside, yet the building has a pleasant and elegant look. The inside is beautifully plastered, and coloured with green paint to a few feet above the plinth, the rest being adorned with frescoes in various colours. In none of the palaces or Mausolea are bricks used. In fact, owing to the scarcity of fire-wood no burnt bricks can be had in Tashi-lhunpo. I heard of the existence of coal in Tibet, but the people are strangers to its use and value, nor do they seem to know the use of kilns; sun-dried bricks are largely employed in making cow-sheds and walls round houses, in the villages and in places where stones are not plentiful. The excellent specimens of bricks of different shapes and sizes which I saw at Narthang were probably burnt in potters' kilns with fire-wood brought from Tanang. The Lama's palace contains large spacious halls, supported by pillars, and unlike Calcutta or Benares buil[illegible] has no court in the middle—a plan rendered necessary by

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the keenness of the winds in Tibet. The grand hall of the congregation, to which the shrine of Buddha is attached, and the hall of religious observance, have spacious courts.

The roofs of the principal palace-domes are covered with richly gilt copper plates. Inside are placed *chaityas* made of solid silver, in which are deposited the remains of the last four Tashi Lamas: all the other larger buildings are terrace-roofed. There are long flights of steps leading to the first floor, but the approaches to all the other floors are by close-stepped ladders. Windows there are but few, and these constructed in bad taste. Balconies are attached to several of the stories. On our arrival at the palace, Ugyen Gya-tsho was first admitted, and was recognized by the Tashi Lama, who had seen him the year before. Lachen Lama was next introduced. The Tashi Lama then called for me, and the Minister at once sent word that I was to come. Ugyen having gone dressed in my priestly robes, had to be summoned back in haste, so that I might go dressed like a Tashi-lhunpo monk. I proceeded to the palace, and had to ascend to the roof of the fourth story, where in a Chinese tent with portable wooden walls, the Grand Lama and the Minister were seated on two high cushions. I was conducted to His Holiness' presence by his private secretary, and having bowed down according to custom, presented him with a white scarf and a rupee, rising each time to touch my forehead with the palms of my hands joined. I then approached the Grand Lama, who thereupon laid both the palms of his hands on the crown of my head and blessed me, an honour which the Khutuktus or high-class incarnate Lamas of Mongolia, and other Lamas of high rank, alone receive from him. The Grand Lama is 26 years of age, of a spare frame and middling stature. He has a remarkably broad forehead and large eyes, slightly oblique. The expression of his face, although highly intelligent, is not engaging, and lacks that sympathy and dignity so conspicuous in the Minister's countenance. The old monks of Tashi-lhunpo informed me that, unlike his predecessor, Kyabgon Tan-pai Nima, the present Grand Lama, was more feared than liked on account of his cold and independent bearing. He is strict in the observance of ceremonies, and in the administration of justice, slow to forgive, of irreproachable morals and studious habits, and, unlike his predecessors, has earned no reputation by the performance of miracles. For, as regards the rainbow that appeared on the Potala palace, opinion is divided between attributing it on the one hand to the virtues and excellence of the Dalai Lama, and on the other to those of the Panchen.

As I stood for a few minutes before him, he looked at me with some attention, and seemed not displeased, but did not speak to me, nor did I venture to address him. When I had at length withdrawn, his chaplain tied on my neck a red piece of silk, which, having been blessed, is called a *Srungbu* (protection), and serves for a charm against evil spirits. Some rice was then given me to eat, which I brought home with ostentatious reverence. The Grand Lama and the Minister then went downstairs, where the monks had assembled for a general thanksgiving service for the return of the Tashi Lama to Tashi-lhunpo after a long absence. I returned to my lodgings, dissatisfied with the interview, without waiting in the hall to observe the service and the various ceremonies which the Lamas went through. In the evening the Minister sent for me, and informed me that the Grand Lama had been pleased to admit me among his pupils, and, in order that I might be enrolled among the monks of Tashi-lhunpo, had wished me to take the vows of celibacy and priesthood, and to accept the allowance made to the monks. He had also requested the Minister to communicate to him all the information I could give regarding India, its civilization, arts, and sciences, and had expressed his intention of shortly beginning to learn to speak Sanskrit from me, and recommended me in the meantime to improve my Tibetan speaking. Cheered with this prospect of close relations with the Lama, I applied myself to the study of Tibetan, especially the colloquial, but was somewhat uneasy on account of my ignorance of the Prakrit terms to which I believed the Tashi Lama referred when he spoke of the "colloquial" Sanskrit of ancient India. I determined to put the Grand Lama to reading simple lessons from the Hitopadesa, as an introduction to his learning to converse in Sanskrit, in order to convince him of the importance of classical Sanskrit compared with the Prakrit. The Minister was now overwhelmed with business, and our attendance at his house became less regular. Having now been introduced to the Grand Panchen Lama, I began to move more freely among my acquaintances and friends, and became punctual in returning visits and going to auctions and private sales within the monastery. The Grand Lama, at first convinced of the honesty of our motives by the assurances of the Minister, began now, at the instigation of his domestic servants, to suspect us of being British *employes*, and

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he engaged spies to watch our movements. Two monks used to come to our lodgings, and, under pretence of examining the Tibetan Scriptures in the library, used to stay for many hours watching us. Others called on different pretences and relieved these two. I saw through them, and often used to invite them to sit on my rug, and politely asked their names and birth-places, how many years they had been in the monastery, under what professors they had studied, and to what colleges they belonged. After pressing them to partake of biscuits and Chinese treacle-cakes, of which I generally kept a large supply, I used to put them some difficult and abstruse questions on Buddhism, such as the steady and unsteady nature of life and the soul, of wisdom and knowledge, of Vidya and Avidya, which soon relieved me of their presence.

I afterwards learnt that these spies had reported very favourably of me to all the officers of Government, and to the Grand Lama himself. My food and manner of walking did not pass without remark so that instead of walking fast, as usual with me, I now learnt to walk with slow and short paces and left off eating eggs and onions, which priests (but not layman) are forbidden to eat. I must here add that among laymen, too, all whom I met, both men and women, during my residence and journey to and from Tibet, rise before dawn, light their fires, and prepare tea or churn out butter. The Lamas also carefully observed what purchases I made, and at the time of our leaving Tashi-lhunpo, many monks told us that they had found us exceptions to the ordinary run of pilgrims; for instead of buying silk robes, handkerchiefs, cups, and kincobs, we had bought little silver shrines containing images, and had ourselves made little amulets and church furniture and pamphlets.

3rd August.—On this day I was laid up with a slight fever and a strong headache, caused by my falling asleep when engaged with my Tibetan manuscripts, and also perhaps through eating too many sweet Chinese cakes. Ugyen attended on me with great anxiety.

4th August.—I despatched my peon (Tenzing) with letters for India, but did not mention my illness in any of them. The Minister was apprised of it by Kachan Machan La. Kusho-Dichung, Kachan Shado, another neighbour of mine, Kachan Dao, and other friends, used to come very often to see me and kindly expressed their wishes for my early recovery. The Minister consulted his tutelary gods about my illness, and obtained favourable results. He sent me some charms and pills consecrated to Buddha Kasy'apa, and assured me of my recovery. He also sent me a physician of Gnari, who treated me for three days. On the fifth day I took a dose of tartar emetic, but did not get rid of the fever. The Gnari physician's medicines effected a slight relief. I recovered completely on the 10th and took my rice on the 12th. From the 4th to the 11th (eight days) I subsisted on tea and two or three dessert spoonfuls of rice occasionally. The Gnari physician told me that Indian medicines would be of no use in Tibet, its climate, water, and air being quite different from those of India. He said he belonged to Ladak; and within the monastery I met a dozen British subjects of Spiti and British Lahoul, who were resident monks of Tashi-lhunpo. There were about two dozens from Zankar in Kashmir, but none from Sikkim.

13th August.—I paid a visit to the Minister. We gave him some lessons in Hindi that day; and Ugyen Gya-tsho informed him of his desire to go down to Sikkim before the middle of next month, leaving me at Tashi-lhunpo.

14th August.—On the 14th it began to be rumoured at Tashi-lhunpo and Shiga-tse that the Russians had advanced to near Nagchhu-kha, the farthest military station of Tibet towards the Mongolian frontier. Some said that eight Europeans had already arrived at Lhasa; others, that they were about ten days' journey north of Lhasa, and proceeding to it under the escort of two Chinese High Commissioners. Every *Gelong* who met us assured us that the rumour was true, and Kachan Shado produced a letter just received from a friend of his residing at Lhasa, which stated that the Russians had actually arrived at Nagchhu-kha, accompanied by two Chinese officials. Doubting the rumours, and wishing to ascertain, if possible, the real facts, I resolved to visit Kusho-Dichung whom we found suffering from a cough, for which I gave him a couple of cough pills. As usual I was served with tea and cakes. He himself commenced the conversation, by asking the price of the flannel shirt which I wore, where the stuff came from, &c. At last, the topic turning from European goods to Europe itself, I got an opportunity of asking him about the rumours. He replied that an official communication had been lately received from Lhasa on the point that the rumours of the advance of the Russians to Lhasa were entirely false, but it was true that they had advanced up to Nagchhu-kha. It appeared they had obtained the Emperor's sanction

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to their proposal of visiting Lhasa and Tashi-lhunpo, under the escort of two Chinese High Commissioners; but that the monks of Sera, Da-pung, and Gadan monastries had together resolved to arrest their progress to Lhasa, and had accordingly despatched 3,000 monks towards Nagchhu-kha.

He asked me if the holy religion of Buddha and the power of the Grand Lama would not enventually be overthrown by the Russians (*Urus*) or English (*Frangs*). I answered, I had heard that the Russian Government had a Consulate and soldiers near Urga (*Tah Khureh*), the capital of Tara Nath Lama of the Mongols, and that they had been carrying on trade with Mongolia and China for centuries; but as to the intentions of the Russians regarding the Government of Tibet and the Buddhist religion, I could say nothing. As for the English, I was certain that the conquest of Tibet, which was under the Emperor of China, would be a difficult thing for them, even if they had any such intention. I was sure that the English did not want to quarrel with their neighbours, but preferred to cultivate their friendship rather than covet their possessions. He asked me if the Russians could conquer Tibet. I told him that, in my opinion, they could not. For in the first place they would have to encounter the forces of the Emperor of China, whose dependencies Mongolia and Tibet were. If successful here, they would next have to conquer the opposition of the Mongolians and Tibetans themselves, a thing which, if it ever did happen, must happen in the remote future. In the same manner, I continued, the English would have successively to come in contact—first with the Chinese, then with the Nepalese and Bhutias, and lastly, with the Tibetans. Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan had been enjoying peace for many years without interruption, and under such circumstances, an invasion of Tibet by the English was very improbable. I concluded by saying, that it concerned me very little whether the English or the Russians entered Tibet; what concerned me most was the closing of the passes in the Himalayas against the Buddhists of the south. I had several other conversations with him on subsequent dates, at the end of each of which I openly deplored their uncharitable conduct towards the natives of India in closing the passes.

15th August.—On the 15th I sent Ugyen to invite to my house my old friend, the Khalka Mongolian Lama, named Lobsang Tenzing, with whom I had read Mongolain for six months at Darjeeling. He had met Ugyen and our servant (Tenzing) often, and had inquired after me, but had not been informed of my arrival at Tashi-lhunpo. He came at 2 P.M., and was quite delighted to see me. I offered him quarters at my house, but he politely declined, as he had a little house of his own prettily furnished. He became henceforth my constant guest and companion, to my great happiness, and introduced me to his Mongolian friends. One of his Amdoan teachers invited me to dinner after the Mongolian fashion. The Mongolians are great flesh-eaters. Rice they scarcely take except as an article of luxury. Barley-flour they like, if they can get it. What "*monda*" is with the Bengali Hindus, the "*momo*" is with the Mongolians. Lobsang Tenzing used to press me to eat a good many *momos*, and set the example by getting easily through three dozen balls, while I could scarcely manage half a dozen. "Momo" is prepared thus: mutton is cut up in slices, onions and a little spice, if at hand, are added, and the whole well mixed with a little good yak-butter, called "*di-mar*."* About four drachms of this preparation are put into a ball of wheat-flour paste, and cooked by being placed in steam. The Mongolians mix boiled rice with butter and sugar, and call the preparation *brese*. Plain boiled rice is out of fashion in Tibet. It is called *khache-bre*, or Kashmiri cooked rice.

16th August.—We saw the Minister on the 16th, gave him a lesson in Hindi, and returned to our lodging at 1 P.M.

17th August.—On the 17th we had a talk with him about the Sakya monastery and the Grand Abbot Sakya Rinpo-che, the head of the Sakya-pa sect. He is not an *avatar*. The office of Grand Abbot is hereditary; and he is allowed to live with his wife within the monastery. The Minister is a friend of his, and was able to arrange for our journey to the Sakya monastery. I asked him if it contained many original Sanskrit manuscripts of the Buddhist Scriptures, of which the "*Kahgyur*" and the "*Tangyur*" are translations. He told me he was not aware of the existence of any, and that it would be best for me to go there with a letter of introduction from him, and make inquiries about any manuscripts.

18th August.—On the 18th, after the usual lesson, I had a short conversation with him about the Russians. He told me that about five months ago an application had been made

* *Di* (a cow), *mar* (butter).

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to the Emperor by a party of Europeans* for admission into Tibet, on which the Tibetan Government had petitioned for the refusal of any application for admission of the "*Phillings*"† into Tibet, but no reply had up to date arrived from Pekin.

20th August.—The Minister again pressed us to enter the holy congregation of the monks, and to take the vows of celibacy and priesthood, which are in Tibetan called *rab-jung*.‡ He offered to give me his own "*chablug*," a piece of kincob six inches by four, lined with yellow broad-cloth, and attached to a silver handle about four inches long, and hung from the waistband by a nickel or silver pen-case. It is worn only by those monks and Lamas who have already taken the prescribed vows. I pleaded my small progress in the study of Buddhism as an excuse for not taking the *rab-jung* then, and added that unless I was fully convinced of the excellencies of the doctrine of Buddha, by thorough study of them, which was the chief object that had brought me to Tibet, I could not conscientiously call myself a Buddhist or take the *rab-jung*. I could assure him that I did not hold the doctrine of *Yeshu-mashi* (Jesus Christ) of the *Phillings*, nor entertained the *Tirthika* faith, in which I was born: that I was still undecided as to my religious persuasions, but believed in the existence of a Supreme Cause of the universe. To ascertain if that Being was identical with the Supreme Intelligence of the Buddhists was the principal object of my studying Tibetan Buddhism. The Minister seemed satisfied with my explanation, and did not talk on the matter any more. We did not, therefore, accept the usual allowance of monks, which in all amounts to about Rs. 10 a head monthly. The Minister was prepared to recommend me for the grant of a *shi-ga* (estate), which was set apart for Indian pandits; and to create a separate *kham-tshen* for me in Tashi-lhunpo; since in the monasteries of Sera, Da-pung, Gadan, and others, there is excellent accommodation for men of different countries, consisting of large buildings with one or two chapels attached to them, together with cook-rooms and out-houses. Thus there are the Lhop-kham-tshen (for Bhutanese and Sikkimese), the Amdo-kham-tshen, the Sogpo-kham-tshen, the Hamdo-kham-tshen, the Sher-kham-tshen, the Gyami-kham-tshen, &c. Ugyen and I paid several visits to the Lhopa-kham-tshen, and examined the chapel and furniture. There is a "Nyerpo" in charge of it. But there was, as far as I knew, no kham-tshen for Gya-gar or India. A "Gya-gar-kham-tshen"§ could, however, be established if I took the *rabjung*. The Sogpo-kham-tshen is a lofty building, four stories high, called "Samlo-khangsar." My friend Lobsang Tenzing lived in one of the rooms on the ground floor. Returning home from the Minister's, I found a respectable *Gelong* in waiting for me. He called from Kusho Phindi-khang-sar, the richest noble of Tsang, to say that his master desired to see me. I was quite surprised at such an unexpected message, but accompanied the *Gelong* to the great man's residence, and paid my respects with a profound bow, holding a scarf in my hands. Kusho Phindi-khang-sar, an old gentleman of about 56 years, of a spare frame and an intelligent look, was laid up with rheumatic pains in his left knee. He had tried many physicians for the last two months in vain; when, having heard about me from Kusho Dichung, and believing I could cure him, he sent for me. I told him I was not an *Amchi* (physician) by profession, but had only brought a little box of medicines for my own use, among which I feared there was none for his case. Thinking that I was unwilling to undertake his cure, he gave me a short history of his life, and the high favour he had received from the late Tashi Lama. He promised me a large reward if I succeeded in effecting his cure. After treating us with tea and cakes of the very best kind, he dismissed us, entreating me to see him next morning with my medicine chest.

* These may have been either the Moravian missionaries from Kylong (Lahoul), or a party of Hungarian explorers.

† *Phillings* (*phyi*, out; *gling*, continent or island)—people of the outer continent *i.e.*, Europe.

‡ *Rab-jung*, the state of excellence (*rab*, excellent; *hbyung*, grown), the ceremony of initiation into the sacred vows of Buddhism.

§ This is something like a students' hostel.

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RAJGRIHA : ITS HISTORY AND SHRINES

I.—The Pauranik Period.

THE NAME: *Giribrajapur* has been described in the Mahabharata as the capital of Magadha; it literally means 'the hill-girt city' and is a fit name for the renowned old city. A distinction must be made between the old and the new city of Rajgriha. The new city of Rajgriha was built, according to some, by King Bimbisara, and according to others, by Ajatasatru. The name of *Kusagarapura* has been applied by Hiuen Tsiang,* to the inner city, and the outer city he calls Rajgriha. Kusagarapura (Kiu—she—kie-lo-pu-lo) has been taken by Hiuen Tsiang to mean "the royal city of best grass (lucky grass)"; he says further that

"It produces much of the most excellent, scented, fortunate grass, and, therefore, it is called 'the city of the superior grass.'"

The modern Rajgir is a pretty large village occupying a portion of the site of new Rajgriha; and the hills are known as the Rajgir hills.

THE HILLS: "Two parallel rows of hills stretch north-east, from the neighbourhood of Gaya for about 36 miles to the bank of the Panchana river and end just opposite the villages of Giryek. Their latitude is from 24° 58′ 30″ to 25° 1′ 30″ and longitude from 85° 25′ to 85° 33′ 30″ east. The rock is volcanic, magnetic and mixed with quartz. Numerous hot springs abound. The mineral substance *Silajit*, much valued by Indian Kavirajes for its medicinal properties, exudes from the rock near the hot spring of Tapoban near Rajgir."

In the *Mahabharata* Sri Krishna describes Giribraja, the Magadha capital, in the following terms:—

"O Partha, (Arjuna) see how shines there the great capital of the kingdom of Magadha. It abounds in cattle, is well-watered, is free from disturbances and adorned with fine buildings. The five great hills, Vaihar, Varaha, Vrisabha, Rishigiri and Chaityaka, with their high peaks and shady trees, have united together to protect the city of Giribraja. The rocks are hidden, as it were by the sweet-smelling, beautiful and pleasant Lodhra trees with their flowery branches."

* S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II. pp. 149-50.

In the *Rajgriha-mahatmya*, which has been compiled from the *Vayu Purana*, the names of the five hills are as follows:—
Vaibhar, Vipula, Ratna-kuta, Giribraja and Ratnachala.†

In the Pali books the five hills are named Gijjhakuto, Isigili, Webharo, Wepullo, and Pandawo. Their modern names are, *Baibhargiri*, *Vipula-giri*, *Ratna-giri*, *Udaya-giri*, and *Sona-giri*. It will be seen, that the modern Baibhara is the Webharo of the Pali books, the Vaibhar of Rajgriha-mahatmya, and Vaihara of the Mahabharata; the modern Vipula, and Pali Wepullo, the Vipula of Rajgriha-mahatmya, corresponds to the Chaityaka of the Mahabharata; the Giribraja in the Rajgriha-mahatmya is the Varaha of the Mahabharata, and a part of the same hill is known as Giryek. It will be seen that Giribraja is the name of the *city* in the *Mahabharata*, while in the *Rajgriha-mahatmya* it is a name of one of the *hills*.

The first mention of Giribraja both in the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* is in connection with the kings of the family of Vrihadratha. Our history begins from the reign of Jarasandha, the powerful king of the Asuras, and a contemporary of Yudhisthira. He may be taken to have flourished from 1600 to 1500 B. C.

Vrihadratha of the lunar dynasty, was the father of Jarasandha, and it was he who established the Varhadratha family at Giribrajapur. The grandeur and glory of the reign of *Jarasandha* have been described in glowing terms in the Mahabharata. He wielded unbounded power and made most of the strong Khsatriya kings his vassals. This excited the envy of the Pandavas when they heard of him from Sri Krishna. When Yudhisthira expressed his desire to perform the Aswamedha sacrifice, Sri Kishna told him

† नरो राजगृहे गच्छेत्तीर्थसेवी जगद्धितः ।
उपस्पृश्य ततः स्नात्वा कर्त्तीवानिव मोदते ॥
वैभारो विपुलश्चैव रत्नकूटो गिरिव्रजः ।
रत्नाचलमितिख्याता पञ्चैते पावना नगाः ॥
पञ्चानां शैलमुख्यानां मध्ये मालेव राजते ।

Rajgriha-Mahatmya. Adhyaya 1, Slokas 12-14.

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that no other than an indisputably supreme and suzerain monarch had the right to perform this sacrifice; and as long as Jarasandha lived who had defeated all the minor kings and was reigning supreme in Eastern India, it was impossible for Yudhisthira to perform Aswamedha.

"For Bhagadatta, the powerful prince of the Yavanas, is engaged in serving his pleasure; Purujit is attached to him; Paundraka, the King of Vanga, Pundra, and Kirat, is under his protection. Vismaka, the master of a quarter of the world, is in his court. The kings of South Panchala and Eastern Kosala have left their own kingdoms and hid themselves in the Kimti land."

Even Sri Krishna, being afraid of Jarasandha, left Mathura and lived at Kusasthali near the Raivataka hill.

"The brothers Hamsa and Dimbaka, the mighty generals of Sisupala, are his bodyguards. It is almost impossible to stand against their arms when Jaransandha, Hamsa and Dimbaka unite together to fight. He is the lord of 3 Akshauhinis of soldiers. In fact, Jarasandha cannot be subdued even if the gods, the Daityas and men unite together against him."*

Sri Krishna advised Yudhisthira to slay Jarasandha in a single combat. Accordingly Sri Krishna, with the Pandava brothers Bhima and Arjuna, went to the Magadha capital, and after crossing the Chaityakagiri entered the city.† (At the place through which Sri Krishna entered Jarasandhapur, a Visnupada was established at a much later date). The high and beautiful peak of the Chaityaka was much resorted to by members of the royal family and the citizens of Giribraja. This firmly established, large, grand and ancient peak (hill-top) was always worshipped with flowers and fragrant substances by the Magadhis. But Sri Krishna, Bhima and Arjuna rolled this peak down into the ground. They then entered the city, whose strong, robust and healthy inhabitants were always engaging themselves in festivities and were unconquerable by foreigners. The King Jarasandha received them joyfully and placing them at the Yajnagar (guest-house) went to Rajgriha.‡ We need not here enter into any detail, regarding the killing of Jarasandha by Bhima in a hand to hand fight. Thousands of citizens, Brahmans, Kshattriyas, Vaisyas Sudras, and even women and old people assembled at the Rangabhumi § to witness the strange wrestling match. The fight began on the 1st day of the moon in Kartik and continued for 13 days. On the 14th day of the moon Jarasandha was overpowered by his antagonist, Bhima, and was at last killed by him.

At the same time, the noble-minded prince Sahadeva, the son of Jarasandha, following his priest, came with offerings to Sri Krishna, who installed him on the throne of Magadha then and there. He was introduced to Bhima and Arjuna who assured him of their friendship. Sahadeva (d. about 1,400 B. C.) was succeeded by his son Somapi. Ripunjaya, the 21st descendant of Somapi, was the last king of the house of Vrihadratha to reign at Rajgriha. Mr. Dutt, computing the average reign of each monarch at 21 years, has fixed 797 B. C. as the date of Ripunjaya.‖

According to Prinsep it was in 915 B. C.¶ that after the end of the reign of Ripunjaya, Pradyot who belonged to the *Sounaka* family, rose to power in Magadha. According to the *Visnupurana* five kings of the Sounaka family ruled Magadha for 138 years. The Sounaka family was succeeded by the Videha dynasty, founded by *Sishunaga* of Mithila who seized the throne of Rajgir. According to the Visnu, Bhagavat, Matysa, and Brahmanda Puranas, this house ruled for 362** years in Magadha. The date of the establishment of this family may be roughly fixed at 638 B. C. Bhatiya, the 4th descendant of Sishunaga, is mentioned in the *Mahavanso*, the old chronicle of Ceylon. In the *Visnupurana*, Bhatiya is known as Kshetraja. In his reign Sakya Sinha, the future Buddha, was born at Kapilavastu in 558 B. C. Five years after this, (553 B. C.) in the palace of Rajgriha was born the son of Bhatiya, the renowned Bimbisara. The Pauranik period now ends.

I shall add here a short account of the *holy places* in and around Giribrajapur (Rajgriha)

* This paragraph and the one following have been summarised from the *Mahabharata*, Sabhaparba, chapters 17-27.

† चैत्यकस्य गिरेः शृङ्गं भित्वा किमिह सम्भ्रमे ।
अद्वारेण प्रविष्टास्य निर्भया राजकिल्बिषात् ॥

‡ The passage in the Mahabharata is :—

यज्ञागारे स्थापयित्वा राजा राजगृहं गतः ।

Sabhaparba, chapter 21, sloka 34.

where Rajgriha may mean 'palace.' However, the old city of Giribraja may be taken to have occupied the region between the hills (Vaibhar, Vipula, Ratna, Udaya and Sona) and to have extended from Hamsapuradwar in the north to Rangabhumi in the west and from Rangabhumi in the south to Nekpai embankment in the east.

§ On the western end of the inner ramparts are the places known as Rangabhumi and Pancha Pandu. The hill here is covered with red tones. The people believe that they have been stained red by the blood of Jarasandha.

‖ According to the Visnupurana and the Bhagavat, the descendants of Vrihadratha were 20 in number and reigned for 1000 years, according to Vayu Purana for 921 years, according to the Mataya Purana for 935 years and according to the Brahmanda Purana for 919 years.

¶ Mr. Dutt says 775 B. C. Wilford 700 B. C.

** 332 years according to the *Vayupurana*.

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as described in the *Mahabharata* and the *Rajgriha-mahatmya.*

In the 21st Chapter of the *Mahabharata* Sri Krishna thus describes Giribrajapur to Arjuna,*

'Here the saint Gautama Muni gave birth to his sons beginning with Kakshiban whose mother was the Sudrani Ausinari. See, how beautifully stand there the *Lodhra* and *Pippalla* trees. Near them there are the dwelling places of two Nagas named Arbuda and Sakrabapi; the dwelling places of Svastika and Maninaga are also there. In all the five hills there are Asramas of Yatis and Munis.'

Curiously enough there is no mention of the hot springs which are one of the principal natural features of Rajgriha. Are we to infer that the hot springs did not exist then or were they invisible on account of the thick jungle?

The *Rajgriha-mahatmya* is a Sanskrit poem compiled from the Vayupurana and published by the priests of Rajgriha in the seventh century or even later to record (and possibly also enhance) its merits as a place of pilgrimage (*tirtha*). But most of the places mentioned in it must have existed before the Buddhist period. Rajgriha is described frequently as a forest, for the term राजगृहवने appears to be very common. This leads us to conclude that Rajgriha was deserted and relapsed into a jungle soon after the removal of the capital to new Rajgriha and subsequently to Pataliputra. First we have the mention of the five hills, referred to before. This is followed by a description of the Saraswati river, a bath in which is regarded to purify one from all sins. The following also are mentioned as holy places in Magadha:—the river Poonpoon, and Chyaban-asram in the holy Rajgriha, Baikuntha, Lohadanda, Hemakunda and Giribraja. To the north of the river Saraswati is the *Prachi* or old Saraswati; to the west of the latter is the holy *Markandeya-kshetra*, where is to be found the Bibhandaka *lingam*. To the north of the Prachi Saraswati is the temple of Madhava. The northern *tirtha* (N. of Prachi Saraswati) is known as Salagram. Near the Salagram is the Sila *tirtha*. Round the Salagram are four *lingams*; that to the east is named Bibhandaka, to the north is Gribamardanam, to the south is Brata Mokshanam, to the west is Kapardakam, and in the centre is Dharmeswar. On the south of Prachi is Banaritaranam. Then there are the following '*kunds*' or *hotsprings*:—(1) Brahmakunda, in which in the N. E. corner is the Hamsa-tirtha. In former times King Vasu erected this kunda and brought here 7115 Brahmans from various countries such as Dravida, Maharashtra, Karnat, Konkan, and Tailanga and they belonged to fourteen different Gotras. On the north of the Brahmakunda is the great Chaityaka of Yakshini. On the west of Brahmakunda is the Varaha. Then we have the Vyas kunda, Jahnavi-Jamuna kunda, Narmada kunda, Markandeya kunda, and the *kunda* dedicated to the seven Rishis—Jamadagni, Bharadwaja, Viswamitra, Gautama, Durbasa, Vashistha and Parasara; to the east of the Brahmakunda is the Panchanad tirtha. The goddess Kamakshya lies to the south of Markandeya kund. On the eastern bank of the Saraswati river are four tirthas, *viz.*, (1) Ganes kunda, (2) Som kunda, (3) Surya kunda, (4) Sita kunda. To the east of the above, near the Ratnachala hill is Hatakeshwar Mahadev. In the beginning of the 4th Adhyaya or chapter Mahadev says to Parvati 'I live in the following places:—(1) at Baranasi (2) at Gokarna, (3) at the Kailas, (4) in the Ratnachala hill at Rajgriha.' On the east of the Ratnachala is Rishyasringa kunda. In front of the hill named Giribraja is the Baikunthapada; two miles to the north of Baikuntha is Kantheswara Deva. A little distance to the north of Rishya-sringa is the temple of Nirjareswar. On the south-east corner at the foot of the hill is Ganesa kunda. On the south of Brahma kunda is the Kedar tirtha. After bathing in Kedara one should worship the Sesanaga. A little to the south of the latter is the Visnupada, to the east of which is Sandhyadevi. To the west of Sandhyadevi at a distance of two miles is Someswar. To the south of Brahma kunda, at some distance, is the dwelling place of Maninaga. To the south of Maninaga is the Ahalya-hrada, near which is the *asrama* of Gautama. Half a mile to the south-east of Maninaga is Vyasasrama, to the south of which is the Dhautapapa tirtha. To the south of Dhautapapa is the Agni tirtha. Within the town of Rajgriha is the temple of Mayadevi which is on the north of the town in the corner. On the west of the Agni tirtha is the Vanaganga. In the northern part of the town are the two Aswinikumaras. To the west of Maninaga is the Kaushikasrama where there was a Rishi named Chanda Kausika near whose asram is the *Tapoban* where Raja Vrihadratha got his son Jarasandha. Two miles to the north of which at the foot of the hill is the Kanwa tirtha. A little beyond the Agni tirtha are the famous 100 bows and Salagram. The 5th chapter of the Rajgriha-mahatmya is mainly devoted

* I have referred to the passage before; what follows here is in continuation of the passage already quoted.

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MOUSTAFA KAMEL PACHA.

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to the description of Sita-kuti or the house of Sita which is situated in the forest known as Sita-ban or Sita-kanan. After which the names of the following *rivers* are mentioned (1) Gomati, (2) Rupabati, (3) Jambabati, crossing which we come to Chaturbhuja Deva.

As regards the extent of old Giribrajapur, I am of opinion, that the city extended up to Giryek. The brick mound on Giryek is still pointed out as Jarasandha-ka-baithak. I venture further to suggest that the name Giryek has some connection with Giribraja. Another very striking point I wish to note here. On reading the *Rajgriha-mahatmya* which has undoubtedly been compiled from the Vayupurana, one cannot fail to notice the total absence of Buddhist names and places. The most probable explanation of it is that the *Mahatmya* was published at a much later date than is supposed, *i. e.*, at a time when Buddhism was totally extinct in Magadha and every thing about it forgotten.

* Compiled from the '*Mahavansa.*'

II.—The Buddhistic Period.

THE KINGS OF MAGADHA (638 B.C.—1200 A.D.)—I have stated before that during the reign of Bhatiya who belonged to the Videha or Sisunaga family, Gautama Buddha was born at Kapilavastu in 558 B.C. Bhatiya's son Bimbisara was a contemporary of the Buddha and was the first royal convert to Buddhism. The Videha family ruled Magadha for 332 years. A succession list* of the Kings of this family is given below:—

1.	Sisunaga	? 638 B.C.
2.	Kakabarna	? 613 B.C.
3.	Kshemadharma ...	? 588 B.C.
4.	Bhatiya	? 563 B.C.
5.	Bimbisara	519 B.C.†
6.	Ajatasatru	491 B.C.
7.	Darsaka	459 B.C.
8.	Udaya	434 B.C.
9.	Nandivardhana ...	401 B.C.
10.	Mahanandin ...	?

(*To be continued.*)

†All the subsequent dates are taken from V. Smith's *Early History of India.*

NOTES

"Information about American Universities for Oriental Students."

A pamphlet has reached us, which, under the title of "Information about American Universities for Oriental Students" gives a great many useful facts. The pamphlet contains a map and list of centres of industrial education in the United States, with an approximate statement as to charges in each case. We fear that the scale on which these have been calculated, may err on the side of excessive economy, and we recommend those who wish to send young men to any of the places named, to allow, if possible, for some additional margin for expenses. The pamphlet is short, but full of valuable hints. For instance:

Opportunities for practical industrial training in a factory or shop are not readily found, particularly in California. Those who come here for that purpose are advised to select their particular craft and secure full information aud experience in it before leaving home. For instance, one desiring to study the manufacture of glass should have information concerning the present conditions of glass manufacture at home, the available supplies of the raw materials, the prospects for the development of the industry there, the labor conditions, available workmen, etc., and also the shortcomings of the industry at home. In this way the student will come thoroughly equipped for easily securing the desired information. Such preparedness will prevent discouragement arising out of uncertain knowledge of conditions at home and from doubts of success in future undertakings. This groping in darkness and uncertainty has made many of our young men pursue their work half-heartedly, and change the objects of their study several times, at great cost of time aad energy. Guardians and societies should by no means overlook this fact—that those who come here should have a definite object in view, and some definite information about what they can do with the results of their work when they return.

A warning is given that the opportunities for self-support in America, are, after all, limited, and not so easy for strangers and foreigners to secure, as may be imagined. In spite of these and other grave words of advice however, the pamphlet is evidently written by an enthusiast for American technical education, and we suggest to all intending to send

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students to that country, that they should write for copies to the author, Girindra Mukerji, President of the Association of Oriental Students, Berkeley, California.

Moustafa Kamel Pacha.

This month we present our readers with a portrait of Moustafa Kamel Pacha, the great Egyptian Nationalist. He was only 34 at the time of his death, but succeeded within this brief span of his earthly existence in infusing new, and, we are sure, undying life into the dry bones of Egypt. His life exemplifies the Sanskrit saying – *tejasam hi na bayah samikshyate*,—"the age of men of heroic spirit is not to be considered."

Democratic feeling in England.

A correspondent in London writes to us:

Democratic feeling, even as regards the Engl sh themselves, appears to be on the wane in England. The sentiment of Imperialism, in the form of a more and more confirmed acceptance of privilege, is invading even the domestic affairs of this country. The decay of villages and loss of agriculture are much more serious problems in England to-day though the English themselves remain apparently unaware of them than they have as yet become in India. The country is organised round factory-centres, and the fluctuations of trade produce, amongst the immense population who live without savings of any kind, alternations of prosperity and starvation. Only the prosperity declines, in all probability, while the starvation increases, from period to period. London is full of the unemployed, able-bodied, intelligent, eager to work for the maintenance of their families, and with faces that speak despair. The poor themselves say that each winter, since the first year of the Boer War, sees an increase of misery.

Social and economic problems are beginning to occupy the attention and hold the imaginations of the crowds of unemployed. One sees them at park-corners on Sunday afternoons, and outside public-houses on weekdays, grouped eagerly about the socialist orator. The word 'socialism' appears to connote a sentiment, at present more or less vague, but likely soon to become definite, that private property, except in what a man has himself made, is an outrage and burden on the rest of humanity. How long the lower classes in English cities will content themselves with vague speculation on this head, and at what point thought may become action, there is nothing to show. It is believed in France that England has yet to meet a far more terrible revolution than that of 1789. Probably, however, the beginning of this revolution will take place elsewhere. And such an opinion receives some support from the rent-troubles in New York. At any moment, an event of this nature might prove the spark to set alight the powder-magazine of Western Capitalism. Certainly, destitution and despair are highly inflammable social material.

If we turn to the other side of the shield, we find that there was never an epoch at which waste and extravagance stood so high. Decorum imposes no restraint whatever on the indulgence of personal luxury. Fortunes that would maintain families or establish needed industries, are lavished on the frivolities of dress and entertainment. The motor-car offers the key-note of civilisation in a European city, and is most in evidence as multiplying the useless expenditure of the privileged.

To the latter, there appears to come no misgiving. While the poor grow poorer, the monied gather more and more of the currency into their own hands, and the chasm between the two classes yawns wider everyday. It is commonly said that if education is pursued too eagerly, there will be no domestic servants left! Primary schools are those which children leave at twelve to fourteen years of age, and in these the attempt to teach science has been definitely abandoned. In secondary schools—those which the pupil leaves at seventeen—the teaching of Physics and Chemistry is well organised; but the great educational problem of the day lies in the fact that English industries are so little permeated by a spirit of respect for science, that there is nothing for the youth trained in these secondary schools to do, but to drift into clerkships. England has already lost her footing in industry as in agriculture. Though doubtless the truth of her position is temporarily masked by her grip upon the imperial markets. Germany with her greater respect for the bearing of science upon technology, and France, with her agricultural civilsation, and fair distribution of economic means, are both far in advance of England.

Now, it is to be noted that its spiritual ideals are the very blood in the veins of a nation. The class that accepts privilege becomes a parasite upon its country, as does the country itself, in turn upon the world. It is the union of all classes amongst a people that produces a strong nationality, by mutual affection, mutual effort, and community of experience. The co-operation even of a close corporation will be invaded and disintegrated

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by individual self-interest. And the self-interest of the traitor is the inevitable result of the assertion of privilege by the class. That nation that has abandoned the consideration of the happiness of all its children, in favour of the aggrandisement of the few, is already dying. Each generation of the privileged is born to a larger and larger share of brainlessness and dissipation. Each generation of the proletariat has less and less share in the national inheritance. Not by the acceleration of this process does a people mount to the throne of the world, or hold its seat thereon, having reached it.

Railway Tyranny and the Motor-Car.

It would be worth while to think out the economic changes to be effected by the motor-car. The motor-car is the free railway truck. A great deal might conceivably be done by its means to free Indian produce from the tyranny of railway organisation, and to adjust some of the evils of mal-distribution. By the development of the motor-car, the expenses of transport will be greatly lessened, and the value of roads increased. In England it is young men of the very highest classes who are working in the motor-factories like working men for the manufacture of this darling of their ingenuity. Why should not some of the bright spirits amongst our Indian young men take up the problem and see what they could do in the direction of its development?

It is said that a motor represents a great consolidation of capital, that gasoline is expensive, that so far the era of the free railway truck has not dawned. Still, it is foreseen in France, and railroad companies, formerly intensely reactionary, are making haste to nationalise the railways.

Education in England and Race-feeling.

Race-feeling is growing stronger in England daily. There is not a corporate body whose expression of imperial sentiment is not becoming increasingly frank. At the bar, and in the universities, the jealousy and dislike of Indian students is cynical. Let ten or fifteen years more pass, and it is a question whether Asiatics, of whatever position, landing in England or America, will not be treated as in the Transvaal now.

How much longer, under these circumstances, shall we be contented to send the flower of our wealth and talent to saturate themselves with the ideals of the West in its places of learning? Can we not find a task that is more properly our own? Well said one of our public men, a few years ago, to a European whom he respected, "We whom you see before you, are intellectual Eurasians!"

Students, European and Indian.

The Indian student, it is to be understood, compares extremely favourably in Europe with the young men of the country. Exceptions to the attainment of the highest moral ideals, while we in India deplore them bitterly, are not by any means so common as amongst English students themselves. We must not allow ourselves to be deceived by unfriendly statements regarding our own youth, when those statements are entirely prompted by racial antagonism.

Scientific and Technical Education.

Meanwhile, there is no one matter that has such need to concern ourselves as that of scientific and technological education. We want *education*, that is to say, the realisation of truth and development of faculty, not a mere appropriation of a little information tabulated and arranged by others. To the science courses abandoned, and science departments closed, we have to oppose ten times as many, opened, organised and directed by ourselves. Let us only educate enough students in technology, by whatever means, and we can leave the application of Indian capital to Indian industries to take care of itself. That will be inevitable. Let us only develop a power amongst ourselves of scientific research, and there will be no problem of our national or economic life that we shall not be competent ourselves to attack and solve.

But we must go into this undertaking generously. We cannot assimilate science as we might learn the multiplication table. We have to *realise* it, as we must do religion. Every man who would reach the scientific point of view must struggle to abandon all preconceived ideas, and to re-make the universe, in his own mind, from the facts recorded by science. This is a grim and silent struggle. India is the only country in the world where such an effort, instead of being opposed, is encouraged, by the national faith. And, therefore, India ought one day to become the home of a type of science so lofty, so pure, so final, that no other people shall be able to approach it, save in discipleship. Who will be the makers of this great new age in the Motherland?

Certain conditions precede epoch-making. One is that of an immense joy. No man can

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do great work out of mean experience. But this joy is impersonal. No man can do great work who is in bondage to his own personal interest or pleasure. The great workman is he who feels himself to be the hand and mouthpiece of the People, he who knows only the joys and sorrows of the community, of the all. Thus, side by side with study and research in silent retreats by lonely students must go a great effort to share with the whole of society all that is gained. A magic-lantern mission, in which students could go and give scientific *Kathakata**, to whole assemblies of villages and households, would meet something of this need. The chemistry of a candle, the life in a drop of water, the birth of worlds, the story of coal, and such subjects,—what western child who ever attained to education, has not bright memories of illustrated talks by clever men on subjects such as these? Evening schools and classes held in free librararies, for instance, would be another important means of spreading scientific conceptions. What we really want, behind each and all of these modes of working, is a strenuous determination on the part of every student, to keep nothing that he has learnt to himself. If everyone would feel that the thing held is wasted, and only that which is given really fruitful, then surely education would progress by leaps and bounds. Nor does anyone who has not tried it, know the joy of work like this, for one who is struggling to reach a certain point of view oneself, and lucky enough to initiate a similar passionate pursuit in fifty other minds at the same time. Oh the hours of hammering out great questions in converse together! the delight of *naive* images and simple views! the rapture of intellectual wrestling with darkness! A servant-girl known to us had once gathered something of the new ideas of the universe, and she came in great perplexity, and said, "Is it true that the stars are all placed like the mangoes on a tree, *only that there is no tree*?" The common uses of language seem to us merely wasteful, beside this great word.

Let it not be thought that all this exchange is impracticable. If every student in India were to make a vow to give twelve lessons in the year, and renew the vow every New Year's Day, much would be accomplished.

But there is also the personal struggle, in all subjects, for a point of view consistent with science. Without the attainment of such a point of view at least by some individuals, the Indian mind cannot in any real sense be held to function scientifically. Only those who have known the particular emancipation given by science, those by whom science has honestly been served as the exclusive ideal, can be in a position to determine what are its outstanding questions, and to help to answer them.

We have only to look at the English literature of the middle of the nineteenth century to see how honestly and sincerely the Western intellect was caught in the whirlpool of the thirst for a new intellectual certitude. George Eliot wrote the romances, and Huxley and Tyndall, to a great extent, the expositions, by which this thirst was imparted to the less educated classes in England. Positivism, at the beginning of the century, had begun a religious movement in which the discoveries of science were to be substituted largely for religious dogma. The great initiators of ideas, Spencer, Darwin, Lyell, and their followers, in England, were duly pelted by the mob, martyred, and finally set up to be worshipped as heroes and saints.

A great deal of this may appear to the Oriental mind as being absurd. We congratulate ourselves on the lofty detachment which makes the onslaught of democratic fury on the legions of knowledge impossible. It is not altogether matter for boasting. Nor have we the right to boast, unless we are personally conscious of the advance of our own ideas beyond the common conception. When we have succeeded in carrying the banner of our own intellectual conceptions beyond this point, then and then alone, we are free to take great pride in the intellectual scope which our civilisation provides for the individual. To lag in the rear and try to shine in borrowed glory, on the score of what is taking place ahead, is to make ourselves ridiculous.

It is not only, then, by reading the prescribed text-books on a given subject, or even by going through a course of laboratory practice, that we can attain to the assimilation of modern science. It is by seeking to rid ourselves of all preconceived ideas about the universe around us, and to know facts in and for themselves. For this, we must seek knowledge by every possible door and avenue. We must know what has been ascertained, in order to be capable of adding to its sum. The thirst of the first well-digger must be felt by every common labourer in his great quest. It may be that we feel deeply the terrible inadequacy of the means at our disposal. Even so, let us not cease to work.

* A popular form of religious teaching, consisting of readings from scriptures with exposition, and songs.

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Is it not a deeply ingrained belief amongst us that when the mind is ready the leader comes?

Sita, by Abanindro Nath agore.

The outstanding impression made by this picture is one of extraordinary mental intensity. The face is not perhaps chosen from amongst the most beautiful Indian types. The brow retreats, and the neck is thick,—features not usually characteristic of a Hindu woman. On the other hand, Mr. Tagore is strongly to be congratulated on the *strength* of his portrayal. It cannot be said too often that Sita, as depicted in the Ramayana, is first a great woman, and only afterwards a great wife. In this picture, with its noble proportions and splendid vigour, we see that Sita who could laugh at hardships, and burn with her disdain Ravana himself, we catch a glimpse even of the woman of the last great scene of wounded withdrawal, before the popular insult.

Mr. Tagore has wisely chosen his own setting for the captive Sita. He has placed her behind bars, looking out, in the infinite longing of the dawn, over the water of Ocean. This visualises her imprisonment and sadness, as the garden of Asoka trees, on the banks of the river, could never have done. It is impossible, in the photograph, to catch the extraordinary beauty of the sunrise sky, as it is given in the original. But the ideal lives for us at last. The Indian Madonna has found a form. In ages to come, each great painter may create his own particular presentment of Sita, even as in Europe we can tell, from something in the manner of the picture, whether a Holy Family is by Raphael or Leonardo da Vinci, by Correggio or Botticelli. But at least nothing can ever again be accepted, which is not psychologically Sita. In the strong and noble womanhood, in the regal pride brought low, and the hoping yet despairful wifehood, of this Sita, by Mr. Tagore, we have achieved something too deeply satisfying for us again to be contented without an effort in its direction.

N.

Religion and Reform.

Some Indian political reformers take so little interest in religious and social reform and revival that it seems as if they thought that India could be politically great without being uplifted morally and spiritually. Their opinions and lives may mislead our young men, too. Hence it is good to bear in mind what a great regenerator of his country, Mazzini, has written on the subject. Says he:—

"We cannot work a Reformation alone, without God. Apart from God, whence can you derive the sense of duty? Without God, whatever system you attempt to lean upon, you will find it has no other foundation or basis than force,—fluid, tyrannical, brute force. There is no escape from this. We must either obey God or serve man, whether one man or many, it matters little. If there be not a governing Mind supreme over every human mind, what shall preserve us from the dominion of our fellowmen when they are stronger than ourselves? If there be not one holy, inviolable Law, uncreated by man, what rule have we to judge whether an act be just or unjust? Without God there is no other rule than that of the 'Accomplished fact' before which the materialist ever bows his head. How can we expect men to sacrifice themselves or to suffer martyrdom for *our* opinions? Be not deceived. So long as we endeavour to teach sacrifice on the basis of self-interest, we may find adherents in word but not in deed. That cry only which has resounded in all great and noble revolutions, 'God wills it! God wills it!', will have power to arouse the inert to action, to give courage to the timid, sacrifice to the calculating, faith to the doubtful and despairing. Prove to mankind that the work of progress and reform to which you call them is a part of the design of God and they will follow you. Without God you may compel, but not persuade; you may become tyrants *in your turn*, but you cannot be Educators and Apostles."

Character makes individuals and nations free and great; and character is a manifestation in the human soul and human conduct of the power which in the universe makes for righteousness. And character is not mere passive harmlessness, is certainly not submission to evil in any form; it is rather the active power to resist evil within oneself and without and to do something positively good. When a man is one with the power making for righteousness he is invincible. Character is born of faith inthis oneness.

The Decrease of Hindus.

Mr. A. Chaudhuri, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Pabna Conference, in his opening speech, drew attention to the fact that the Bengali Hindus were not increasing as fast as the Bengali Musalmans, concluding therefrom that the Bengali Hindus were a decaying race. Whether his conclusion be correct or not, it is to be regretted that the matter had not attracted the attention of our leading men much earlier. In January, 1905 (*Magh*, 1311 B. E.), we wrote an article in the Bengali monthly *Prabasi* on the decrease of Hindus not only in Bengal but in India taken as a whole, quoting statistics in full from the Census Reports and discussing the probable causes of the decrease as well. Again, last

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year in the April number of the *Modern Review*, we wrote an article on the same subject, giving the necessary statistics in full and discussing the probable causes. We need not, therefore, go over the same ground. We will only repeat that taking the whole of India during the decade 1891-1901, Musalmans had increased by 8·9 per cent., but Hindus had *decreased* by ·3 per cent. That the Musalman section of the Indian people possesses vitality is matter for rejoicing; but that the Hindus should seem not to possess vitality is to be deplored. India's welfare depends on all sections of her people being strong and progressive; for they have all contributed to her life and civilization in the past, and must cooperate on equal terms to make her great and progressive once more.

"The Indian Social Reformer" on the decrease of Bengali Hindus.

Some remarks of the *Indian Social Reformer* on the subject of the decrease of Bengali Hindus seem to be due to hazy ideas regarding the extent of Bengali emigration to Northern India. Mr. A. Chaudhuri has shown that "at the last census the excess (of Musalmans over Hindus) was 3½ millions." On this the *Reformer* observes:—

> "Not that we think the figures are as ominous as Mr. Chaudhuri thinks. For one thing, the Bengali Hindu is settled in considerable numbers all over Northern India, whereas the Bengali Mahomedan is almost entirely confined to his own province. If the Bengali Hindus out of Bengal are taken into account, the disparity in their numbers will be greatly reduced, if not altogether eliminated.

These remarks may lead people to think that Bengali-speaking persons have settled all over Northern India in lakhs, if not in millions. But the real facts are very different. The number of Bengali-speaking persons (including women and children) resident in Upper India is really not large. And they are not all Hindus. According to the census of 1901, Behar proper contains 12,519 Bengali-speaking persons; the United Provinces, 24,120; the Panjab, 2,330; the N.-W. Frontier Province, 89; Baluchistan, 20; Berar, 19; Bombay, 1,631; Central Provinces, 1,537; Madras, 626; Baroda, 95; Central India Agency, 415; Hyderabad, 66; Kashmir, 62; Travancore, 98; Mysore, 20; Kochin, 2; &c., &c. The total does not come up to even a lakh. We do not consider the Bengali-speaking districts of Chota Nagpur, Assam and Burma as outside Bengal Proper, linguistically. It may be interesting to note in this connection that *in Calcutta alone* there are more than 3,40,000 Hindi-speaking persons; of whom 1,06,430 are natives of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. In Calcutta alone there are 6,599 Panjabis, and in the whole of Bengal Proper nearly 5 lakhs of Beharis.

The British "Jazia."

Aurangzib was a religious bigot. We may call the Britishers commercial bigots. Aurangzib imposed a poll-tax called *jazia* on Hindus;—on all those who would not accept his faith: the British rulers of India are imposing a punitive police tax on the inhabitants of localities which are not inclined to buy English goods and which are "swadeshi;" and this tax, too, falls for the most part heavily on Hindus and zealous swadeshists. Aurangzib offered his faith *free of cost* to all Hindus, nay, he would have been glad to reward them for accepting it; but the English want us to pay them for things which we do not wish to have. This British *jazia* has been imposed almost everywhere for political purposes, and presses heavily on many a poor innocent village and family. The Pabna Conference, therefore, did well to start a collection for helping such villages and families to pay the tax. But while the collection will be felt as a great relief by the oppressed villagers, and will create a bond of unifying sympathy between afflicted and non-afflicted areas, it may encourage the revenue-loving bureaucrat to impose punitive police on fresh localities in ever-increasing numbers! It will, therefore, no doubt occur to the sturdy patriots of East Bengal, sooner or later, to try an experiment in passive resistance by refusing to pay this unjust tax;—for he who submits to tyranny is almost as great an offender as the tyrant himself. Of course, passive resistance is not likely to be exactly as much of a luxury in East Bengal as it is in England. In that island if you refuse to pay a tax for conscience' sake, you only feed yourself fat in the King's Guest-house (miscalled a jail) for a certain term. But in East Bengal a passive resister, before being sent to jail, is likely to have his head broken, his house devastated, his women insulted, his children flogged and his property looted;—quite accidentally, of course. We would, therefore, suggest that before this interesting experiment is tried, as it is sure to be if matters do not mend, the passive resisters should remove their family and all their movable property to a safe place.

The elevation of Namasudras.

The Namasudras are the great race caste of Bengal. But they are "untouchable."

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They are a boating and fishing caste, and number about 18,61,000. But their full strength is concealed by the fact that large numbers have been converted to Islam and now call themselves Shaikh.

"There are ten and a half millions of Muhammadans in the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions, and it has been shown that the great majority of these are the descendants of converts from the ranks of these two castes (Namasudras and Pods). * * * It would probably be safe to say that at least nine millions of the Muhammadans of Bengal Proper belong to this stock." (Bengal Census Report, 1901.)

At present Christian missionaries are busy at work in converting Namasudras. Latterly efforts have been made by interested parties to alienate the Namasudras from the cause of Swadeshism and Nationalism, as has been done in the case of Musalmans too. This seems to have roused the political leaders of Bengal to the danger of the situation, and consequently they have passed a resolution at the Pabna Conference, and quite rightly, too, emphasizing the need for the social uplifting of the Namasudras. We cannot shake off political bondage, unless we cease to be social tyrants and social slaves. Social tyranny breeds mutual hatred and disunion. The Brahmo Samaj has long been pleading theoretically but not much in practice for the elevation of the depressed classes on religious and humanitarian grounds. Swami Vivekananda had also done so theoretically. But in Bengal no indigenous agency has done anything practical to raise their condition. The result of Christian missionary activity has been an improvement in the pecuniary position of the converts and an addition to the population professing Christianity, but a loss to the cause of nationalism. For an Indian Christian, with honorable exceptions, is a thoroughly denationalised and "non-patriotic," if not unpatriotic, person. At best he is but a spectator standing unconcerned on the shores of the stream of national life;—though he is not all to blame for it.

Political upheavals sometimes avail to effect social changes in the right direction. For instance, the devoted service rendered to pilgrims of all castes, sexes and ranks by the *Ardhoday Yog* Volunteers is a spontaneous, though partial, liberation from the bondage of caste, and an act of willing homage done to the spirit of human brotherhood. And this is the immediate effect of the dawning of the national consciousness; though we do not deny that contact with the West, English education, facilities for rapid journeys by rail and steamer, the preachings of Christian missionaries and the teaching of the Brahmo Samaj and of Swami Vivekananda, have all contributed, more or less, to bring about this result. Therefore the rising tide of political feeling rightly taken at the flood and directed to useful channels may do much to ameliorate the condition of the masses socially and otherwise. Let us not rest content with merely passing a resolution, but do all that lies in our power by education and other means to raise the condition of the Namasudras, Pods and other castes. Let a league be formed of persons who will, for instance, drink water touched by a Namasudra and cheerfully face the resulting social ostracism. It is a great thing to produce a conviction in the minds of the despised that they are not despicable, that they are as necessary to the existence of society and the upbuilding of a nation as the highest in the land,—perhaps more so,—that they have as great a potentiality as those whose circumstances and environment are more favourable, and lastly that they are as dear to the Soul of the Universe as those who, in their foolishness, despise them or at best are indifferent to their fate.

The Ardhoday Yog Volunteers.

The young men who served as volunteers at the last Ardhoday Yog in Calcutta and various other places in Bengal have given a fresh proof of the stuff of which they are made. The occasion has proved alike the power of organisation of the leaders and the capacity for endurance, and for disinterested, devoted and fearless service, which our young men possess. What has pleased and inspirited us most is the filial reverence for womanhood which the young men have displayed. True it is that there was the inspiration of a great occasion and that enthusiasm is contagious among large bodies of men; it may also be conceded that the boys were acting in the full blaze of publicity and were conscious of the fact: but when all deductions have been made, there still remain all the elements of a golden deed, filling our minds with the conviction that large numbers of our young men are quite capable of serving their lowly brethren and sisters, even as menials if need be, singly or in small bands of two or three, in obscure hamlets, indifferent alike to praise and blame, defying the terrors of epidemic diseases, not caring for the fruits of their actions and unmindful of the frowns and tyranny of misguided men in power. Let some at least of these noble young men, after finishing their education, go forth to villages, to organize them and make

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them self-contained, as suggested by Babu Rabindranath Tagore in his profoundly thoughtful, statesmanlike and noble presidential address at the Pabna Conference.

That our ladies have in their own circumscribed sphere done their duty on the occasion nobly is another ray of hope in the the midst of the encircling gloom. We have indeed been greatly to blame in not educating the women of India for the proper discharge of their home duties and of the public duties which under the altered circumstances of India they must perform, and in not providing opportunities to capable educated women for social service. Every bit of work for the people taken from a girl or woman will fill her life with new hope and joy, inspiration and strength. But such work is not done and not taken. Thus half the devotion and capacity of the nation are running to waste. Was there ever such culpable prodigality ?

Civic ideals.

While eloquent appeals to patriotism can at no time and in no clime be superfluous, the time for the realization of ideals comes and passes away every hour of the day. Let us, therefore, in this land of ignorance, famine and pestilence, far-famed of old as a land of learning, plenty and strength, resolve to-day, this very hour, to realize in our lives the threefold civic ideal: let us be according to our powers and opportunities givers of knowledge, of food and of health. Let us resolve to destroy ignorance, pauperism and insanitary conditions, in our homes, our lanes, our hamlets, our villages, our wards, our towns, our districts, and so on, each according to his capacity.

But let us beware betimes of the airs, the attitude and the frame of mind of the patron, the scatterer of blessings. We must be able to serve *as a matter of course*, as one of the people as we really are, more under obligation to them for our food and raiment than laying them under any obligation, which is a fact. Numbers among us must be ready to teach in villages, to be industrial pioneers among the villagers, to qualify as doctors to work as medical *servants* among them, to cut the jungle and drain swamps in malarious tracts with our own hands. Servants cannot be choosers as to the kind of work to be done, they cannot afford to have soft delicate hands.

The Mohurrum Riots.

This year there have been riots in Bombay, Lucknow and other places during the Mohurrum celebrations. In previous years foolish Hindu fanatics were pitted against equally foolish Musalman fanatics. This year the foolish fighters belonged to the Sunni and Shia sects of Islam. This may or may not be accidental ; but it is nevertheless curious that there should be faction fights among Musalmans simultaneously, in different and distant parts of the country, when they were taking rapid strides towards solidarity. Is there more in this than meets the eye ? Let Musalmans answer. Whilst it should be a matter for congratulation that inspite of the process of emasculation that has been going on for 150 years, there are still large numbers of our illiterate countrymen ready to shed their blood and risk their lives for something in which they think (though wrongly) their honor or their spiritual interests involved, the educated community for the most part on most occasions caring more for their skins than their honor, we cannot but deplore that the fight should be among brethren and for no reasonable cause whatever.

Ignorance and fanaticism go together. Kill ignorance, and you kill fanaticism at the same time. It is possible to achieve this result without destroying in the process of education the ability to give and take hard knocks on proper occasions.

Actors on the Parliamentary stage.

Shakespeare spoke of all the world being a stage and all men being actors in it. He may or may not have been right. But to us Indians the British Parliament does seem to be a stage, all M. P.'s being the actors. Some play the part of pro-Indians, others that of anti-Indians. But as soon as the old charmer, Mr. Stage-manager Morley, rings the bell of "sympathy for Indians," the pro-Indian actors immediately withdraw their amendments, and vanish behind the curtains. As on previous occasions, so on the last opening day of Parliament, the usual acting was gone through with consummate skill. We were, by mental vision, sadly amused spectators of the scenes, from a distance ; but we confess that we were not edified, that we derived no benefit. Whose benefit night was it then ?

We have tasted enough of the fruits of Mr. Morley's sympathy. Indians have noted in interleaved copies of English dictionaries in their possession the new meanings which English words are acquiring. In many and many a copy sympathy has been noted to mean "the settled-fact-ness of a great wrong," "regulation lathies," "punitive police,"

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"sedition trials," "fomenting of religious hatred," and the consequent rioting and assaults on women, "divide and rule," "sedition laws," "mid-night search and looting of innocent homes," "flogging of boys," "police tyranny," "deportation without trial," &c., &c. We are requested to announce that there is much blank space in the interleaved copies for noting the new meanings of "antipathy" according to Mr. John Morley.

Assassination of the King of Portugal.

Before the assassination of the King of Portugal, Mr. William Maxwell, the "*Daily Mail*" correspondent at Lisbon, wrote regarding the temper of the King and the people :—

"The King remains firm; Senhor Franco (the Premier) is undaunted by threats; the Prince Royal..... is in no haste to seize the crown. Some will tell you that beneath the tranquil surface rages a volcano. I cannot believe it. The Portuguese are never violent. They are an easy-going race, with some of the fatalism that gave birth to the saying that Africa begins with the Pyrenees."

It is ever thus. The lessons of history are always lost upon tyrants. They misjudge the silent patience of the people, and outside observers, too, are deceived. Before the French Revolution broke out the French people were not turbulent. The Russian moujik, too, was thought too stolid to furnish material for a revolution. It may not be correct to say that it is always the unexpected that happens, but undoubtedly the unexpected does happen very frequently.

The Transvaal Indians.

The Transvaal Indians have by their persistent passive resistance and brave endurance of persecution obtained a slight relief. Men of education and property will be allowed to register themselves by only signing their names. Finger-prints will not be required in their case. But what relief the illiterate and the men without property have obtained we do not know. If their position remains the same, then we must say that the leaders have not behaved handsomely by them. But we must wait for fuller details before condemning them outr ght.

In any case the gain has been insignificant, though it is a notable triumph for passive resistance. The Transvaal Indians had prayed, petitioned, protested, times without number, they had sent a deputation to the Colonial Secretary in London; but all in vain. Then they took to passive resistance and gained their point, to some extent. Their disabilities and the indignities to which they are subjected, however, still remain. All white men, including loafers, jail birds and other scoundrels, literate or illiterate, can exploit any country in the world. Their white skin is a sufficient passport. But the Asiatic has the door slammed upon his face in all places which the white man chooses to consider his preserve. Even the victorious Japanese are not treated as the equals of the meanest white. For all this Asiatics are to blame. They have been too hospitable, too guileless, too mild and too submissive. Asia must possess a few more strong nations like the Japanese before matters can be set right by means of a Pan-Asiatic League.

Sedition Trials.

The editors and printers of newspapers are still being prosecuted and sent to prison in Bengal on charges of sedition. We do not really understand what is gained by these trials and vindictive sentences. We will assume that what the Government advocates say is right, that there are bitter and unjust attacks upon the Government, that the basest motives are attributed to the Government, that people are told that unless the present Government be subverted there cannot be any redress of grievances. But assuming all this, we ask, is repression a remedy? Is it not rather adding fuel to the fire? Has it ever been a remedy in any age and in any country? The more you repress the people, the higher will their spirits rise. Has any paper in Bengal been cowed down? Has any paper stopped for want of editors and printers? Has the Government taken any step to understand the people's point of view? The bureaucracy possess a giant's strength; but giants in nursery tales have been always fools, and the bureaucrats are proving their kinship to these nursery heroes. If the bureaucrats be right, let them place their case before all the world in broad daylight, let them meet argument by argument, imputation of wrong motives by an exposition of the right motives with convincing proofs, and bitter attacks by calm statesmanlike action. He who can floor his antagonist is not necessarily in the right. It would seem as if the Government were undergoing an ordeal by single combat with the indigenous press. But such ordeals belong to the medieval age, and the press being hydra-headed cannot be vanquished or annihilated.

Another charge against seditious journalists is that they want absolute independence. But who in his heart of hearts does not? Why not prosecute God Almighty for planting such

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an irrepressible desire for freedom in the human heart? Even the gallows, the cross, the stake and all the tortures that human ingenuity could devise have not in any age or country been able to crush it out of the human soul. Will a few years' imprisonment succeed?

We admit that a Government, however oppressive, must in self-defence put down incitements to rebellion and attempts at rebellion. But does anybody outside a lunatic asylum believe that armed rebellion is possible in India? Is the brave Englishman afraid of our pen-knives and the pop-guns of our children? or does conscience make a coward of him? Have all the so-called inflammatory articles in vernacular papers led to any trouble at all? Are not all the recent little disturbances and troubles due to the action of the executive and the police?

The Government may send Leakut Hosains to jail, but that will only add strength to the popular cause.

Cattle and the famine.

Sir John Hewett is doing all he can to prevent deaths by starvation in the United Provinces, and private agencies like the Brahmo Samaj are also helping in the good work to a slight extent. But we do not know whether any thing is being done to prevent the death of cattle and their sale to and slaughter by butchers in herds. It is not only that humanity requires the prevention of such a state of things, but the future of agriculture depends on what is done now. If large numbers of cattle die or are killed, how is their place to be filled when the next tilling season comes? What are the cow-protection societies doing? Government in its wisdom considered these societies seditious some years ago. Has that cowed down the orthodox Hindu leaders? But really the protection of cattle is a work in which every one ought to be interested irrespective of creed and colour.

Our Artisan Classes and the Industrial Movement.

Efforts are being made in almost all provinces to revive the dying industries of India and to introduce new industries, by adopting and using modern scientific methods and machinery. But not much is being done to interest our agricultural and artisan classes, the sugar-manufacturers, the blacksmiths, the weavers, the dyers, the chamars (shoemakers and tanners), &c., in the movement. Whatever may take place in the distant future, in the immediate future we cannot expect large numbers of Brahmans, Kayasthas and other classes to take to industrial careers. And even if they did, the loss to the industrial castes of their ancestral occupations for ever, will be a national disaster. The poverty of India is not a little due to the throwing of almost all artisans on the land. This should be remedied, but it cannot be done by sending a few high caste youths to foreign countries for technical education. Moreover, by neglecting to give the artisan castes higher technical education, we are allowing the hereditary skill, aptitude, and inclinations of these men to run to waste, which is a great national loss. It is true that the few Government and private technical institutions in the country are open to the artisan castes as much as to others. But they are too poor, too ignorant and too apathetic to take advantage of these institutions. It is, therefore, our bounden duty to provide special facilities for these classes for technical education. We think special schools should be opened for them in chosen centres for teaching them the three R's, drawing, clay-modelling, commercial geography and commercial history. The courses should be simple and short. These courses should be common to pupils of all artisan classes, and additional special training should be given in different industries according to the hereditary professions, or aptitudes of the pupils. To specially gifted boys should be imparted a working knowledge of present-day English, and every attempt made to send them abroad for technical education. If the higher castes show the way in not excommunicating their young men trained abroad, the artisan classes, too, will follow suit. Their travelled young men will be pioneers among them of new industrial methods.

The founding of schools of the kind suggested above may and will take time. In the meantime we should try to find out educated young men of the industrial classes (and there are some such) possessed of the requisite qualifications and send them abroad for education. One such young man on his return would do more to make the industrial movement a success than several similarly trained young men of non-industrial classes. In short our conviction is that unless we can secure the co-operation of the industrial castes and enlist their best minds in the service of the cause, the industrial movement will not be a national movement and will fail to achieve its object.

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Count Okuma on India's regeneration.

On the occasion of the first meeting of the Indo-Japanese Association Count Okuma delivered a speech in which he eulogised the British Government in India, recounting its blessings. This portion of his speech shows his ignorance of the real state of things in India. For instance, he eulogised even our "excellent" (!) police system. He also paid a warm compliment to the English character. But we are more concerned with the advice which he gave to us Indians. He admitted that

"India was the fountain-head of civilization. She excelled all other countries in ancient times in religion, literature, art, and industry, and it was almost impossible to name a country either in the East or in the West that had not been more or less influenced by Indian civilization. Now, however, she had fallen on evil days, and for this she had largely to thank her caste system, her religion, and her languages, which number, including dialects, over 500."

It is quite true that India's degradation and enslavement are due to a great extent to caste, religious superstitions and corruptions, and multiplicity of languages.

Count Okuma went on to draw a parallel between the fall of the Roman Empire and that of other great countries, including India, and concludes that *the germ of destruction resides within a State, and not without. "Wood will get rotten before it is worm-eaten."*

Nothing can be truer than the words italicised above.

"Let them abolish their own pernicious system and customs to start with, and elevate themselves up to the mark of the Englishmen in character, in morality, in knowledge, then they need not bother themselves about struggling for independence, for freedom will come to them of itself. But if they should be too eagerly engaged in blaming others to reflect upon themselves and be convinced of their own faults, the star of India will sink for ever below the horizon, not to rise up again."

It may be doubted whether *on the whole* Englishmen are more moral than Indians;—there is at any rate, proportionately to the population, greater crime in Great Britain that in India. But it is certain that in the patriotic and sturdier virtues we are inferior to them. In secular knowledge also we are inferior to them. In any case, if Englishmen have anything to learn from us, it is their concern. Our interest is to find out our own faults and points of inferiority and learn from all the world. It is true and we are sorry that it is so that most of us, though not all, are more eager to blame the English than ourselves for our downfall. But at the same time every impartial observer and student of history will probably agree that though the commencement of our downfall was due to our own faults, its completion is the work of other hands. Still the question demands an answer from us as to why we allowed the work of degradation to be completed. Are we not entirely to blame for this also? If others have been unjust and tyrannical, why did we submit to injustice and tyranny? These will some day or other bring their retribution to their perpetrators. We need not bother about that. Meanwhile we must suffer for our faults and work out our own salvation by doing better than we did in the past.

The first step to be taken by the native races on Indian soil, situated as they are now, is to avail themselves of the example of the best peoples on earth, and to improve the social conditions of their own country. Their only chance for the present is to be willing to remain quiet under the auspices of the British Government, to get rid of their corrupt practices, to endeavour to invigorate the national spirit, to do their utmost to sublimate their character, and thus to exalt their country's position to the same with Canada, Australia, or Cape Colony.

India suffers from many evils,—religious, social, moral, political economical, &c., and they are all correlated. In proposing reforms, there is, therefore, no question of the chronological order in which a particular kind of reform is to be attempted. Reform must proceed *pari passu*, in all directions - political, social, &c. Subject to this comment, we agree generally with what Count Okuma says.

"A rising or a declining nation is signalized by the presence or absence of the introspective faculty just alluded to. 'Independence' is a pet subject of the Hindus' conversation. To struggle to break loose from the British yoke in pursuance of independence is a plausible as well as reasonable thought, but it is really a visionary scheme—an impossibility. A nation is entitled to talk of independence only after it has entirely abolished its own evil customs, ennobled its own character, and attained the same qualifications as any other powerful or rising nation. Neither the evolution theory nor any modern advanced thought admits that the evils consequent on the Hindu caste system and religious superstitions should have a place in any civilized nation."

What the Count calls an impossibility we consider an ideal realizable by future generations of Indians, and that not in the very distant future. We do not think that a nation must not talk of independence until and "after it has entirely abolished its own evil customs," &c.;—the freest nations on earth have not yet been able to do so. We do not say this to excuse our evil customs or superstitions; they must go. What we contend is that even individuals and nations not exactly perfect in every respect are entitled to political freedom; such individuals and nations,

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including the Japanese, are to-day enjoying freedom in different quarters of the globe. In the past history of the world, too, we find many nations politically free which were not perfect socially and morally.

We conclude with an extract from the Count's speech upon which our only comment is an exhortation to our Hindu brethren to falsify the apprehension expressed in the penultimate sentence.

"Again, 50 years ago, we came in contact with the influence of the West, and, when once we became aware of our own inferior points and errors, we promptly appropriated the excellences of others and assimilated them. Far from being satisfied with the present state of things, the Japanese, every time they turn their eyes to the world, itch to avail themselves of any superior points of other nations, and that is the reason why they have sprung up so suddenly. True, up to 40 years ago our country, like India, had had a caste system of its own; but scarcely had its weak points been discovered, when it was dismissed, and all the people came to be equalized in rank and right. This was a cause of our rising up. I question whether the Hindus will muster up courage enough to do the same. Upon this hinges the future destiny of India."

Throughout his speech the Court lost sight of one great fact: the Japanese Government has helped and stimulated the nation to be strong and great; not so the Indian Government.

The British Government as the old hen.

Mrs. Dutt, the Swedish wife of an Indian doctor at Cambridge, told a neat little story, or rather a fable, at the last Brahmo Samaj anniversary meeting in Essex Hall, London. Its purport was to illustrate the present dissatisfaction with British rule in India. An old hen had been sitting most contentedly for some time on a number of eggs. As in due course the brood matured, and the chicks one by one made their appearance, the old hen grew very impatient and angry, and at last clucked out most peremptorily, "Go back into your shells at once, you naughty things, as it is impossible for me to *sit* on you comfortably when you come out like this!" The lady added that it would be just as difficult to stay the course of the struggle for freedom in India as it would be for the chicks to get back into their shells.

A principle of political combination.

We note for the guidance of our political workers, including our humble selves, the preamble and first principle of the pledge which all Irish party leaders have recently taken.

"Profoundly sensible of the ruin our country has suffered so often from discord in the past, and of how much depends at the present juncture on the solidarity of the national strength and unity of the national representatives, we deem it opportune to publish the subjoined declaration and we see no reason why the Nationalist representatives of Ireland should not unite in a pledge-bound party on the following principles:—

1. 'No man or party has authority to circumscribe the inalienable right of Ireland to the largest measure of national self-government it may be in her power to attain.'"

Dr. Hossack's Report on the Plague in Calcutta.

Dr. Hossack, the acting Health officer of Calcutta, has drawn up a report on the plague in that city which is opposed to the official notions as to the prevention of that disease. The medical officials of India have told us that plague is caused and spread by the rat-flea and hence they have advocated the wholesale destruction of that rodent animal. Dr. Hossack does not consider this measure as the panacea for that disease. Nor does he pin his faith upon inoculation. He lays stress on improved sanitation as a preventive of plague.

But there can be no sanitary improvement in the surroundings of any people unless their economic condition is bettered. They should have the stamina to resist the inroads of the epidemic diseases which are indicative of poverty and want. Starvation and famine and the political depression of the Indian population are mainly responsible for the occurrence of plague in this country. Every year a million or more of the natives of India die of plague and yet nothing is being done for the improvement of the economic condition of the people, which is the real and so far as we know the only panacea for the evil. Let the people have the means to satisfy the pangs of hunger and have two square meals a day, sufficient clothing to save them from cold and chill, a system of administration which will not condemn them to be foes and aliens in the land of their birth, but will provide openings for their legitimate aspirations and ambitions, then and not until then, the bubonic plague and other epidemic diseases which reap such a rich harvest every year will become things of the past in this country. In support of our statement we quote the following passage from Dr. Simpson's Treatise on Plague:—

"*Plague commits its greatest ravages on people subject to depressing influences.*

"It is on this hypothesis that the varying degrees of susceptibility of communities is explained, that the influence of race, age, sex, comes into play, and that social and political forces, so far as they affect the food, welfare and condition of the people, are important factors in the spread of plague. Plague has nearly always committed its greatest ravages on people whose

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vitality has been depressed by war, internecine conflicts, scarcity and famine.

"The ravages committed by the two great pandemics of plague in 543 and 1348, and the great prevalence of plague during the Mohammedan supremacy in the East and in Eastern Europe, have been attributed to social, economical, and political conditions, which at the time caused a decline in the general prosperity of the people affected and rendered them more susceptible to the disease." Simpson's Plague, p. 172.

Character of the natives of Great Britain.

Self-respect is the most remarkable trait in the character of the natives of England. In the Eastern races, self-respect is wanting. Amongst Asiatics, the place of self-respect has been taken by humility.

The *pride* of the natives of England is a marked feature of their national character. It is difficult to define what they mean and understand by *pride*. To us Orientals, their pride is incomprehensible. We who are taught humility and modesty from our cradles, are unable to realise the "*pride*" of the natives of England. But those natives are proud of their race, because they have come to rule so many different countries and nations; they are proud of their blue blood; and they consider *pride* a great virtue, they dress smartly, and look upon other human beings as inferior creatures not equal to them in any respect. It is their pride which makes them so aggressive and unsympathetic. An Englishman is not an Englishman, if he is not aggressive, if he is not self-assertive, and if he does not parade his *ego* very prominently. It is, therefore, that

"Kiss John Bull, he will cuff you,
Kick John Bull, he won't rebuff you."

This is quite true and represents exactly the character of the natives of England.

If the Biblical saying be true that "a haughty spirit goeth before destruction, and pride before fall," then the pride, the aggressive nature, and insular character of the natives of England will sooner or later, bring about their fall. Where are the proud Romans, and where are the proud Spanish Dons—the perpetrators of the Inquisition, and the murderers of the Red Indians?

The natives of Scotland are considered by their neighbours proverbially stingy and selfish. They have not that pride which natives of England possess. They do not care about their dress or food, if by dressing shabbily, or eating bad food, they can save money. Why are they so stingy, and why are they so anxious to hoard money? This is best answered by their peasant poet, Burns:—

"Not for to hide it in a hedge,
Not for the train—attendant,
But for the glorious privilege
Of being independent."

That in Scotland immorality prevails to an alarming extent, will be apparent from the number of illegitmate births that take place in that country.

The natives of Scotland are generally lacking in imagination. It is due to this that all the Scotch Governors-General of India have been failures. Dalhousie was a native of Scotland and his deeds provoked the great Indian Mutiny of 1857. He lacked imagination. Lord Elgin, another native of Scotland, was a great failure as a Viceroy of India. He also lacked imagination.

Mr. C. E. Gladstone, who was a deputy commissioner in the Punjab, on the eve of his retirement from the Indian Civil Service, wrote a pamphlet and described the danger that threatened India from the Indian Civil Service being swamped by natives of Ireland. It is questionable if the Irish will do more harm than the Scotch, to the stability of the British rule in India. Education is very dear in England, but it is not so in Scotland. Again, living is much dearer in England than it is in Scotland. The Scotch *can*, and as a matter of fact, *do* live on a little porridge and bread. As a consequence, in England only the well-to-do classes can afford to give high education to their children. But, in Scotland, education is within the reach of the poor and peasant classes of the population. Hence, when these Scotch, who have no position in their "bonnie Scotland," and are of inferior social status, succeed in entering any of the Indian services, they generally lose the balance of their mind, and give themselves grand airs; and as they lack imagination, they do not understand the true nature of their mischievous acts.

1897. INDO-ANGLIAN.

Organisation of the Industrial Movement.

Mr. Lakshmi Chand, M.A., Indian Government Scholar, writes to us from Manchester:—

I want to draw the attention of the Indian public to the fact that there are not many organisations in the country for the systematic promotion of industries, and technical knowledge. No leader for industries has yet appeared, and it is high time that an Industrial movement were set on foot.

There are thousands of graduates, tens of thousands of men in whom the desire to be of some service to the country exists. These groups and individuals

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are to be welded, and organised into efficient form. Industrial progress is a subject to which no one can take exception. Extremists and moderates are all at one on this topic. The merchant and the banker, the Government servant and the lawyer all can take part in a movement which is purely industrial, with no tinge of politics. The movement in the beginning might be kept confined to the educated class, or better still, to the lawyers. Much of the progress that has been made in the ideas and aspirations of Modern India has emanated from the lawyer class, and it is quite in the fitness of things that it should be so. The lawyers are a body of educated men, with a knowledge of law. Some of their rank have had the advantage of training in a foreign country, the home of freedom, free and independent thought, of progressive ideas, and of constitutional reform. They have taken part in University debates, have come in contact with a free and independent life and have adopted the same ideas on their return to their own land. Again, the court is the centre round which all the lawyers of a district meet, and meet almost on every working day. Thus the court becomes a very convenient and valuable meeting place, where projects can be discussed or matured. Not only is there such local connection, and communication, but by reason of appeals to the High Court, there is a constant inter-communion between the capital City and the Provincial towns.

An institution like this presents unique advantages, which are to be utilized. Here you have not to struggle with the ignorant mass. Many are of your own views, at least possess a similar desire, most are in a pecuniary position to render some little monetary help without any inconveniece; and what is not the least important consideration, there is a connection between the parts by means of the High Court centre. Any scheme planned out, and having its centre in the central town, and of a broad, non-controversial character, has thus a very good chance of being worked out successfully. Everyone has now come to realise the importance of industrial progress, everyone recognises that industrial progress depends on industrial education, and that the amount and quality rather depends on the number and quality of men engaged in Industrial Work, and finally on the interest the public takes in these matters.

The conditions that promise the success of a project are all present here. We have a unique foundation, there is an organisation, which only has to be arranged. The other condition, *viz.*, the pecuniary position, is also not unsatisfactory, and lastly with enthusiasm, a firm will and the noble desire to relieve the suffering and the poor, for the cause of self-respect, and national independence, the movement bids fair to succeed. It only remains for those who constitute that class to take action.

I have one humble suggestion to make, and I am convinced it has possibilities for much good. Two or three purposes are thus served, the creation of a National Provincial Fund, the organisation of an effective body, and the systematic promotion of industries. I may as well write here, that a similar scheme is contemplated to be worked out within the limited compass of the Indians in Great Britain. If each lawyer contributes only one rupee a month to the National Fund, for which there will be a secretary and a treasurer in each district, from amongst the rank of the lawyers, and if each district works in co-operation with other districts by the medium of the Central Association, situated in a central place like Allahabad, a very good income for national needs can be secured. Let this money be given to capable young men, to be selected for industrial training abroad. These men will return after a few years, and it will be not at all an exaggeration to say, that these men will form an asset of which we shall be proud and which will be secured by such simple means.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

The Essence of Buddhism. By P. Lakshmi Narasu, Srinivasa Varadachari & Co., Madras, 1907.

"The Essence of Buddhism" by Mr. P. Lakshmi Narasu is an excellent work on the life and teachings of Buddha. It evinces much research and originality, which bring its learned author to the forefront among the writers on Buddhism. In the course of thirteen chapters into which the book is divided, the author places before us almost all the important information on Buddhism derived from ancient Pali and Sanskrit sources as well as from the works of modern European scholars.

Mr. Narasu describes Buddha as a human being who far from proclaiming himself a saviour distinctly tells us that every one must bear the burden of his own sins. No supernatural being can do for m[illegible] what self-help in the form of self-conquest and self-emancipation can accomplish. Compare the last words of Buddha to his beloved disciple Ananda:

"O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves; be ye refuges to yourselves. Hold fast to the Dharma as a lamp; hold fast to the Dharma as a refuge. Look not for refuge to any one beside yourselves."

All that is claimed for Buddha is that he was a preacher. His preaching was public and had nothing mystical in it. Thus in his last moments Buddha said to Ananda:

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"I have preached the truth without making any distinction between exoteric and esoteric doctrines; for, in respect of the Dharma, Ananda, the Tathagata has no such thing as the closed fist of a teacher who holds something back."

On another occasion the Buddha said:

"Secrecy is characteristic of three things: women who are in love seek secrecy and shun publicity; so also do priests who claim to be in possession of special revelations, and all those who stray from the path of truth. Three things shine before the world and cannot be hidden. They are the moon, the sun and the truth proclaimed by the Tathagata. There is no secrecy about them."

Buddha effected his conversions not by miracles and wonders but by simple argument and homely instruction. The legend of Kisagotami is a very apt illustration in point. Kisagotami loses her only son and pitying friends ask her to go to Sakya Muni, the great Healer; and the Sage offers to give her relief on condition of her procuring a handful of mustard seed from a house which has not felt the sting of bereavement. The disconsolate mother sees the matter in its true light and dries up her tears when she realises that such a task is impossible. Here are the fine sentiments with which the bereaved one lays the unction of consolation to her troubled heart:

"This is the law not only for villages or towns,
Not for one family is this the law;
For all the wide worlds, both of men and gods,
This is the law—that all must pass away."

When she thought so, her selfish affection for her child disappeared. She went to the forest, buried the child, and returned to the Blessed One, who comforted her by preaching to her the Dharma.

Buddha was a leveller of castes. "The talk of high and low castes" is, according to him, an empty sound. "Not by birth," he says, "does one become an outcaste; not by birth does one become a Brahman; by deeds one becomes an outcaste, by deeds one becomes a Brahman."

The story of the conversion of Sunita shows how easy it was for the members of lower castes to join the Buddhist Samgha. Sunita says:

"I came of a humble family. I was poor and needy. The work which I performed was lowly,—sweeping the withered flowers. I was despised of men, looked down upon, and held in low esteem; with submissive mien, I showed respect to many. Then I beheld the Buddha and his band of Bhikshus, as he passed to Magadha. I cast away my burden and ran to bow myself in reverence before him. From pity for me he halted, he the highest among men! I bowed myself at the Master's feet and begged of him, the highest of all beings, to accept me as a Bhikshu. Then said unto me the Gracious Master—"Come, O Bhikshu,"—that was all the initiation I received. "O Bhikshu," said the Master, "let your light so shine before the world, that you, having embraced the religious life according to so well-taught a doctrine and discipline, are seen to be mild and forbearing."

It is not possible here to quote at length the many points of interest in Buddhism which the author has dealt with in a perfectly sympathetic and reverential spirit. With the exception of a few points here and there, there is nothing in his book to which exception can be taken by Buddhists or non-Buddhists. To illustrate one of the points in which we do not fully agree with him we may mention his observation that "the most striking feature of Buddhism is that it eschews all hypotheses regarding the unknown." This is a statement which is not universally accepted. Buddhism is nothing without its transcendental doctrine of Nirvana, and Nirvana is an absorption into the Void—which is unconditioned, unseen, unknown and unknowable.

Mr. Narasu's interpretation of the first moral precept of Buddhism is a little far-fetched. That precept runs as follows:—

"From the meanest worm up to man you shall kill no animal whatsoever but shall have regard for all life.

"Let him not destroy, or cause to be destroyed, any life at all, or sanction the acts of those who do so. Let him refrain even from hurting any creature, both those that are strong, and those that tremble in the world."

In expounding the above Mr. Narasu observes:—

"Devout Buddhists have sometimes pushed to extremes their observation of this precept.....The life of animals is indeed sacred, but it cannot be as sacred as human ife. Animals are tended and cared for, because they in some way subserve general happiness. The exaggerated regard for animal life shown by the pious Buddhists would prove disastrous to the very animals on whose behalf the appeal is made. Our only obligation to animals is to give them a happy life and a painless death," etc.

For this interpretation, Mr. Narasu's partiality for animal food, we are afraid, is responsible. "It cannot be," says he, "denied that flesh speedily increases strength and ordains great development and that there is no food superior to flesh." It is one of those general propositions on which, we suppose, the scientific world has not pronounced its last word.

Mr. Narasu's knowledge of the ancient Buddhistic lore is great; to the student of the Buddhistic literature, therefore, his "Essence of Buddhism" cannot fail to be of sufficient interest. But the general reader may also study this little compendium with profit; for, one of the very interesting features of the book is its comparative study of the Buddhistic doctrines in relation to Hinduism and Christianity.

SATIS CHANDRA VIDYABHUSHANA.

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The Political History of England, Vol. XII: by Sidney Low and L. C. Sanders. Longmans, Green & Co. 39, Paternoster Row, London. 1907.

This is the last volume of the Political History of England, edited by William Hunt, D.Litt. and Reginal L. Poole, M.A. It is the history of England during the reign of Queen Victoria (1837-1901). The authors have tried to comprise within 500 pages matters to which Mr. Justin McCarthy has devoted about half a dozen volumes of his "History of Our Own Times."

The work under review consists of twenty chapters, but in these chapters, Indian affairs have not been dealt with so well as they deserve to be. Chapter VII deals with the Indian Mutiny and part of chapter XIV is devoted to Indian affairs. But then India, although the brightest jewel in the crown of the Sovereign of England, possesses very little interest for the stay-at-home natives of that country, probably because she gives them food and raiment and luxuries, but no trouble. Hence in any political history of England in the 19th century, India does not loom large.

In the concluding chapter of their work the authors have quoted the following sentences from an article written by the late Right Hon. A. J. Mundella, M. P., and Mr. George Howell M. P. in Ward's *Reign of Queen Victoria*, published at the time of the first Jubilee of that Sovereign.

"The people are better paid; they work fewer hours; they are better fed, clothed and housed; they are better educated; their habits and customs are improved; their sports and pastimes are no longer brutal and demoralising. The children and women are better cared for and better treated. The wheels of progress have gone on and on with accelerated speed."

The above is not a description of the condition of the people of India—"the brightest jewel in the crown of England"—but of the natives of England. The reverse of the above is in most respects the condition of modern India.

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The first, believe, was this :—In thee a Soul
I found to love me, guide me, and control
The best of thoughts my mind had ever stored :
I've found in thee my best and truest Friend.;
Me thou wouldst love and guide, was thy sweet Vow,
To help my Solitude until its End ;
That solemn vow right loyally hast thou,
To *this* day, kept ; my head I grateful bend
At thy dear feet, and ask—"BE E'ER AS NOW."

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"Inscrutable thy ways"—'tis said, O God!
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From Pain and Anguish, crushing of their kind ?
When grief is piled on grief, where is thy Grace ?
When Prayer avails not, whence the Peace of mind ?
Man is but dust ; Death *must* he ever face ;
We know not why a child in Death should sleep
Leaving a hopeless mother e'er to weep :
Lead kindly, God ! to make us understand
Thy Justice, and grim Death's relentless hand ;
Thou tak'st away what kindly thou hadst given
We in our weakness cry :—"*O, why and wherefor Heaven !*"

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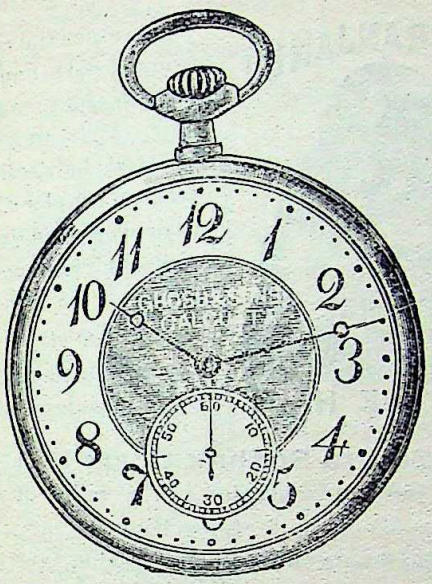

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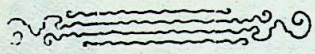

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THE MODERN REVIEW

A Monthly Review and Miscellany

Edited by Ramananda Chatterjee

APRIL, 1908

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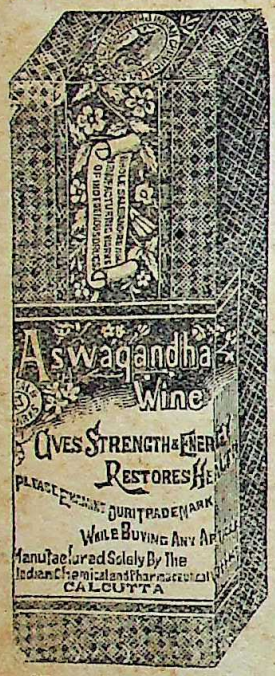

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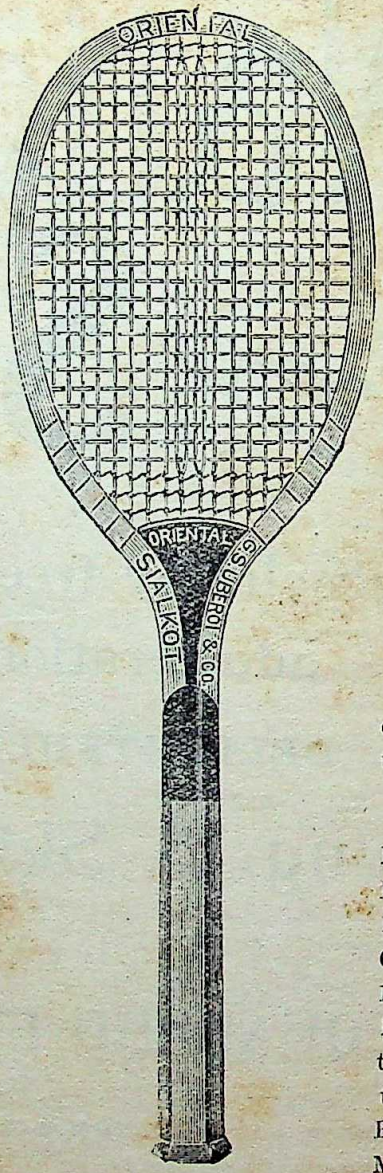

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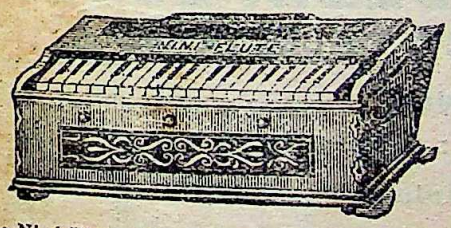

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THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. III APRIL, 1908 No. 4

THE RUIN OF INDIAN TRADE AND INDUSTRIES

THE natives of England were put to great straits by Napoleon, who threatened to cripple, if not altogether destroy, their industries and commerce by blockading the ports of the Continent of Europe. They were anxious to create a market for their goods in India. With this object in view, they did all they could to impose such terms on the East India Company on the occasion of the renewal of their Charter in 1813 as were calculated to promote their interests. They covered their selfish motives under the cloak of philanthropy. But a couple of years after the renewal of the Charter in 1813, the battle of Waterloo was fought, which resulted in the capture and exile of Napoleon. This was of great importance to England. The English industries were no longer threatened with extinction. The blockade being removed from the ports of the Continent against English goods and a market being created for them in India, gave a great impetus to the industries and commerce of England. The Marquess of Wellesley had waged his wars against the native princes of India on the ostensible plea of removing centres of intrigue with the French. It was presumed that the French had been intriguing with the princes of India and as a measure of self-defence it was considered necessary by Wellesley to exterminate the Native States. Whether such a step was just or proper, and whether in going to war against the Indian princes, the Marquess was giving effect to that clause of the Charter Act of 1793 which declared, that "to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour and policy of the English nation," were questions which the Marquess never troubled to take into consideration.

But whatever justification might be urged in favour of the wars of the Marquess of Wellesley, there was none for those of the Marquess of Hastings. The French were no longer supposed to be intriguing with the native princes of India. The English historians do not tell us, but the terms of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter in 1813 do not leave any room to doubt, that the wars against and annexation of the territories of the native princes were prompted by the following two considerations, *viz.*,—(1) to extend the territories under the British supremacy in India in order to find a market for English goods, and (2) to bring hilly tracts under the jurisdiction of the Company in order to find suitable places for the settlement and colonization of the English, which was sure to follow on their free influx into India.

The renewal of the East India Company's Charter in 1813 was designed to toll the death knell of the Indian industries and to plunge Indians in poverty and misery. The merchants of England sent their agents and emissaries to learn the wants of the natives of the country and thus to enable them to successfully cater to their needs. Baboo Kissen Mohun Mullick, in a lecture delivered before the British Indian Association in June, 1871, said:—

"Soon after the abolition of the Company's monopoly in 1813, agents of certain respectable Liverpool Houses set up here with a view to take an active part

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in the import and export business of this country, * * I can speak from my personal knowledge that Mr. Donald Mc Intyre whose name must be familiar to you, busily employed himself for some years in collecting information regarding the cotton fabrics most in use and demand among the natives * * * procured samples of all kinds and species of cloths in use among the various classes of natives both in Bengal and the Upper Provinces. * * * White jaconets, cambrics, long-cloths (an imitation of a species of Madras cloth), Dhootees, scarfs, chintzes, lappets, Japan spots, and honeycombs were then imported on a large scale, which would find a market as soon as landed, at highly remunerative prices, and the imports were multiplied as the consumption increased."

How the Free Trade principle on which the Company's Charter was renewed in 1813 affected the export and import trade of cotton goods in Bengal will be evident from the following statement published by Sir Charles Trevelyan in 1834:—

Statement of Export of Indian, and Import of European Cotton piece-goods and twist.

Years.	Cotton goods Exported.	Cotton goods Imported.	Cotton Twist Imported.
	Sicca Rs.	Sicca Rs.	Sicca Rs.
1813-1814	52,91,458	92,070	
1814-1815	84,90,760	45,000	
1815-1816	1,31,51,427	2,63,800	
1816-1817	1,65,94,380	3,17,602	
1817-1818	1,32,72,854	11,22,372	
1818-1819	1,15,27,385	26,58,940	
1819-1820	90,30,796	15,82,353	
1820-1821	85,40,763	25,59,642	
1821-1822	76,64,820	46,78,650	
1822-1823	80,09,432	65,82,351	
1823-1824	58,70,523	37,20,540	1st year of importation.
1824-1825	60,17,559	52,96,816	1,23,145
1825-1826	58,34,638	41,24,159	75,276
1826-1827	39,48,442	43,46,054	8,82,743
1827-1828	28,76,313	52,52,793	19,11,205
1828-1829	22,23,163	79,96,383	35,22,640
1829-1830	13,26,423	52,16,226	15,55,321
1830-1831	8,57,280	60,12,729	31,12,138
1831-1832	8,49,887	45,64,047	42,85,517
1832-1833	8,22,891	42,64,707	23,87,807

Sir Charles truly observed:—

"Bengal piece-goods have been displaced in the foreign market to the extent of about a crore of rupees a year, and in the home market (cotton twist included) to the extent of about 80 lacs, being in all to the extent of about a crore and eighty lacs. Even the trifling quantity of piece-goods which is still exported is for the most part made from English twist."

In sympathising with the Bengal weaver, whose occupation was gone, Sir C. Trevelyan remarked:—

"What is to become of all the people who were employed in working up this great annual amount (1,80,00,000 Rs.) unless we favour their transfer to other employments by giving freedom to those branches of industry in which India really excels?"

But the Christian Government of India did not move its little finger to save the starving millions whose occupation was gone. It was not the interest of the English to do so. No, they were glad and congratulated themselves that the import of English goods into India was increasing every year, from which they concluded that India was getting prosperous!

But while English goods were over-flooding the markets of India, because they were imported on the principle of Free Trade, how were the Indian Manufactures faring? Why, they were not imported into England without paying duties. What was considered good for the English goose was not considered so for the Indian gander. The table printed at the end of this article shows the heavy duties which were levied on Indian manufactures when imported into England. It will be observed that the duties on some kinds of goods were lowered in the later years, *after their manufacture had been nearly crushed.*

Some of the natives of Bengal who were manufacturers and dealers in cotton and silk piece-goods, the fabrics of Bengal, presented a petition, dated Calcutta, 1st September, 1831, to the Right Honorable the Lords of His Majesty's Privy Council for Trade, &c. This petition was "signed by 117 natives of high respectability." They wrote:—

"That of late years your petitioners have found their business nearly superseded by the introduction of the fabrics of Great Britain into Bengal, the importation of which augments every year, to the great prejudice of the native manufacturers.

"That the fabrics of Great Britain are consumed in Bengal without any duties being levied thereon to protect the native fabrics.

"That the fabrics of Bengal are charged with the following duties when they are used in Great Britain:—

"On manufactured cottons, 10 per cent.

"On manufactured Silks, 24, " *

"Your petitioners most humbly implore your Lordships' consideration of these circumstances, and they feel confident that no disposition exists in England to shut the door against the industry of any part of the inhabitants of this great Empire.

"They, therefore, pray to be admitted to the privilege of British subjects, and humbly entreat your Lordships to allow the cotton and silk fabrics of

* These duties were much heavier before. They seem to have been lowered, when the Indian manufactures had been nearly crushed, and so there was no possibility of their competing with the English ones.

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Bengal to be used in Great Britain "free of duty," or at the same rate which may be charged on British fabrics consumed in Bengal.

"Your Lordships must be aware of the immense advantages the British manufacturers derive from their skill in constructing and using machinery, which enables them to undersell the unscientific manufacturers of Bengal in their own country; and although your petitioners are not sanguine in expecting to derive any great advantage from having their prayer granted, their minds would feel gratified by such a manifestation of your Lordships' goodwill towards them; and such an instance of justice to the natives of India, would not fail to endear the British Government to them.

"They, therefore, confidently trust, that your Lordships' righteous consideration will be extended to their British subjects, without exception of sect, country or color."

This petition, signed by 117 respectable natives, was unsuccessful. It was unsuccessful, because if the prayer of the petitioners had been granted, it would not have promoted the interest and happiness of the natives of India, for in the Charter Act of 1813 it was laid down that it was the duty of England to promote the happiness of the people of India! According to Sir Lepel Griffin and many other Englishmen of his way of thinking, England stands in the relation of Providence to the inhabitants of India. So England knows what is good for India and what is calculated to promote the interest and happiness of the natives of India!

When the abovementioned petition was unsuccessful, the London merchants connected with the *East India* Trade, to show their philanthropy, addressed a letter to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, dated 13th October, 1832, in which they wrote:—

"We beg leave to lay before your Honourable Court, a case which appears to us to be one of considerable hardship to the Indian manufacturers, and to the India export merchants, in order that your Honourable Court may examine into the same, and grant the relief we solicit on their behalf and our own, as connected with the India Trade.

"2. Piece-goods manufactured in Bengal, pay upon their entrance into Calcutta an inland duty of 2½ per cent. and no drawback thereof is allowed upon exportation to the United Kingdom or elsewhere; whilst upon indigo, cotton, hemp and tobacco, the whole inland duties are drawn back on exportation to the United Kingdom.

"3. It may be presumed that this distinction was adopted at a time when the latter articles were considered the staple productions of India, and it was deemed expedient to the growers, and when the justice and policy of protecting the native fabrics was not so apparent; *few, if any, British manufactures being then imported into India.*

"4. But now, when the British goods are imported largely into that country, on paying a duty of 2½ per cent. only, and whilst the Indian manufactures are subjected to a duty of 20 per cent. on silk, and 10 per cent. on cotton goods, upon their importation into the United Kingdom, it does appear to us, not only reasonable and fair, but a measure of wise policy towards the natives of India, to reduce, as much as may be practicable, so great an inequality in duties, which give so marked a preference in favor of British goods; and no relief could be more immediately applied, with so little sacrifice, as the occasion of the drawback of the inland duty of 2½ per cent. on piece-goods exported from Calcutta to the United Kingdom.

"5. In proposing this course to your Honourable Court, we beg leave to call its attention to the policy of the British Legislature, by which a bounty is allowed on silk goods manufactured in the United Kingdom (whether manufactured from raw, or from foreign or British thrown silk), upon their exportation, of 3s. 6d. per lb. on all articles valued at 14s. per lb. and upwards, or say 25 per cent. on the 14s. being the supposed equivalent for the duties previously levied on the materials thereof: and we trust that the Honourable Court will see the justice, under the peculiar circumstances of India, of following the same policy towards the native manufacturers of India, that the British Parliament has adopted towards British manufacturers.

"6. An Application to the British Government to reduce the duties on the cotton and silk fabrics of India imported into the United Kingdom has not been successful, though signed by a very numerous body of the most respectable natives, and this disappointment would, we think, tend to enhance the merit of the concession now sought for.

"7. Having thus stated the chief points on which we rest the expediency of the measure we propose, we conclude by respectfully praying your Honourable Court to give early instructions to your Governments abroad, to allow the inland duty of 2½ per cent. on piece-goods, the manufacture of British India, to be entirely drawn back upon their exportation to the United Kingdom."

Well, philanthropy does not go hand in hand with shopkeeping. So these shopkeepers who were signatories to the above letter knew what they were about when they indited it. It was not all philanthropic or altruistic considerations which could have led them to recommend

"to allow the inland duty of 2½ per cent. on piece-goods, the manufacture of British India, to be entirely drawn back upon their exportation to the United Kingdom."

But the above letter met with no better fate than the petition of 117 respectable natives of Bengal.

The authorities were determined to destroy Indian industries by all means in their power. Indian imports were subjected to heavy duties in England. But it may be argued that England and the other countries to which Indian goods were re-exported from England, were not the only markets for Indian manufactures, and that their extensive native land gave to Indians a sufficiently large market. We, therefore, proceed to show that in India itself

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other means were employed to crush manufactures and dishearten the manufacturers. The inland transit and custom duties were imposed on Indian manufactures with the object, it would seem, of strangling home industries. It was due to the exposure of the abuses and malversation of the customs officers that the Indian Government was compelled to take notice of the matter. Mr. Alexander Ross, when a member of the Supreme Council during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Bentinck, mooted the question of the abolition of these duties. Sir Charles Trevelyan was appointed to report on the matter. The report which he drew up was a very able State document, referring to which Macaulay wrote :—

"I have never read an abler state paper, and I do not believe that there is, I will not say in India, but in England, another man of twenty-seven who could have written it."

The nature of the transit duties and internal customs has been very well described by the Hon'ble Frederick Shore, son of Lord Teignmouth, in one of his "Notes on Indian Affairs" in reviewing Sir Charles Trevelyan's Report. He writes :—

"The native system of transit duties and internal customs, partakes more of the nature of a toll. It is charged at so much per ox-load, pony-load, camel-load, cart-load, &c., without reference to the value of the goods. It is, generally speaking, so light, that there is no temptation to smuggle ; there is no pretext for search on the part of the custom-house officers, no pass is required ; there are no forms to undergo ; * * These tolls were probably payable every forty, fifty or sixty miles ; so that, in reality, goods were subject to duty in proportion to the distance they were carried, which was paid by instalments as they proceeded. * *.

"The English, strongly imbued with that prejudice which is so generally prevalent, that every native custom or system, must, of course, be inferior to what should be introduced from England, in their wisdom, condemned the native arrangement *in toto*, and resolved to devise one which should free the merchant from these vexatious tolls. * * The principle on which the English system was formed was, to take the whole duty at once, and furnish the merchant with a pass, (called rowannah), which should free him from all payment to the end of his journey. In the first place, it might have been supposed that as goods were to pay the same duty whether they were destined for a long or a short journey, at least the duty would have been fixed at the average of what was paid under the native toll system for greater and less distance ; but no ; - the standard fixed was the aggregate of all the tolls levied on goods proceeding to the greatest distances : thus, under the name of a consolidation, making an immense increase of the duty. This was the first specimen which the merchants experienced of the superior benefits of the English Government, imposing a much higher tax on their merchandise than they had ever paid before.

"The next point is the pass, or rowannah, which the merchant procures, when he despatches his goods, which is productive of immense annoyance. Suppose a merchant from Fattehghur sent off a boat-load of goods to Calcutta : on their arrival at that city, unless he could dispose of the whole boat-load in one lot, the pass he had received at the former place was no longer of any use to him ; he was obliged to carry it to the Custom-house, and exchange it for others adapted to the separate portions of his cargo, which he had disposed of to different people : for this, he is charged an additional duty, of half a rupee per cent. ; but this is trifling, compared with the loss of time spent in attendance at the Custom-house, and the obstruction to the free sale, and the removal of the merchant's goods. A pass is only in force for a year : should the goods remain unsold at the expiration of that period, the merchant can procure an exchange or renewed pass ; but he must give up the old pass before the expiration of the year, and prove the identity of the goods ; and he then will receive his renewed pass on payment of half a rupee per cent. If he fails, he must pay the duty over again ; and indeed, the difficulty of proving the identity of the goods, and the delay in the inquiry at the custom-house, and the consequent loss of time to the merchant is often so great, that many of them prefer, as a less evil, at once to pay the duty over again. * * There are many other difficulties caused to trade by this pass-system, one only of which I shall specify. In many cases, it is impossible for merchants to pay the duty and take out passes : when they are going to fairs and markets (which are often held at places fifty or even eighty miles from a custom-house), they cannot tell beforehand, what quantities of goods they may purchase, or sometimes of what description ; for, on reaching the fair, they may find certain goods which they had not previously thought of, very cheap ; and, therefore, may buy a considerable quantity : they leave the fair with their purchases, intending honestly to pay the duty at the next custom-house, but unfortunately before they reach it, they must pass within the limits of one of its outposts (chokies), and, according to law, the goods are liable to confiscation, for passing a chokey unprotected by a rowannah."

Then Mr. Shore refers to the search-houses and the right of search being considerable impediments in the way of trade. He writes :—

"To prevent smuggling, it was deemed necessary to establish an immense number of these search-houses, each containing an establishment whose duty it was to compare the goods with the passes. By law, no search-house (or chokey) was to be fixed at a greater distance than four miles from a custom-house, * *. But in practice, the law was quite disregarded, and these search-houses were spread all over the country, sometimes at sixty or seventy miles distant from a custom-house. * * We will now consider the nature of the powers vested in the officers stationed at these posts. They possessed the right of search in the fullest extent, and were supposed to ascertain the species of goods, quantity, number, and description of packages, value of the goods, &c., and that these agree with what is stated in the pass. * * It is evident that the delay and expense to the merchant would be so great, that, were the law fairly enforced by every search-officer, it would put an entire stop to the trade of the country. * * * *

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"It has often been asked, why do not those who are subject to such extortions bring forward their complaints?—Simply because they would lose rather than gain. They would find it impossible to obtain any redress, or only at such an expense and delay, that the remedy would be worse than the disease. * * * *

"We hear loud complaints of the impoverishment of the people, the falling-off of the internal trade, and the decline instead of the increase of manufactures. Is it to be wondered at? Could any other result be anticipated from the intolerable vexation to which all merchants are exposed by our internal customs? Mr. Trevelyan observes, that 'the profession of the merchant in the interior of the country is both unpleasant and disreputable, on account of the complete state of dependence in which the most respectable people are placed, on the meanest custom-house officer.' 'When respectable people in the provinces, who have capital lying idle in their hands, and who, probably, complain of the difficulty of finding employment for it, are asked why they do not engage in trade, they almost invariably reply, that they cannot submit to supplicate every low custom-house officer on four rupees a month, who has the power of detaining their goods, under pretence of searching them.' * * * * Native gentlemen at Delhi have, for the sake of employing their capital, engaged in the shawl-trade with Benares. The result has always been the detention of their goods at some custom-house, and their giving up the pursuit, after having suffered heavy losses. The poor natives of India submit to all this, as they do to every other extortion and oppression which they suffer at our hands, because they look upon redress as hopeless; but hear the bitter complaints which were made to Lieutenant Burnes, (who knew nothing of our custom-house system,) by the merchants of Bokhara. They actually declared that the vexatious annoyances and extortion practised on merchants in the British-Indian provinces, were infinitely greater than they experienced in Russia, Peshawar, Kabool, or Bokhara! * * * *

"The effect of this system upon manufactures, is to discourage all on a large scale, and to cause the whole of different processes to be performed in a petty way, on the same spot, however inferior those employed may be for some parts of the work, and however unsuited the locality may be. Where business is carried on on a large scale, the materials must, of course, often be brought in small quantities from a considerable distance, so that the great manufacturer has to pay a double duty,—once on the raw material, and again on the finished article; while the small manufacturer and dealer, who goes not beyond the line of chokies, either to procure the raw material, or to sell his goods, avoids the payment of all duty. Shawls are, by our extraordinary system, made to pay a double duty, both together amounting to 20 per cent.; leather pays three times, altogether 15 per cent.; cotton four times, before it is made into cloth, altogether 17½ per cent. So many articles are liable to double and treble duty, because the same pass which has been taken out for the raw material does not correspond with the manufactured article."

Then in a postscript, Mr. Shore adds:—

"We have for years been vaunting the splendid triumph of English skill and capital in carrying cotton from India to England, and, after manufacturing it there, bringing the cloth to India, and underselling the natives. Is it in any way surprising, under such an intolerable system as is above described; and while the staples of India are almost proscribed at home? In fact, if this be continued much longer, India will, ere long, produce nothing but food just sufficient for the population, a few coarse earthen ware pots to cook it in, and a few coarse cloths. *Only remove this incubus, and the tables will very soon be turned.* The other is the great self-complacence with which we talk of the confidence reposed by the people in our government, judging from the large sums which they invest in the Government funds. What are they to do with their money? * * * * Government, in their ignorance, have done all they can to annihilate trade and manufactures, which they will, unless they change their measures, accomplish in a few years more (the number of boats laden with goods which used to leave Furrukhabad twelve or fourteen years ago, was at least *treble* what it is at present). Five or even four cent. is better than nothing; but it needs not the gift of prophecy to foresee, that * * if the landed tenures in the North-Western Provinces were placed on a footing of security, and if trade and manufactures were tolerated,—they do not require *encouragement*, but only to be exonerated from the present customs and duties,—not only would Government be unable to borrow at such low interest, but the price of the existing funds would speedily fall."

It is true that the inland transit duty was abolished afterwards, but not till the industries in the British Indian provinces were so much crippled that there was no hope of their revival again.

While the Christian natives of England were congratulating themselves on the expansion of their export trade to India following the abolition of the Monopoly of the East India Company in 1813, what was the state of affairs regarding the Export Trade of Indian cotton and piece-goods to England? This question will be answered by the following table:

YEARS.	BALES.	PIECES.
1814-15	3,842 ...	...
1818-19	536 ...	...
1823-24	1,337 ...	106,516
1824-25	1,878 ...	167,524
1825-26	1,253 ...	111,295
1826-27	541 ...	47,572
1827-28	736 ...	50,654
1828-29	433 ...	32,626
1829-30	... ...	13,043*

The number of cotton piece-goods went on decreasing year after year and this state of affairs was not indicative of the material prosperity of the natives of Hindustan.

*P. 883 of Appendix to Report from Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, Vol. II part ii (London 1832).

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Appendix No. 5.—(Of Affairs of the East India Company,

An account of the Specific Rates of Duty chargeable in England on all Articles, the Year 1812 on those Articles; and the Rates of Duty now

Articles.	1812.	1813.	1814.	1819.	1823.	1824.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Arrow Root, per cent. on the value ...	68 6 8	81 2 11	62 10 0	0 0 2 the lb. weight.	0 0 2	0 0 2
And further ditto ...	2 13 4	3 3 4	...	...	...	...
Canes, Walking, Mounted, Painted or otherwise:—						
Ornamented, per cent. on value ...	68 6 8	81 2 11	62 10 0	50 0 0	50 0 0	50 0 0
And further per cent. on value ...	2 13 4	3 3 4	...	...	...	...
China Ware, per cent. on value ...	109 6 8	129 16 8	125 0 0	75 0 0	75 0 0	75 0 0
And further ditto ...	2 13 4	3 3 4	...	...	...	...
or Porcelain, Coloured	109 6 8	129 16 8	125 0 0	75 0 0	75 0 0	75 0 0
Do. Plain	109 6 8	129 16 8	125 0 0	75 0 0	75 0 0	75 0 0
And further per cent. on values of the above.	2 13 4	3 3 4	...	...	...	...
Coir Rope, per cent. on value ...	68 6 8	81 2 11	62 10 0	50 0 0	50 0 0	50 0 0
And further per cent. on value ...	2 13 4	3 3 4	...	...	...	...
„ Old, and fit only to be made into Mats per cent. on value.	68 6 8	81 2 11	62 10 0	50 0 0	50 0 0	50 0 0
And further per cent. on value ...	2 13 4	3 3 4	...	...	...	...
Cotton Manufactures, *viz.*: Muslins, Plain ... ... * Nankin Cloths ... ... Flowered or Stitched, Muslins or White Calicoes ... ... For every 100£ of the value ...	27 6 8	32 9 2	32 10 0	37 10 0	37 10 0	37 10 0
And further ditto ditto ...	10 0 0	11 17 6	5 0 0	...	...	...
Calicoes, Plain, White, ... Dimities, ditto ... ... For every 100£ of the value ...	68 6 8	81 2 11	62 10 0	67 10 0	67 10 0	67 10 0
And further ditto	3 6 8	3 19 2	5 0 0	...	...	...
Prohibited to be worn, or used, in Great Britain.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Warehousing duty	3 6 8	3 19 2	5 0 0	...	...	...
Articles of Manufactures of Cotton wholly or in part made up, not otherwise charged with duty, for every 100£ of the value.	27 6 8	32 9 2	32 10 0	50 0 0	50 0 0	50 0 0
Hair or Goat's Wool, Manufactures of, or of Hair or Goat's Wool and any other Material not particularly enumerated or charged with duty, per cent. on the value.	68 6 8	81 2 11	62 10 0	67 10 0	67 10 0	67 10 0
And further per cent. on the value,	2 13 4	3 3 4	5 0 0	...	...	...
Horns, *viz.*, Buffalo, Bull, Cow or Ox the 100.	0 4 8	0 5 6½	0 5 5	0 5 0 per cwt.	0 5 0	0 5 0
And further per cent. on value ...	2 13 4	3 3 4	...	...	...	...
Lacquered Ware per cent. on value ...	68 6 8	81 2 11	62 10 0	62 10 0	62 10 0	62 10 0
And further per cent. on value ...	2 13 4	3 3 4	...	...	...	...
Mats and Matting, per cent. on the value	68 6 8	81 2 11	62 10 0	50 0 0	50 0 0	50 0 0
Imported from a British Possession per cent. on the value.	68 6 8	81 2 11	62 10 0	50 0 0	50 0 0	50 0 0
And further per cent. on the value,	2 13 4	3 3 4	...	...	...	...

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Vol. II, Part 2, Commercial—printed on 16-8-32—pp. 592—607.)

produce of the *East Indies*, showing the Alterations of Duty which have taken place since the chargeable on similar Articles imported from other countries.

1825.	1826.	1827.	1828.	1829.	1830.	1831.	1832.	Rates of Duty now chargeable on like articles the produce of other countries. British Colonies.	Foreign Countries.
£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
0 0 2	0 0 2	0 0 2	0 0 2	0 0 2	0 0 2	0 0 2	0 0 2	0 0 1 per cwt.	0 0 2
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0
15 0 0	15 0 0	15 0 0	15 0 0	15 0 0	15 0 0	15 0 0	15 0 0	15 0 0	15 0 0
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
0 10 9 per cwt.	0 10 9	0 10 9	0 5 0	0 5 0	0 5 0	0 5 0	0 5 0	0 5 0	0 5 0
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	0 5 0 per ton wt.	0 5 0	0 5 0	0 5 0	0 5 0	0 5 0	0 5 0
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
37 10 0	*10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
67 10 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0
30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
0 2 4	0 2 4	0 2 4	0 2 4	0 2 4	0 2 4	0 2 4	0 2 4	0 2 4	0 2 4
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	5 0 0	20 0 0
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

* By Treasury order, 22nd April, Nankin cloths paid £10 per cent. which rate was continued per Act 1826.

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Articles.	1812.	1813.	1814.	1819.	1823.	1824.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Oil of Anniseed per cent. on value ...	68 6 8	81 2 11	0 3 9 per lb. wt.	0 4 0	0 4 0	0 4 0
And further per cent. on value ...	2 13 4	3 3 4	...	...	...	...
Oil, Cocoanut	68 6 8	81 2 11	3 6 6 per ton by Treasury order 22 Aug. 1814.	0 2 6 per cwt.	0 2 6	0 2 6
And further per cent. on value ...	2 13 4	3 3 4	...	until 8th June. 0 2 0 after 8th June.		
Excise Duty per lb.	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 1 6	0 1 6	0 1 6
Silk Manufactures, *viz.*, Bandannoes and all other Handkerchiefs, in pieces, not exceeding six yards in length.	Prohibited for Home use until 1826.				...	...
If more than six yards and not exceeding seven yards in length.	Ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	...	...
And further for every *additional* length, not exceeding a yard.	Ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	...	...
„ Taffaties and other Plain or Figured Silks, not otherwise described.	Ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	...	...
The produce of and imported from a British Possession.	Ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	...	...
„ Canton or China Crapes ...	Ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	...	...
If flowered or tamboured with Silk.	Ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	...	...
Manufactures of Silk or Silk and any material, not otherwise charged with Duty.	Ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	...	...
Warehousing Duties chargeable on the above, although prohibited for *Home Use*, per cent. on the value.	3 6 8	3 19 2	5 0 0	...	...	...
Soap, Hard, per cent. on value ...	68 6 8	81 2 11	62 10 0	50 0 0	1 8 0 per cwt.	1 8 0
And further per cent. on values ...	2 13 4	3 3 4	...	...	...	...
Spirits, *viz.* Arrack per gall. ...	0 1 8	0 1 11¾	0 2 1	0 2 1	0 2 1	0 2 1
Excise Duty also until 1825 ...	0 19 1 1/232	0 19 1 1/232	0 17 0⅝	0 17 0⅝	0 17 0⅝	0 17 0
Sugar* ... ... the cwt. ...	1 13 0	1 13 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	3 3 0	3 3 0
And further per cent. on value ...	1 0 0	1 0 0	...	...	...	...

* NOTE.—A portion of the above Duties on Sugar was suspended under the authority of the Lords of the Treasury

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—(*Continued.*)

1825.	1826.	1827.	1828.	1829.	1830.	1831.	1832.	Rates of Duty now chargeable on like articles the produce of other countries. British Colonies.	Rates of Duty now chargeable on like articles the produce of other countries. Foreign Countries.
£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
0 4 0	0 4 0	0 4 0	0 4 0	0 4 0	0 4 0	0 4 0	0 1 4	0 1 4	0 1 4
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
0 2 6	0 2 6	0 2 6	0 2 6	0 2 6	0 2 6	0 2 6	0 2 6	0 2 6	0 2 6
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
To 5th Ap. 0 1 6	Transferred to Customs.			...	...	...	...	...	...
...	30 0 0 per cent. on value	0 6 0 per piece.	0 6 0	20 0 0 per cent. on value	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	30 0 0 per cent.	
...	30 0 0 per cent. on value	0 7 0 per piece.	0 7 0	20 0 0 per cent. on value	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0		
...	30 0 0 per cent. on value	0 1 0 per yard.	0 1 0	20 0 0 per cent. on value	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0		
...	30 0 0 per cent. on value	0 10 0 per lb. wt.	0 10 0	30 0 0 per cent. on value	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0		
...	30 0 0 per cent. on value	0 10 0 per lb. wt.	0 10 0	20 0 0 per cent. on value	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0		
...	30 0 0 per cent. on value	0 10 0 per lb. wt.	0 10 0	30 0 0 per cent. on value	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0		
...	30 0 0 per cent. on value	1 4 0 per lb. wt.	1 4 0	30 0 0 per cent. on value	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0		
...	30 0 0 per cent. on value	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0		
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1 8 0	4 10 0	4 10 0	4 10 0	4 10 0	4 10 0	4 10 0	4 10 0	1 8 0	4 10 0
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
0 17 6⅝	1 2 6	1 2 6	1 2 6	1 2 6	1 2 6	1 2 6	1 2 6	0 9 0	1 2 6
Wholly	Customs.								
3 3 0	3 3 0	3 3 0	3 3 0	3 3 0	3 3 0	3 3 0	3 3 0	1 4 0	3 3 0
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

according to the average prices published in the Gazette every four months until 1826, when the suspension closed.

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APPENDIX No. 5

Articles.	1812.	1813.	1814.	1819.	1823.	1824.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Tea, per cent. on the value	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	All excise until 8th June.	...	...
Excise	90 0 0	90 0 0	90 0 0	£96 Custom and Excise after 8th June		
An Excise Duty also until 1819 when the Duty was wholly collected by the Excise :—						
On all Tea sold at or under 2s. per lb.	...	...	...	96 0 0	96 0 0	96 0 0
Ditto above 2s. per lb. ...	...	...	...	100 0 0	100 0 0	100 0 0
Tortoise shell, rough, per lb. ...	0 3 4	0 3 11½	0 3 11½	0 4 0	0 4 0	0 4 0
Manufactured, per cent. on value ...	68 6 8	81 2 11	62 10 0	50 0 0	50 0 0	50 0 0
And further per cent. on values ...	2 13 4	3 3 4	...	...	...	...
Wool (Cotton Wool) ... the 100 lbs. ...	0 16 11	0 16 11	0 16 11	0 8 7 until 5th January 1820, after 5th Jany. 1820, £6. per cent. on value.	6 0 0 per cent. on value.	6 0 0
Goods, Wares and Merchandize, being either in part or wholly manufactured, and not being enumerated or described, or otherwise charged with Duty, and not prohibited to be imported into or used in Great Britain :—						
For every 100£ of the value ...	68 6 8	81 2 11	62 10 0	50 0 0	50 0 0	50 0 0
Goods, Wares and Merchandize, not being either in part or wholly manufactured, and not being enumerated or described, or otherwise charged with Duty, and not prohibited to be imported into or used in Great Britain :—						
For every 100£ of the value ...	26 13 4	31 13 4	31 5 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0
And further per cent. on value ...	2 13 4	3 3 4	...	...	...	

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—(*Continued.*)

1825.	1826.	1827.	1828.	1829.	1830.	1831.	1832.	Rates of Duty now chargeable on like articles the produce of other countries.	
								British Colonies.	Foreign Countries.
£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
96 0 0	96 0 0	96 0 0	96 0 0	96 0 0	96 0 0	96 0 0	96 0 0	Prohibited.	
100 0 0	100 0 0	100 0 0	100 0 0	100 0 0	100 0 0	100 0 0	100 0 0		
0 2 0	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 1 0	0 2 0
20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	0 5 10 the cwt.	0 5 10	0 0 4	0 5 10
20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0
10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

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RESEARCH AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

IN discussing Industrial Development in India, there are many factors to be considered, such as Capital, General and Special Education, etc. As regards the application of these to industrial development, there is a general concensus of opinion; there is one factor, Research, however, often prominent in such discussions, whose meaning and special applications to India, it is doubtful if there are many who clearly apprehend: an attempt is, therefore, made in this paper to deal with this subject.

The word Research is capable of very wide interpretations but has now acquired a very special meaning in connection with scientific and technical work. On analysis, however, it will be found that even in this sense it connotes two very different types of work, which should be clearly distinguished in dealing with its development in India. These may be briefly classified as follows :—

(1) Original investigation aimed at the advancement of the boundaries of knowledge.

(2) Original investigation aimed exclusively at the advancement of industrial conditions.

In the second type, as in the first, the advancement of knowledge is necessary, but is limited by the proviso that the knowledge is useful in a narrow material sense. It may be noted now, as will be further explained, that this proviso introduces many difficulties and causes of failure non-existent in the first type of Research. A striking contrast in this connection is provided by the exact and far-reaching generalisations and laws due to Astronomical Research when compared with corresponding results for the sister science of Meteorology, which aims at being useful.

There is of course no exact boundary between these two types of Research but the great mass of original investigations can be allotted with fair certainty to one type or the other, the criterion being the mental standpoint of the worker. It will be convenient to have distinctive names for these types of Research and we will now restrict the term Research to the first type and class all investigations of the second type under the head Invention. This classification differs somewhat from the usage of ordinary language but will be convenient for precision.

The characteristic of Research as compared with Invention is that very little pecuniary reward may be expected for its results and it may be fairly claimed that this is the purest and noblest effort to which the human intellect can be directed and that the appreciation of Research marks clearly the level of culture to which any race has attained. Research is well exemplified by the sciences of Astronomy and Mathematics and in the study of the languages and history of ancient races; but in addition the vast bulk of knowledge in Sciences such as Chemistry, Physics, Geology, Zoology, etc., may be credited to Research. Though Research may be pursued for its own sake, as in many noble instances, yet for its healthy and natural development it appears that the critical appreciation of a readily accessible and cultured section of the public is necessary. Such an audience has yet to be formed in India and this probably explains the almost entire absence of Research.

In assigning a value to the results of Research the only criteria are newness or originality and scope, that is, the extent to which the investigation co-ordinates and explains ascertained facts. In this respect Invention differs strikingly from Research, as will be seen later on.

As regards Invention, the mental standpoint, environment, etc., of the worker are entirely different; the pecuniary rewards may be very great but the fact that economic principles must be rigidly applied to the investigation briefly indicates the characteristic feature that distinguishes this work from Research.

It is an indisputable fact that Invention owes a great deal to research and the latter provides much material for the former to work on. The vast bulk of research does indeed provide little of industrial importance; but from time to time there comes the means of a great industrial advance, and, as the direction from which it will come can never be foreseen, it follows that investigations must be prosecuted in all directions from the unselfish point of view of research. As a result in Western Countries, such as England, Germany, America, etc., where the struggle for industrial supremacy is very keen, Research must be actively pursued for the sake of the industrial advantage it may give: in India, however, it is not a question of leading in industrial progress but rather of making up some of the great distance lost. When, therefore, we consider the limited financial resources of the country, economic principles would appear to indicate that it is to Invention at present that our available energy should be turned so as to start on as direct a line of progress as possible.

The rewards for successful Invention in Western Countries are so great and accessible that it can be safely left to commercial enterprise; this is not at all the case in India and it will perhaps be granted that a special effort should be made to promote invention, as there is such ample scope for it. Some general considerations regarding Invention will now be discussed which may help to define and elucidate how this can be done.

For certain Industries the problems for Invention are much the same in India as in Europe and America

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and under these circumstances, when economic principles are taken into consideration, it is evident that at present the work of Invention, so far as it is identical, should be left to those countries where the conditions are immensely more favourable to success. What could be more foolish than Invention directed towards improving, say, the design of Steam Engines or Dynamos in India, where they are not made and relatively little used? In such industries the products of Inventions of Western Countries in the shape of improved processes and machinery should be freely imported and made accessible by Technical and Industrial Education. For the success of some Industries, however, indigenous conditions may be of paramount importance and as the results of Invention for these cannot be imported, the work of Invention should be directed towards these industries.

The first step in Industrial Development, therefore, would be a survey of the field for industrial success in India so as to determine the conditions. Invention should then be directed towards those industries in which indigenous conditions are of great importance, while the development of the other industries would be mainly a matter of Education and Capital, not Invention. A slight outline of some possible results of such a survey may be indicated and it will be convenient to divide Invention into Engineering, Chemical and Agricultural for this purpose.

As regards Engineering generally, indigenous conditions are of relatively little importance: thus for instance in Mechanical and Electrical Engineering, the machinery and methods of working are identical with those of Europe and America and any indigenous conditions, such as excessive temperature and moisture at times, are very simply dealt with. The greatest scope for Engineering Invention in India is probably in connection with Irrigation and Sanitation, though in the latter the Invention required is perhaps mostly in the Chemical category. If we take machinery generally under Engineering, the only far-reaching indigenous condition appears to be the cheapness of manual labour. This condition tends to throw more on the human agency and less on the machine and indicates that, from the point of view of Economics, India should follow at a certain distance rather than lead or even keep abreast of engineering development in the West. This state of things hardly calls for Invention but requires the exercise of sound judgment and thorough knowledge in importing Engineering methods into India, which points to Engineering Education as the desideratum. As regards Chemical Invention there is probably a very wide and rich field in connection with the effective utilisation of many natural and cultivated products: these will provide many special problems for Invention which must be solved in India. For Agricultural Invention also on account of the indigenous conditions such as climate, soil, etc., the same opportunity for Invention exists probably on a much greater scale.

It has been pointed out that the standards for valuing Research are originality and scope alone; but although these also refer to Invention, other economic standards are of fundamental importance and we must judge the results of invention by such tests as Appearance, Durability, Convenience in use, etc., and finally all work must be referred to the test of £.s.d. The application of the last has often made useless much otherwise excellent work in the way of Invention. As a result of the difference in the standards to which the work is referred, the environment which is suitable to Research and Invention is entirely different: we associate Research mostly with the Laboratories of Educational Institutions and the work has been largely effected by the staff and students of these, while on the other hand Invention has come mostly from what may be termed Works, in contradistinction to Laboratories, since these are so much better adapted for the application of the economic standards referred to above. In the case of both Research and Invention also splendid results have been gained by private workers often under the most unfavourable conditions of poverty and sickness, but these are exceptional cases and not at all characteristic of modern work. It would seem, therefore, that when an Industry has been selected as a suitable field for Invention, according to the principles discussed previously, Pioneer Works should be organised under the supervision of an expert having had a thorough practical and scientific training and that this should be the *modus operandi* of pioneering an Industry. It may be remarked that in Laboratories sometimes an attempt is made to realise the conditions of such a Works but in so far as the special features of a Laboratory are present, such as for instance the accommodation and other provision for teaching classes and the architectural conditions due to association with an Educational Institute and other Laboratories, these are distinctly unfavourable to the economic requirements of a Works. As a result we see that the organisation for Invention and Industrial Education would be practically separate to secure efficiency in the former.

It will be found probably in many industries where indigenous conditions have a very important influence, that the call on the actually inventive capabilities for successful working is not very great but well within the capabilities of an ordinary well educated man who has the direct facilities of a Works at his command. The difficulty to be reckoned with is to get a man of energy and initiative who has a thorough practical knowledge of the industry as developed in Western Countries, *i.e.*, an expert, and who at the same time fully understands Indian conditions. This combination of knowledge is the most essential for the success of the works, and is peculiarly difficult to procure: the methods by which this difficulty might be met may be briefly outlined as follows:—

(1) The services of an European expert may be procured if a sufficient salary is offered. The special defect in this case is that it is extremely difficult for such a man to thoroughly understand Indian conditions and he would certainly have to be a considerable time in India before he would be fit to direct a Pioneer Works.

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(2) A suitable Indian may be sent to Europe for training. The special defect of this is that it is extremely difficult for such a man to become an expert; even if he spends several years it is obvious he must depend practically on the generosity of European firms, etc., for what he learns, as his services cannot be of any great value to them, and these firms well understand that they have nothing to gain but much to lose generally by the development of industries in India. A course of training of this kind often degenerates into a round of visits of inspection to Works, permission for which is easily obtained. This is useful and interesting but in no way qualifies a man as an expert.

(3) An attempt may be made to associate a European expert and one or more Indians in the management of the works. The Indians should thoroughly understand the local conditions, such as habits and power of the workmen and the peculiarities of the market which has to be supplied. This would seem the most promising arrangement, if such association could be made to work smoothly and efficiently.

A full discussion of this matter would be more lengthy than can be attempted here and the conclusion arrived at would depend largely on individual conditions in each case.

The characteristic of such a Pioneer Works would be that the Staff, Buildings, Fittings, etc., would be directly suited to the work in hand in the most economical fashion, though this result would not be attained till after much expenditure on experimental investigation. The Works should also be placed where the greatest industrial advantage can be gained, taking all facilities into account.

The inauguration of such a Works can be confidently recommended to a public-spirited Indian who has sufficient capital at his command. A good lead in this direction has been given by Mr. Tata and others. The carrying through of such a venture, as it should be done, would require, besides Capital, much patient and watchful interest in the work and a generous and sympathetic treatment of the Staff. If on the other hand, the care of the venture is left to drop into the hands of interested dependents, failure is bound to result: in many cases a considerable pecuniary reward may be obtained eventually, but it were infinitely better that the results of the Pioneering Works should be made freely accessible rather than exploited for the benefit of the individual.

One aspect of Research remains, which may be mentioned now, and that is its educational one. Research develops the mental faculties of "imagination" and "criticism," which are essential for both Research and Invention and are in fact an invaluable asset for any work. The educational value of Research is, therefore, of the greatest importance and from a general point of view much greater than that of Invention, as the mental faculties given above are exercised by it in a more simple and direct manner. Students, however, require a very thorough preparation before they can undertake such advanced work as Research; but the spirit of Research can be carried through their training and they may be taught to investigate for themselves in a Laboratory from quite an elementary stage, thus embodying the educational features of Research to a considerable extent, though no advancement of the boundaries of human knowledge results.

In order to make Research general in Indian Colleges a considerable advancement in the standard of school education is probably necessary in order that the College Course may be able to prepare students for it: otherwise Research becomes a blind following of the directions of a Professor with little or no educational value, and very little result for the Professor's time and energy; since a supply of well-prepared students is very important for successful Research.

The importance of Invention and its relationship to industrial progress is little emphasised even among the educated public of Western Countries; very little is published about it, except Patent Office records never read by the public, and few names are honoured in connection with Invention as compared with Research; in fact, the rewards for the former, though substantial, are strictly in cash. The voluminous records of the Patent offices of Western Countries with their thousands of Patents annually do indeed give some idea of the Inventive activity which prevails, but even they are not at all completely representative, as many industrially valuable inventions are not at all suitable for patenting. To give even a history of, say, the evolution of the modern bicycle, that marvel of cheapness, lightness, durability, and ease in running, with the myriads of ideas of which it is the outcome during a time which many of us can remember, would require several large volumes, and such instances could be multiplied indefinitely. These considerations may lead us to doubt whether a few Professors doing Research with their students would provide a serviceable substitute for the inventive activity of the West, as some optimistic writers seem to think.

Finally, it must be noted that invention is not a Government product in the West and does not even lead direct to State Honours, such as Peerages, Knighthoods, etc. The most that Government has done for it is in the way of Education. The inventive energy, as represented by the expenditure of mind and money, has come from the people.

This paper does not treat of industrial development as a whole but of only one of its several factors. If, however, it helps to rouse and define an interest in the form of Research called Invention, its purpose has been fully accomplished.

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THE YELLOW GOD

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By H. Rider Haggard.

CHAPTER V.

Barbara makes a speech.

When Sir Robert Aylward came down to luncheon he found Barbara, looking particularly radiant and charming, already presiding at that meal and conversing in her best French to the foreign gentlemen who were paying her compliments.

"Forgive me for being late," he said, "first of all I have been talking to your uncle, and afterwards skimming through the articles in yesterday's papers on our little venture which comes out to-morrow. A cheerful occupation on the whole, for with one or two exceptions they are all favourable."

"Mon Dieu," said the French gentleman on the right, "seeing what they did cost, that is not strange. Your English papers they are so expensive; in Paris we have done it for half the money."

Barbara and some of the guests laughed outright, finding this frankness charming, and even Sir Robert smiled as he went on:—

"But where have you been, Miss Champers? I thought that we were going to have a round of golf together. The caddies were there, I was there, the greens had been specially rolled this morning, but there was no you."

"No," she answered, "because Major Vernon and I walked to church and heard a very good sermon upon the observance of the Sabbath."

"You are severe," he said. "Do you think it wrong for men who work hard all the week to play a harmless game on Sunday?"

"Not at all, Sir Robert." Then she looked at him, and coming to a sudden decision, added, "If you like I will play you nine holes this afternoon and give you a stroke a hole, or would you prefer a foursome?"

"No, let us fight alone and let the best player win."

"Very well, Sir Robert, but you mustn't forget that I am handicapped."

"Don't look angry," she whispered to Alan as they strolled out into the garden after lunch, "I must clear things up and know what we have to face. I'll be back by tea-time, and we will have it out with my uncle."

The nine holes had been played, and by a single stroke Barbara had won the match, which pleased her very much, for she had done her best, and with such heavy odds in his favour Sir Robert, who had also done his best, was no mean opponent, even for a player of her skill. Indeed the fight had been quite earnest, for each party knew that it was but a prelude to another and more serious fight, and looked upon the result as in some sense an omen.

"I am conquered," he said in a voice in which vexation struggled with a laugh, "and by a woman over whom I had an advantage. It is humiliating, for I confess I do not like being beaten."

"Don't you think that women generally win if they mean to?" asked Barbara. "I believe that when they fail, which is often enough, it is because they don't care, or can't make up their minds. A woman in earnest is a dangerous antagonist."

"Yes," he answered, "or the best of allies." Then he gave the clubs and half-a-crown to the caddies, and when they were out of hearing, added, "Miss Champers, I have been wondering for some time whether it is possible that you would become such an ally to me."

"I know nothing of business, Sir Robert, my tastes do not lie that way."

"You know well that I was not speaking of business, Miss Champers. I was speaking of another kind of partnership, that which Nature has ordained between men and women—marriage. Will you accept me as a husband?"

She opened her lips to speak, but he lifted his hand and went on. "Listen before you give that ready answer which it is so hard to recall, or smooth away. I know all my disadvantages, my years, which to you may seem many, my modest origin, my trade which, not altogether without reason, you despise and dislike. Well, the first cannot be changed except for the worse: the second can be, and already is, buried beneath the gold and ermine of wealth and titles. What does it matter if I am the son of a city clerk who never earned more than £2 a week and was born in a tenement at Battersea, when I am one of the rich men of this rich land and shall die a peer

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in a palace, leaving millions and honours to my children? As for the third, my occupation, I am prepared to give it up. It has served my turn, and after next week I shall have earned the amount that years ago I determined to earn. Thenceforth, set above the accidents of fortune, I propose to devote myself to higher aims, those of legitimate ambition. So far as my time would allow I have already taken some share in politics as worker; I intend to continue in them as a rule, which I still have the health and ability to do. I mean to be one of the first men in this Empire, to ride to power over the heads of all the nonentities whose only claim upon the confidence of their countrymen is that they were born in a certain class, with money in their pockets and without the need to spend the best of their manhood in work. With you at my side I can do all these things and more, and such is the future that I have to offer to you."

Again she would have broken in upon his speech, and again he stopped her, reading the unspoken answer on her lips.

"I have not told you all. Perhaps I have put first what should have come last. I have not told you that I love you earnestly and sincerely, with the settled, unalterable love that sometimes comes to men in middle-age who have never turned their thoughts that way before. I will not attempt the rhapsodies of passion which at my time of life might sound foolish or out of place; yet it is true that I am filled with this passion which has descended on me and taken possession of me. I, who often have laughed at such things in other men, adore you. You are a joy to my eyes. If you are not in the room, for me it is empty. I admire the uprightness of your character, and even your prejudices, and to your standard I desire to approximate my own. I think that no man can ever love you quite so well as I do, Barbara Champers. Now speak, I am ready to meet the best or the worst."

After her fashion Barbara looked him straight in the face with her steady eyes, and answered gently enough, for the man's method of presenting his case, elaborate and prepared though it evidently was, had touched her.

"I fear it is the worst, Sir Robert. There are hundreds of women superior to myself in every way who would be glad to give you the help and companionship you ask, with their hearts thrown in. Choose one of them, for I cannot do so."

He heard, and for the first time his face broke as it were. All this while it had remained mask-like and immovable, even when he spoke of his love, but now it broke as ice breaks at the pressure of a sudden flood beneath, and she saw the depths and eddies of his nature and understood their strength. Not that he revealed them in speech, angry or pleading, for that remained calm and measured enough. She did not hear, she saw, and even then it was marvellous to her that a mere change in a man's expression could explain so much.

"Those are very cruel words," he said. "Are they unalterable?"

"Quite. I do not play in such matters, it would be wicked."

"May I ask you one question, for if the answer is in the negative, I shall still continue to hope. Do you care for any other man?"

Again she looked at him with her fearless eyes and answered,

"Yes, I am engaged to another man."

"To Alan Vernon?"

She nodded.

"When did this happen? Some years ago?"

"No, this morning."

"Great Heavens!" he muttered in a hoarse voice turning his head away. "This morning. Then last night it might not have been too late, and last night I should have spoken to you. I had arranged it all. Yes, if it had not been for the story of that accursed fetish and your uncle's illness, I should have spoken to you, and perhaps succeeded."

"I think not," she said.

He turned upon her, and notwithstanding the tears in his eyes, they burned like fire.

"You think—you think," he gasped, "but I know. Of course after this morning it was impossible. But, Barbara, I say that I will win you yet. I have never failed in any object that I set before myself, and do not suppose that I shall fail in this. Although in a way I liked and respected him, I have always felt that Vernon was my enemy, one destined to bring grief and loss upon me, even if he did not intend so to do. Now I understand why, and he shall learn that I am stronger than he. God help him! I say."

"I think He will," Barbara answered calmly. "You are speaking wildly, and I understand the reason, and hope that you will forget your words; but whether you forget or remember, do not suppose that you frighten me. You men who have made money," she went on with swelling indignation, "who have made money somehow, and have bought honours

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with the moneys somehow, think yourselves great, and in your little day, your little, little day that will end with three lines in small type in 'The Times,' you are great. You can buy what you want, and people creep round you and ask you for doles and favours, and railway porters call you 'my lord' at every other step. But you forget your limitations in this world, and that which lies above you. You say you will do this and that. You should study a book which few of you ever read, where it tells you that you do not know what you will be on the morrow; that your life is even as a vapour appearing for a little time and then vanishing away. You think that you can crush the man to whom I have given my heart because he is honest and you are dishonest, because you are rich and he is poor, and because he chances to have succeeded where you have failed. Well, for myself and for him I defy you. Do your worst and fail, and when you have failed, in the hour of your extremity remember my words to-day. If I have given you pain by refusing you it is not my fault, and I am sorry, but when you threaten the man who has honoured me with his love and whom I honour above every creature upon the earth, then I threaten back, and may the Power that made us all judge between you and me, as judge He will," and, bursting into tears, she turned and left him.

Sir Robert watched her go.

"What a woman!" He said meditatively, "What a woman to have lost. Well, she has set the stakes and we will play out the game. The cards all seem to be in my hands, but it would not in the least surprise me if she won the rubber, for the element that I call chance, and she would call something else, may come in. Still, I never refused a challenge yet, and we will play the game out—without pity to the loser."

And that night the first trick was played. When he got back to the Court Sir Robert ordered his motor-car and departed on urgent business, either to his own place, the Old Hall, or to London, saying only that he had been summoned away by telegram. As the 70-horse power Mercedes glided out of the gates a pencilled note was put into Mr. Haswell's hand.

It ran:—"I have tried and failed—for the present. By ill-luck A.V. had been before me, only this morning. If I had not missed my chance last night owing to your illness, it would have been different. I do not, however, in the least abandon my plan, in which, of course, I rely on and expect your support. Keep V. in the office or let him go as you like. Perhaps it would be better if you could prevail upon him to stop there until after the flotation. But whatever you say at the moment, I trust to you to absolutely veto any engagement, between him and your niece, and to that end to use all your powers and authority as her guardian. Burn this note.—R.A."

CHAPTER VI.

Mr. Haswell's veto and an idea.

The same evening Alan and Barbara sat in Mr. Champers-Haswell's private sitting-room, and before them, by the fire, Mr. Champers-Haswell reclined upon his couch. Alan, in a few brief, soldier-like words had just informed him of his engagement to Barbara. During the recital of this interesting fact Barbara said nothing, but Mr. Haswell whistled several times. Now at length he spoke, in that tone of forced geniality which he generally adopted towards his cousin.

"You are asking for the hand of a considerable heiress, Alan, my boy," he said, "but you have neglected to inform me as to your own position."

"Where is the use of telling you what you know already, Mr. Haswell? I have left the firm, therefore, I have practically nothing."

"You have parctically nothing, and you——. Well, in my young days men were more delicate; they did not like being called fortune-hunters, but of course times have changed."

Alan bit his lip, and Barbara sat up quite straight in her chair, observing which indications, Mr. Haswell went on hurriedly.

"Now, if you had stopped in the firm and earned the very handsome competence in a small way which would have become due to you this week, instead of throwing us over at the last moment for some quixotic reason of your own, it might have been a different matter. I do not say it would have been, I say it might have been; and you remember a proverb about winks and nods and blind horses. So I ask you whether you are inclined to withdraw that resignation of yours, and bring up this question again, let us say next Sunday?"

Alan thought a while before he answered. As he understood, Mr. Haswell pratically was promising to assent to the engagement upon these terms. The temptation was enormously great, the fiercest that he had ever been called upon to face. He looked at Barbara. She had closed her eyes, and made absolutely no sign. For some reason of her own she had

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elected that he should determine this point without the slightest assistance from her. And it must be determined at once; procrastination was impossible. For a moment he hesitated. On the one side was Barbara, on the other his conscience. After long doubts, he had come to a certain conclusion which he quite understood to be inconvenient to his partners. Should he throw it over now? Should he even try to make a sure and certain bargain as the price of his surrender? Probably he would not suffer if he did. The flotation was underwritten and bound to go through; the scandal would come afterwards, months or years hence, long before which he might "get out," as most of the others meant to do. No, he could not. His conscience was too much for him.

"I do not see any use in re-considering that question, Mr. Haswell," he said quietly, "we settled it on Friday night."

Barbara re-opened her brown eyes and stared amiably at the painted ceiling, and Mr. Haswell whistled.

"Then I am afraid," he said, "that I do not see any use in discussing your kind proposal for my niece's hand. Listen—I will be quite open with you. I have other views for Barbara, and, as it happens, I have the power to enforce them, or at any rate to prevent their frustration by you. If Barbara marries against my will before she is five and twenty, that is, within the next two years, her entire fortune, with the exception of a pittance, goes elsewhere. This, I am sure, is a fact that will influence you, who have nothing, and even if it did not, I presume that you are scarcely so selfish as to wish to beggar her."

"No," answered Alan, "you need not fear that, for it would be wrong. I understand that you absolutely refuse to sanction my suit on the ground of my poverty, which, under the circumstances, is perhaps not wonderful. Well, the only thing to do is to wait for two years, a long time, but not endless, and meanwhile I can try to better my position."

"Do what you will, Alan," said Mr. Haswell harshly, for now all his *faux bonhomme* manner had gone, leaving him revealed in his true character of an unscrupulous tradesman with dark ends of his own to serve. "Do what you will, but understand that I forbid all communication between you and my niece, and that the sooner you cease to trespass upon a hospitality which you have abused, the better I shall be pleased."

"I will go at once," said Alan, rising, "before my temper gets the better of me, and I tell you some truths that I might regret, for you are Barbara's uncle. But on your part I ask you to understand that I refuse to be cut off from my cousin, who is of full age, and has promised to be my wife," and he turned to go.

"Stop a minute, Alan," said Barbara, who all this while had sat silent. "I have something to say which I wish you to hear. You told us just now, Uncle, that you have other views for me, by which you meant that you wish me to marry Sir Robert Aylward, whom, as you are probably aware, I refused definitely this afternoon. Now I wish to make it clear at once that no earthly power will induce me to take as a husband a man whom I dislike, and whose wealth, of which you think so much, has in my opinion been dishonestly acquired."

"What are you saying?" broke in her uncle, furiously. "He has been my partner for years; you are reflecting upon me."

"I am sorry, Uncle, but I withdraw nothing. Even if Alan here were dead, I would not marry that man, and perhaps you will make him understand this," she added with emphasis. "Indeed, I had sooner die myself. You told us also that if I marry against your will you can take away all the property that my father left to me. Uncle, I shall not give you that satisfaction. I shall wait until I am twenty-five and do what I please with myself and my fortune. Lastly, you said that you forbade us to see each other or to correspond. I answer that I shall both write to and see Alan as often as I like. If you attempt to prevent me from doing so, I shall go to the Court of Chancery, lay all the facts before it, as I have been advised that I can do—not by Alan, please remember—all the facts, and ask for its protection and for a separate maintenance out of my estate until I am twenty-five. I am sure that the Court would grant me this, and would declare that considering his distinguished family and record Alan is a perfectly proper person to be my affianced husband. I think that is all I have to say."

"All you have to say!" gasped Mr. Haswell, "all you have to say, you impertinent and ungrateful minx!" Then he fell into a furious fit of rage, and in language that need not be repeated, poured a stream of threats and abuse upon Alan and herself. Barbara waited until he ceased from exhaustion.

"Uncle," she said, "you should remember that your heart is weak, and you must not over-excite yourself; also, when you are calmer, that if you speak to me like that again, I shall go to the Court of Chancery at once, for I will not be sworn at by you or any other man. I apologise to you, Alan; I am afraid

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I have brought you into strange company. Come, my dear, we will go and order your dogcart," and putting her arm affectionately through his, she went with him from the room.

"I wonder who put her up to all this?" gasped Haswell, as the door closed behind them. "Some infernal lawyer, I'll be bound. Well, she has got the whip hand of me, and I can't face an investigation in Chancery, especially as the only thing against Vernon is that the value of his land has fallen. But I swear that she shall never marry him while I live," he ended in a kind of shout, and the domed and painted ceiling echoed back his words—"*while I live*," after which the room was silent, save for the heavy bumping of his heart.

When Alan reached home that night after his ten-mile drive, he sent Jeeki to tell the housekeeper to find him some food. In his mysterious African fashion the negro had already collected much intelligence as to the events of that day, mostly in the servants' hall, and more particularly from the two golf-caddies, sons of one of the gardeners, who, it seemed, instead of retiring with the clubs, had taken shelter in some tall whins and thence followed the interview between Barbara and Sir Robert with the intensest interest. Reflecting that this was not the time to satisfy his burning curiosity, Jeeki went, and in due course returned with some cold mutton and a bottle of claret. Then came his chance, for Alan could scarcely touch the mutton, and demanded toast and butter.

"Very inferior chop"—that was his West African word for food—"for a gentleman, Major," he said, shaking his white head sympathetically and pointing to the mutton—"specially when he has unexpectedly departed from magnificent eating of the Court. Why did you not wait till after dinner, Major, before retiring?"

Alan laughed at the man's inflated English, and answered in a more nervous and colloquial style,

"Because I was kicked out, Jeeki."

"Ah! I gathered that kicking was in the wind, Major. Sir Robert Aylward, Bart., he also was kicked out, but my smaller toe."

Again Alan laughed, and, as it was a relief to talk even to Jeeki, asked him:

"How do you know that?"

"I gathered it out of atmosphere, Major; from Sir Robert's gentleman, from two youths who watch Sir Robert and the Miss Barbara talking upon golf green No. 9, from the machine driver of Sir Robert, whose eyes he damn in public, and last but not least from his own noble countenance."

"I see that you are observant, Jeeki."

"Observation, Major, it is art of life. I see Miss Barbara's eyes red like morning sky and I deduct. I see you shot out and gloomy like evening cloud, and I deduct. I listen at the door of Mr. Haswell's room; I hear him curse and swear like holy saint in book, and you and Miss Barbara answer him not like saint, though what you speak I cannot hear, and I deduct. Jeeki deduct this—that you make love to Miss Barbara in proper gentlemanlike, 'nogamous, Christian fashion such as your late reverend uncle approve, and Miss Barbara, she make love to you with ten per cent. compound interest, but old gent with whistle, he not approve, he say, 'Where corresponding cash?' He say, 'noble Sir Robert have much cash and interested in identical business. I prefer Sir Robert. Get out, you Cashless.' Often I see this same thing when boy in West Africa, very common wherever sun shine. I note all these matters and I deduct—that Jeeki's way, and Jeeki seldom wrong."

Alan laughed for the third time, until tears ran down his face indeed.

"Jeeki," he said, "you are a great rascal——"

"Yes, yes," interrupted Jeeki, "great rascal. Best thing to be in this world, Major. Honourable Sir Robert, Bart., M.P., and Mr. Champers-Haswell, D.L., J.P., they find that out long ago and sit on top of tree of opulent renown. Jeeki great rascal and, therefore, have Savings Bank account—go on, Major."

"Well, Jeeki, because, if you are a rascal, you are kind-hearted, and because I believe that you care for me——"

"Oh! Major," broke in Jeeki again, "that most, 'utterably true. Honour bright, I love you, Major, better than anyone on earth, except my late old woman, now happily dead, gone and forgotten in best oak coffin, £4. 10s., without fittings but polished, and perhaps your holy uncle, Reverend Mr. Austin, also coffined and departed, who saved me from early extinction in a dark place. Major, I no like graves, I see too much of them, and can't tell what lie on other side. Though everyone say they know, Jeeki not quite sure. May be all light and crowns of glory, may be nasty black hole and no way out. But this at least true, that I love you better, yes, better than Miss Barbara, for love of woman very poor, uncertain thing, quick come, quick go. Jeeki find that out—often. Yes, if need be, though death most nasty, if need be I say I

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die for you, which great unpleasant sacrifice," and Jeeki in the genuine enthusiasm of his warm heart, throwing himself upon his knees after the African fashion, seized his master's hand and kissed it.

"Thanks, Jeeki," said Alan, "very kind of you, I am sure. But we haven't come to that yet, though no one knows what may happen later on. Now sit upon that chair and take a little whiskey—not too much—for I am going to ask your advice."

"Major," said Jeeki, "I obey," and seizing the whiskey bottle in a casual manner, he poured out half a tumbler full, for Jeeki was fond of whiskey. Indeed, before now this taste had brought him into conflict with the local magistrates.

"Put back three parts of that," said Alan, and Jeeki did so. "Now," he went on, "listen: this is the case; Miss Barbara and I are——" and he hesitated.

"Oh! I know; like me and Mrs. Jeeki once," said Jeeki gulping down some of the whiskey. "Go on, Major."

"And Sir Robert Aylward is——"

"Same thing, Major, continue."

"And Mr. Haswell has——"

"Those facts all ascertained, Major," said Jeeki, contemplating his glass with a mournful eye. "Now come to point, Major."

"Well, the point is, Jeeki, that I am what you called just now cashless, and, therefore, ——"

"Therefore," interrupted Jeeki again, "stick fast in honourable intention towards Miss Barbara owing to obstinate opposition of Mr. Haswell, legal uncle with control of property fomented by noble Sir Robert, who desire same girl."

"Quite right, Jeeki; but if you would talk a little less and let me talk a little more, we might get on better."

"I henceforth silent, Major," and lifting his empty tumbler Jeeki looked through it as if it were a telescope, a hint that Alan ignored.

"Jeeki, you infernal old fool, I want money."

"Yes, Major, I understand, Major. Forgive me for breaking conspiracy of silence, but if £500 in Savings Bank any use, very much at your service, Major; also £20 more extracted last night from terror of wealthy Jew who fear fetish."

"Jeeki, you old donkey, I don't want your £500; I want a great deal more, £50,000 or £500,000. Tell me how to get it."

"City best place, Major. But you chuck City, too much honest man, great mistake to be honest in this terrestrial sphere. Often notice that in West Africa."

"Perhaps, Jeeki, but I have done with the City. As you would say, for me it is 'wipe out finish."

"Yes, Major, too much pickpocket, too much dirt. Bottom always drop out of bucket shop at last. I understand, end in police court and severe magistrate, or perhaps even 'Gentlemen of Jury,' etcetra."

"Well, Jeeki, then what remains? Now last night when you told us that amazing yarn of yours, you said something about a mountain full of gold, and houses full of gold among your people. Jeeki, do you think——" and he paused, looking at him.

Jeeki rolled his black eyes round the room and in a fit of absent-mindedness helped himself to some more whiskey.

"Do I think, Major, that this useless lucre could be convert into coin of King Edward? Not at all, Major, by no one, Major, by no one whatsoever, except possibly by Major Alan Vernon, D.S.O., and by one Jeeki, Christian surname Smith."

(To be Continued.)

OUTLOOK OF THE PAPER INDUSTRY IN INDIA

HAVING been asked to contribute a short paper on the Paper Industry in India, I have much pleasure in responding to the request.

The above Industry at the present time is passing through a period of depression, owing to a variety of causes, not the least important of which are the following:—

I. *Shortness of Raw materials*, such as Rags, Patmal and Hemp. Plague may have interfered with supplies of the above to a certain extent, but the real cause may probably be due to the want of enterprise. These are materials which may be found in plenty in every locality if only people would organise and exploit on business lines. If this work were done in these Famine times, it would provide work for a large number of starving people, and to capitalists it would mean a profitable return. Often and again I have looked round and tried to find other materials

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which could take the place of these, but so far I have not been able to hit upon any. In better classes of paper we have to use more expensive materials, such as Baib Grass, also wood pulp, but beyond a certain limit, it does not pay to use these, especially wood pulp, on which we have to pay prohibitively high freight rates. It is gratifying to note that Government is doing something to encourage the manufacture of wood pulp in this country. We have all read with interest Mr. Sindall's report on the experiments he made with Bamboo and species of wood available in Burma. But even if the experiments are successful they will not help us much in this part of the country on account of the difficulties of getting it here all the way from Burma at reasonable rates. I am also informed that the local Government have sent samples of wood from these provinces to England for experiment. We wait with interest to hear the result. Even should these samples prove suitable for Paper Manufacture, we have to find out if the wood can be had in sufficiently large quantities and within easy reach.

II. *Chemicals* for the use of Paper Manufacture, have to be imported and cost us much when laid down at the Mills. The same is the case, more or less, with all English stores which cannot be procured in this country. Some of the chemicals that are available in this country we have tried, *viz.*, Alum and Resin, but they have not been successful, owing to the very low quality, thus making them more expensive in the long run than the imported articles. Indian Sujji (Fuller's earth) at one time we used a large quantity, to take the place of imported English Caustic for boiling, but on account of the increased rates we found it more profitable to use English Caustic.

III. *Coal.*—Our coal bill is also a very heavy item. Although in order to encourage the Industries, Government has got railway freights substantially reduced, yet the advantage has not reached the Industries, owing to the high rise in the prices of coal.

IV. *Labor Difficulty.*—The Labor question is another difficult matter we have to deal with. The ordinary workman likes nothing better than to stay away from work. This is specially noticeable a few days after their wages are paid. Another thing I have noticed is as we increase wages the worse they are in the above respect. Apart from his irregular attendance, the Indian workman is not nearly so efficient as the European workman of the same class, and shows very little disposition to improve himself. Want of education may partly account for this, but the habit of indolence ingrained in him has also, I am afraid, a great deal to do with it. The sense of responsibility has yet to be developed in him.

V. *Indian young men as Apprentices.*—With a view to encourage Indian young men of respectable families to be trained in the art of Paper Making, we have adopted the apprentice system, whereby they have every facility given them for learning the business, and a fairly liberal scale of wages had been fixed, but I am sorry to say, even with these young men, I find the same difficulty. Those moral qualities of punctual attendance, dogged perseverance and intelligent interest in the work which make for success in these cases are sadly lacking. We hear nowadays a good deal about sending young men to foreign countries to learn the art of Paper Making. This is a course I do not agree with at all. My opinion is that they should rather qualify themselves here, where they have every opportunity of doing so. Should it be thought necessary, after they have completed their training here, they may be sent abroad with a view to expand their knowledge and broaden their outlook, with special reference to the improvements that are being daily made, both in machinery and processes of Paper Making. I myself consider that Indian young men have much better facilities for learning the art of Paper Making in an Indian Mill than in a great many European Mills, because the conditions of work are so different. The materials alone, for instance, which we use in the manufacture of our paper here, are all to be found in the country, whereas a large number of Mills in European countries use nothing but imported wood pulp. Consequently in Mills like these only one half the business can be learnt, there being no preparation of materials needed, wood pulp being all ready prepared.

Seeing that we still annually import more than 8,000,000 worth of Paper and Paste Board and this amount is increasing every year, we cannot say that the Industry has not a good outlook before it, but we have to guard against certain difficulties and dangers.

1. New mills to be started should be sufficiently apart from the existing ones or otherwise the already existing difficulty about raw materials is bound to greatly increase. The result will be that competition will set up for these, increasing their price, and consequently the cost of manufacture; and as we have already to compete with cheap foreign papers, it will inevitably result in injuring both the existing as well as the proposed new mills.

2. Great care should be taken to locate the new mills, in places where raw materials can be had in plenty, also water.

3. Before launching in an enterprise of this description, expert advice should be obtained and a scheme prepared accordingly in consultation. It will always pay to go in for new up-to-date machinery, so as to insure large outturns, which would have the effect of reducing the average cost.

4 We should have these mills at places where we could command plenty of labour both skilled and unskilled.

5. Direct railway communication with sidings running into the mills, is also a question to be studied, as freight forms a large item of expenditure, and an endeavour should be made to get it reduced as much as possible. The less we have to do with transhipments on rail the better, for we incur heavy losses in shortage, breakage and sometimes even in total loss.

These are a few hasty notes which I had time to jot down and I trust the same will give some idea of

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the numerous difficulties we work under, apart from the prices of almost every single material going up by leaps and bounds without anything like corresponding increase in the price of paper, so that the prospects of the Industry are not at this moment particularly hopeful and with the unrestricted import of cheap foreign paper the position has become still worse. Probably the only solution of all this difficulty would be found when cheap wood pulp can be made in this country. As I have already mentioned, the matter is engaging the attention of the Government, but till then we cannot be too guarded in venturing on the establishment of a new Paper Mill. Certainly I would not recommend lightly launching upon such a course without paying heed to my above suggestions.

JAMES IMMS,
Manager, Upper India Couper (Paper) Mills, Lucknow.

NARRATIVE OF THE INCIDENTS OF MY EARLY LIFE

VII

21st August.—Next morning I saw the Minister, and after the lesson I informed him of my conversation with Kusho Phindi-khang-sar. He advised me to try one or two medicines, as I ran no risk, and the reward offered was large. He also talked highly of the wealth and charities of Phindi-khang-sar. I accordingly went again and applied a liniment of soap and tincture of opium. On opening the cotton bandage I saw a sore, evidently made by the application of a red-hot-iron. I changed it for a flannel bandage, and requested him to foment the swelling with warm water. The Kusho seemed pleased with the medicine, and ordered me to be given half a maund of barley-flour, ten bricks of tea, a few seers of *di-mar* (yak-butter), and a month's supply of fire-wood. I declined the gift, but the Kusho would take no refusal. I attended on him for one week, and effected a slight relief, but at last, my medicines running short, I had to explain to him my inability to attend on him further. Before I left, his Nyerpo (or store-keeper) offered me a handful of "*tankas*" (silver coins worth six annas each), but I declined them.

22nd August.—After lessons in Hindi I explained to the Minister the use of the telescope from Ganot's Physics, which I had brought with me. He had bought a very good telescope the previous year for Rs. 350 from a Kashmir merchant, named Bahar Shah, whom I had known at Darjeeling. I also explained to him some of the astronomical slides, such as the diurnal rotation and annual motion of the earth round the sun, the shape of the earth and its position with respect to the sun. He heard me with attention, and asked me if I believed what I said. I told him that it mattered very little whether I believed or not, but that all European nations, as well as the enlightened natives of India, believed in those truths. He said that if what I said were true, then the whole Kala Chakra system of Buddhist astronomy must be false. I replied that I was far from casting any reflection on the Buddhist system of astronomy. He perhaps remembered that my predictions about the sun's eclipse on Saturday last had agreed with his own, as we might have verified at 2 P.M. (the calculated time), had not the skies been over-clouded. However, it was evident that though our methods varied, the results we arrived at were the same. He, therefore, requested me to get him a good illustrated astronomical English book to enable him thoroughly to understand the English system. I gave him Goodwin's Course of Mathematics, which however, unfortunately did not contain the illustration he wanted.

23rd August.—Next morning I waited upon him, but we did not read any Hindi. We opened the conversation by saying that he had communicated to the Grand Lama all that I had said about the sun and the earth. The Tashi Lama said he could not understand what I meant by saying that the earth rests on void space. If it was without support, why did it not fall down; and even if it could so rest, how was it that men on its surface did not fall headlong when the earth revolved round its own axis. The Minister had had to confess that he was unable to answer the Grand Lama's question, whereupon he requested him to ask me (the Pandub*) for a satisfactory explanation. I was at a loss for an explanation suited to the capacity of such

* I was called Pandub from *Pan*. Pandit, and *dub* (sgrub) signifying a *Siddha* or saint. The title of Maha Pandit (*Panchen*) is borne by the Grand Lama alone.

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doubters, but fortunately I had a magnetic fish (a toy given to me by Mr. Pedler of the Presidency College), by which I succeeded in giving the Lama some idea of the property of attraction, though the attraction of the sun still remained as mysterious to them as ever.

Besides myself to support, I had a cook and three other servants depending on me. I had all along been suffering under pecuniary difficulties. On three or four occasions the Minister had advanced us money, and I felt a delicacy in applying for further loans. I now determined to send Ugyen Gyatsho to Darjeeling for funds. Ugyen accordingly asked leave of the Minister to go to see his friends at Darjeeling, and bring my letters. The Minister granted leave, and commissioned Ugyen to bring him certain articles from Darjeeling. It was settled that I should remain at Tashi-lhunpo, either at my own house or with the Minister, who informed me that he would probably take leave for two months (October and November), which he intended to pass at Dong-tse, his birth-place (eight miles north-east of Gyan-tse), and to devote to learning English, astronomy, geography, and photography from me. This, I said to myself, was a capital opportunity for seeing the country between Shiga-tse and Dong-tse. I instructed Ugyen to return to Tibet by the Chumbi and Phari road, and join me at Dong-tse. To-day (at 2-30) in the afternoon, heavy showers of rain fell, accompanied by hail stones, thunder, and lightning.

24th August.—On the 24th, after my visit to the Minister, I called upon Kusho-dichung, and talked with him about the administration of justice in India. He agreed with me in thinking that justice was not administered in Tibet as it ought to be, and that property was not secure, through the powerful oppressing the weak. I also ascertained from him the price of gold leaves and gold dust, as well as of gold worked into ornaments, &c. From the account he gave, it did not appear that any speculation in gold for the Indian market would be very profitable, it being difficult to ascertain the quality of the gold. I, therefore, did not think it prudent to direct Ugyen to bring more money than what I thought would be actually necessary for our living.

25th August.—On the 25th, after lessons, I had a talk with the Minister about the free admission of natives of India into Tibet during the reign of *Kyabgon* Paldan Yeshe, about a hundred years ago. He said that during that famous Lama's time the English used to come to Tashi-lhunpo. I asked him how he came to know that. Whereupon he gave me the life of Paldan Yeshe in two volumes, and asked me to read it at home. I then told him that from certain English books of travel, (Markham's *Missions of Bogle and Turner*, and Manning's *Journey to Tibet*), I also had collected some information. I mentioned Purangir's name together with the Tashi Lama's journey through the barren steppes of High Asia, and his death at Pekin of small-pox. He seemed greatly astonished and declared my information to be correct. I told him that Paldan Yeshe was a great friend of the English Government, and had sent valuable presents to the Gyal-tshab Rinpo-che of Calcutta (Warren Hastings), and received presents in return, especially a valuable string of pearls. He was quite pleased with what I said, and told me that the same string of pearls had been presented by the Tashi Lama to the Emperor of China, and that people said it was to be seen to this day in the Emperor's crown. The Lama, he added, performed various miracles on his arrival at Pekin. For instance, the Emperor, to test his divine origin, caused several of his Ministers to put on the Imperial dress, and sent them one by one to receive the Lama, but the Lama neither saluted nor deigned to speak to any of them. He discovered the real Emperor when he came, and saluted him, saying:—*O Jampal-yang* (*i.e.*, Manju Ghosha, the god of wisdom and learnig incarnate), *kongma-chen po* (thou canst not deceive me)." He was next conducted to a seat on the right of the Emperor's own, who had meanwhile secretly caused the whole cyclopædia of the Buddhist Scriptures (the Kahgyur) to be placed underneath the Lama's seat. The Divine Lama, again proving equal to the occasion by his supernatural power, got them miraculously removed, and replaced by some blank books. When the Lama had left his seat, the Emperor examined the books, and to his utter astonishment found them to be blank. After a few days' stay, the Lama fell sick, and told the Emperor that his term of mundane existence was drawing near, and that he must prepare for his departure. The physicians of the Imperial Court failed to discover the nature of his illness, until the Emperor himself found it, when too late, to be small-pox. A few minutes before he breathed his last, he called Purangir to his presence, and, talking to him in pathetic terms, exhorted him to a firm belief in the infallibility of Buddhism. His holy remains were not suffered by the Emperor to leave Pekin, but his *chang-lo* (*effigy*,) as large as life, was

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sent to Tashi-lhunpo, preserved in a shrine of solid gold. His successor (*Kyabgon* Tanpai Nyima) did not, for fear of small-pox (*dum-bo*) venture to visit India or China in the ordinary way; but the former he visited miraculously, thus: He shut himself up in his chapel, having ordered the guard not to open the door on any account. He then shuffled off his mortal coil and visited India in spirit. As he passed in the guise of a *Gelong* by the palace gate of the Raja of Chamba, he was accosted by the Raja himself, who asked his name, what he was, and where he came from. The Lama being a Buddha, could not tell a lie. The Raja threw himself at his feet, and begged his *jin-lob* (blessing) for a son to be born to him. The *Gelong* granted his request and disappeared. A year after a son was born, and the Raja in token of his gratitude sent immense presents for the Grand Lama.

After the Minister had finished these stories, I asked if the present Grand Lama could perform such miraculous journeys. He answered "No." As for himself (the Minister) he was anxious to visit Pekin and Gaya (Gya-gar-dorjedan), but for fear of illness, especially small-pox, he could not venture to undertake a journey to Pekin. I told him that I knew a medicine which would remove all danger from small-pox. He asked if it was not something resembling inoculation? I replied, "Yes; that it was not small-pox matter, but a different substance altogether." Ugyen then showed the mark of vaccination on his arms. He then told me that I would do a real service to the country if I could introduce that medicine, but it would be a most dangerous experiment if it was found to bring with it small-pox, which had not appeared in the country for more than twenty years. He also gave me a hint that the fear of introducing this disease into Tibet was one of the objections of the Grand Lama to opening intercourse with India. He proceeded to say that he had implicit faith in me, and would be the first to be vaccinated, and after trying it on a few others, he would get the Grand Lama himself to be vaccinated. "The Grand Lama," he said, "is a jewel among us, and the fountain of mercy and all moral virtues." He then asked me if I had a house both at Benares and at Darjeeling. I told him I had none at Darjeeling, but intended to build one there; at Benares I had a four-storied house, where he would be right welcome if ever he visited Benares. He then asked if he would be honourably received by the English Government. I replied at once that if he visited India publicly he would be; but if he came privately I could not be sure of a good reception.

26th August.—Next day worked some exercises with the Minister in simple division and multiplication from a small Tibetan arithmetic, printed and published by the Moravian Mission at Kylong, near Kangra, which I had presented to him; after which we had a long talk on the printing system. He admired the wonderful neat engravings in Ganot's Physics and other books, and deplored the wretched block printing used in Tibet. I described to him the printing press and lead types used in India and Europe, and also gave a short account of lithography, of which the Kylong arithmetic was a specimen. He thought a printing press would be too heavy to be brought into Tibet, but that a lithographic press would answer his purpose just as well, and asked me to draw up an estimate of the price, packing and carriage of one to Tashi-lhunpo.

In the evening, in the course of conversation with the Grand Lama, he suggested the introduction of a lithographic press to supercede block printing. The Lama approved of the suggestion, and requested the Minister to furnish him with the necessary estimate.

27th, 28th, 29th, and 30th August.—The four following days the Minister was engaged in the worship of the chief Tantric god, Sambhara.* All the monks of the *Nyagpa* college were also busily engaged in the ritual connected with the drawing of the "mandal," or plan of Sambhara's mansion.

A TIBETAN HOLIDAY.—The 29th of August was a great holiday for all the people of Shiga-tse. Men, women and children of all races, from the highest Jongpon to the meanest street-beggar, Palpas, Kashmiris, Chinese, Mongols, and Tibetans went to visit "Guru-do-phug," the rock-cavern where Padma Sambhava reached perfection, which is situated on a rocky hill at a distance of about five miles west of Tashi-lhunpo. Padma Sambhava, the Guru Ugyen Pema of the Tibetans, was one of the earliest propagators of Buddhism in Tibet, and the originator of the Tantric system, which entirely changed the nature of Buddhism as originally preached by Gautama's immediate successors, such as Ananda and Upagupta, in Magadha. Pema Guru was born at Udayani (Udyana), a country north-west of Aryavarta, and was the son of King Indra Bodhi. Leaving India he

* Sambhara (in Tibetan "De-chhog," the supreme lord of enjoyment) is represented with five heads and ten arms, of a terrific aspect, and holding a woman in his embrace.

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passed into Tibet, where his teaching made rapid progress, and soon became the prevalent religious belief, under the name of the Nyingma or ancient school. A later reformer (Tsong-khapa), shocked at the eccentricities of Pema's doctrine, zealously tried with some success to destroy the predominance of the Nyingma sect in Tibet. Guru Pema had numerous wives, surrounded by whom it was his custom to sit in *yoga*. He advocated the Yoga-charyá or meditative school. The Gelugpas, or the followers of Tsong-khapa, although converts from the Nyingma doctrines, yet venerate Pema Guru as an emancipated saint, equal in rank to Tsong-khapa; and on this day of the year they join the Nyingmapas in visiting and offering oblations at the "Guru-do-phug." At halfpast four in the afternoon these pilgrims were seen returning, partly on foot and partly mounted. Of the latter there were about 300 people on donkeys, and more than 500 men on ponies, among whom the Nyer-chang-chenpo, with his two *tsomos* (wives), and his sons and nephews, was conspicuous. The ladies, dressed in blue China satins, rode along with their husbands, who wore grey, red, or yellow satin tunics. The Tibetans, as a rule, are fond of display in clothes, ornaments, and head dresses, and especially so on occasions like the present. The Palpas wore their peculiar white waistbands and Newari caps. The Kashmiri, though dressed like the Tibetan, could be recognized by his high nose, shaved head, puggri, and painted moustache; the Chinese by his Mantchu pig-tail. I observed two old Kashmiris carried in doolies, dressed as Tibetans, who perhaps had become Buddhists by long association with Tibetans. When near Tashi-lhunpo, the men and women who rode on asses tried to keep pace with the ponies for a short distance. The great mass, however, walked on foot in companies of 20 to 30, some dancing in their own fantastic style as they went, having evidently indulged in spirits and *chang* at the sacred "phug." Whenever they met a large tree they halted for a few minutes and performed the Shabdo dance. Ugyen, myself, Kusho-dichung and the Mongolian interpreter of the Tashi Lama witnessed the procession from the roof of our house, with the help of Kusho-dichung's Russian telescope. Ugyen remarked that to ride an ass appeared to be something like an honour in Tibet, though it was a punishment in his own country (Sikkim). The voices of both men and women singing together, softened by distance, quite delighted us. According to my estimate upwards of 10,000 men and women passed us towards Shiga-tse. There might have been other visitors from other quarters. The Tibetan villages are much more thickly peopled than they seem to be from the outside.

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sent to Tashi-lhunpo, preserved in a shrine of solid gold. His successor (*Kyabgon* Tanpai Nyima) did not, for fear of small-pox (*dum-bo*) venture to visit India or China in the ordinary way; but the former he visited miraculously, thus: He shut himself up in his chapel, having ordered the guard not to open the door on any account. He then shuffled off his mortal coil and visited India in spirit. As he passed in the guise of a *Gelong* by the palace gate of the Raja of Chamba, he was accosted by the Raja himself, who asked his name, what he was, and where he came from. The Lama being a Buddha, could not tell a lie. The Raja threw himself at his feet, and begged his *jin-lob* (blessing) for a son to be born to him. The *Gelong* granted his request and disappeared. A year after a son was born, and the Raja in token of his gratitude sent immense presents for the Grand Lama.

After the Minister had finished these stories, I asked if the present Grand Lama could perform such miraculous journeys. He answered "No." As for himself (the Minister) he was anxious to visit Pekin and Gaya (Gya-gar-dorjedan), but for fear of illness, especially small-pox, he could not venture to undertake a journey to Pekin. I told him that I knew a medicine which would remove all danger from small-pox. He asked if it was not something resembling inoculation? I replied, "Yes; that it was not small-pox matter, but a different substance altogether." Ugyen then showed the mark of vaccination on his arms. He then told me that I would do a real service to the country if I could introduce that medicine, but it would be a most dangerous experiment if it was found to bring with it small-pox, which had not appeared in the country for more than twenty years. He also gave me a hint that the fear of introducing this disease into Tibet was one of the objections of the Grand Lama to opening intercourse with India. He proceeded to say that he had implicit faith in me, and would be the first to be vaccinated, and after trying it on a few others, he would get the Grand Lama himself to be vaccinated. "The Grand Lama," he said, "is a jewel among us, and the fountain of mercy and all moral virtues." He then asked me if I had a house both at Benares and at Darjeeling. I told him I had none at Darjeeling, but intended to build one there; at Benares I had a four-storied house, where he would be right welcome if ever he visited Benares. He then asked if he would be honourably received by the English Government. I replied at once that if he visited India publicly he would be; but if he came privately I could not be sure of a good reception.

26th August.—Next day worked some exercises with the Minister in simple division and multiplication from a small Tibetan arithmetic, printed and published by the Moravian Mission at Kylong, near Kangra, which I had presented to him; after which we had a long talk on the printing system. He admired the wonderful neat engravings in Ganot's Physics and other books, and deplored the wretched block printing used in Tibet. I described to him the printing press and lead types used in India and Europe, and also gave a short account of lithography, of which the Kylong arithmetic was a specimen. He thought a printing press would be too heavy to be brought into Tibet, but that a lithographic press would answer his purpose just as well, and asked me to draw up an estimate of the price, packing and carriage of one to Tashi-lhunpo.

In the evening, in the course of conversation with the Grand Lama, he suggested the introduction of a lithographic press to supercede block printing. The Lama approved of the suggestion, and requested the Minister to furnish him with the necessary estimate.

27th, 28th, 29th, and 30th August.—The four following days the Minister was engaged in the worship of the chief Tantric god, Sambhara.* All the monks of the *Nyagpa* college were also busily engaged in the ritual connected with the drawing of the "mandal," or plan of Sambhara's mansion.

A TIBETAN HOLIDAY.—The 29th of August was a great holiday for all the people of Shiga-tse. Men, women and children of all races, from the highest Jongpon to the meanest street-beggar, Palpas, Kashmiris, Chinese, Mongols, and Tibetans went to visit "Guru-do-phug," the rock-cavern where Padma Sambhava reached perfection, which is situated on a rocky hill at a distance of about five miles west of Tashi-lhunpo. Padma Sambhava, the Guru Ugyen Pema of the Tibetans, was one of the earliest propagators of Buddhism in Tibet, and the originator of the Tantric system, which entirely changed the nature of Buddhism as originally preached by Gautama's immediate successors, such as Ananda and Upagupta, in Magadha. Pema Guru was born at Udayani (Udyana), a country north-west of Aryavarta, and was the son of King Indra Bodhi. Leaving India he

* Sambhara (in Tibetan "De-chhog," the supreme lord of enjoyment) is represented with five heads and ten arms, of a terrific aspect, and holding a woman in his embrace.

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THE METAL INDUSTRY

WHEN your genial Secretary asked me only a few days back for a paper on the Metal Industry for this Conference, I naturally felt some hesitation in complying with his kind request. The subject is a vast one, and my practical acquaintance is limited to only a small branch of it. I can, therefore, do no more than express a few stray thoughts on the subject which are uppermost in my mind at the present moment.

I took the Lucknow Iron Works in hand some 10 years ago from a syndicate. I have to import all raw material, namely, Cast Iron, Wrought Iron, which are manufactured into articles largely for the use of the Railways and the Municipalities.

My chief difficulty has been as regards the supply of labour, both trained and untrained. The unskilled workmen are illiterate and without much sense of responsibility and therefore make, with some exceptions, very inefficient workmen as a rule. Before they have hardly learnt the rudiments of the work (of course at my expense), they go away elsewhere on better wages. In the local Railway Workshop particularly they easily get almost double the wages, irrespective of their skill and efficiency. Even skilled hands have been tempted away by the offer of higher wages which are more than their proper market value. This is a form of unfair competition which we have to face here. It not only handicaps the employers of labor in their work but also interferes with the proper training of the workmen themselves, who appear to be anxious to earn too soon, and thus their training remains defective. It were well if some means could be devised to protect private enterprise with necessarily limited resources against such a form of unfair competition on the part of a State Department of practically limitless resources.

On the cheapness or otherwise of the coal fuel the success of the industries depends to a great extent. With the object of encouraging the Indian Industries our generous Government, therefore, was pleased to obtain an appreciable reduction in the freight rates of coal. But its object, I am sorry to say, is being more than neutralised by the selfishness of the Colliery proprietors and coal agents in substantially raising the prices of coal. The law of supply and demand must of course be left to have its free and natural operation. But I feel that the rate at which shipments are going on bode no good to the home industries. Could not a countervailing export duty be levied on coal exported to other countries as offering at least some check to the present unrestricted export of this commodity, as this is believed to be the chief explanation of the exorbitant rise in the prices of coal? The scarcity of railway wagons has tended to further accentuate this difficulty.

The question of the further reduction of railway freight is also one which might be taken up in this connection as tending to encourage the industry.

I would now bring this short paper to a close by bringing to the notice of the Conference a few points of general interest which would have a practical bearing on this as well as on other industries:—

1. I am not aware whether a proper survey has been undertaken in recent years with a view to exploit the mineral resources of these provinces, both metallic and non-metallic. An exhaustive survey might be undertaken of selected local areas likely to yield good results. If Government aid can be obtained to this extent, probably it will not be difficult to form a syndicate to work the industry discovered.

2. I would also advocate the appointment of a Director of Industries by Government to give expert advice free or on moderate charges to enterprising Indian Capitalists as to the industries that might be profitably taken up, indicating the best and most economical way of proceeding in the matter. Seeing the excellent results that the creation of such an appointment in Madras has produced, I cannot but too strongly recommend it here. For the present the Principal of the Thomason Civil Engineering College at Roorkee and perhaps also the Director of Land Records and Agriculture might be entrusted with this work with the co-operation and valuable assistance of yourself, Sir, as the Special Officer who has made an extensive survey of the industrial possibilities of these provinces and has made a close and thoughtful study of the subject.

3. The establishment of free Industrial night schools would, in my humble opinion, go a great way to improve the chances of the proper and efficient training of the workmen. If necessary, scholarships might be given. I look for appreciably good results from the adoption of this course. The employers of labour are naturally unwilling to take this responsibility upon their shoulders, as very few can afford to undertake this additional responsibility, and even those who can afford to do so do not feel inclined, as, in the present circumstances, the services of such trained workmen cannot be assured to them, as these latter can go away elsewhere at any moment they like. The establishment of such schools would not only supply the demand for skilled workmen by private firms but also by railways and will thus put an end to the unfair competition complained of above.

4. The Government being the largest consumer of most of the iron and brass manufactures at present,

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the best way of encouraging them would be for the Government to get these locally as much as possible for its requirements. I do not for a moment mean to suggest that competition, which is the very life of all business, should be altogether done away with. All that I claim is that an opportunity should be given to the local manufacturers to tender on all possible occasions for Government requirements. This will tend to encourage and put heart into the proprietors of the existing industries, and thus induce them to extend their business on improved business lines and also induce others to come into the field. This object can be easily secured by a more strict observance of the existing rules whose scope has been further expanded by the recommendation of the Macdonald Committee on Government Stores, appointed some two years ago. These lay down, for instance, that only such articles as are not manufactured in India should be obtained from England and it is required to be certified in respect of each indent not only that the article indented for from England is necessary but that it cannot be advantageously procured of local manufacturers. If any indent on England contains items which it is possible to obtain of Indian manufacture or of indigenous origin it must be explained why it has been indented for from England and not procured in India, otherwise the indent will be liable to be cancelled.

By the adoption of these and similar measures Government can foster existing industries and encourage new ones to be started. But much will still depend on our own exertions. We should try to profit by past failures and avoid those causes of it, such as want of experience, technical skill, business aptitude, and sufficient funds, which brought them about. We must not be overhasty or over-sanguine, take expert advice and time to mature our schemes, and then and then only float new companies. Success will be assured in such a case, capital will be less and less shy in coming forward, and an era of industrial revival will have dawned under the fostering care of a generous Government.

PRAG NARAYAN BHARGAVA,
Proprietor, Lucknow Iron Works,
and
Director, Lucknow Paper Mills.

INDIANS IN AMERICA

II.—EDUCATED INDIANS IN AMERICA.

The two leading traits of American character are: money-grabbing and a craving for sensation. Men and women are engaged in a mad chase after lucre. They also are slaves of the "yellow" press—whose only claim for existence is that it panders to the morbid appetite for scandal and gossip. The dollar is king in America. "Jingoism" is his royal consort. The two manage to keep the average American ignorant to a certain extent, although a large per cent can read and write. The geographical knowledge of the majority generally is bounded by their City or County. In some instances it extends to their native State; in rare cases it may take in the prominent features of their country. Accordingly even well-read and intelligent Americans know little and care less about India and her peoples. If, perchance, they possess information regarding Hindustan, almost invariably their "knowledge" is composed of ill-conceived notions and prejudices, in most instances pure and simple American concoctions. Most Americans labor under the impression that all Indians are "fakers"—imposters, pretenders and magicians. Another class considers "Hindus" to be sunk in the lowest depths of moral depravity, physical filth and spiritual ignorance. The first of these notions is due to the attempt to form a notion of a nation from the few individuals, the American meets. For the latter, the missionary is responsible. Probably well-meaning, he has been the means of disseminating gross misconceptions. In addition to this the average American shows the superciliousness so peculiar to Anglo-Saxons when dealing with Oriental peoples and problems. With the tenacity of a bulldog he ungraciously asserts his own superiority over the Asian and believes that he is destined to conquer the Orient—at least commercially—on the principle of the "survival of the fittest."

To inspire admiration for the civilization of India in the minds of such people required a giant intellect and a rare soul. This task was reserved for Swami Vivekananda, the patriotic pupil of Ramakrishna.

Imagine a long, broad dais on which is seated the highest talent of Europe and America, and a large pandal filled to suffocation with Occidentals who have scant respect for the Orient. The World's Parliament of

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Religions is in session. The year is 1893. The rendezvous is Chicago, the second largest city on the American continent.

A dusky man with a masterful mouth, prominent nose, large eyes and a massive forehead rises in response to the call from the President of the Congress. The spectators hail the stranger. Their demonstration is not unmixed with fun and curiosity. They mutter to themselves that the man is fantastically dressed. The women in the audience remark that his head is adorned with a "dustrag"—by which they mean the turban which he wears. The man commences to speak. His voice chimes like silver bells. His intonation and delivery are perfect. His slightest whisper is audible in every corner of the pavilion, which surges with a mass of human beings, all now on tiptoe to listen to the yellow-robed priest from India's coral strand.

His talk exhibits a mastery over the English vocabulary which only a microscopic minority in the country can claim. There is a cogency, a logic in his speech that is telling and persuasive. Both his head and his heart are interested in the subject he is handling. He is not merely skimming over the surface. He is talking about abstruse things, but not in a pedantic or ambiguous style. Every sentence is sword-sharp. It cuts its way into the consciousness of his listeners.

The silver-tongued Swami conquers Americans in a single speech. He enlists their sympathies, links them with India. For Hindustan the Swami Vivekananda served as a John the Baptist. He may have been preceded by some Indian travellers and students, but they were not great enough to make any impression on the American people. Vivekananda's proved to be "the voice of one crying in the wilderness." He prepared the way—made the paths straight. To Swami Vivekananda belongs the lion's share of the glory of doing pioneer work in America for India. Of all men who visited the United States of America, Swami Vivekananda stands pre-eminent. He seems to have won an instant way into the hearts of both American men and women and his personality to-day is very much alive in the hearts of thousands of Yankees of the highest intellect and culture.

Mrs. Ella Wheeler Wilcox, an American poetess of wide renown, wrote in a personal letter to the writer that : "I was a student of your great Vivekananda, the only human being I ever *felt* knew more of God than I did, for I have ever felt a comradeship with the Eternal One."

There are others who are enthusiastic about the late Swami Vivekananda. His reputation and influence in no sense are merely local. They extend from one end of the United Sta tes to the other. In New York City, Boston, Chicago, Seattle, San Francisco and Los Angeles, in fact, in every large American city, Vivekananda's name is familiar to those who aspire to know something regarding the highest self, and is respected and revered by all of them.

The late Swami Rama, who died but a few months ago, belongs to the same category as did the Swami Vivekananda. Wherever Swami Rama went in the United States, he won immediate recognition as a deep student and thinker, an eloquent and pleasant speaker and a humanitarian from the heart out. Scores of men and women in the United States wept bitter tears when the news of his demise reached them. This man, though dead, still lives in the hearts of his devotees in America.

Pandit Lallan and Virchand R. Gandhi are two other Indian teachers who are dearly beloved by Americans. Both of these men were the furore during their visit to the United States. Men and women, without distinction of sex, loved them and hung upon their words. Wherever they went they created respect and won admiration for the country which gave them birth. They constituted a silent but living protest against the mischievous misconceptions regarding India which are given currency by misguided missionaries of Christian faith. Every one who came in personal contact with them or listened to their discourses, from pulpit or platform, could not help but realize that, despite the version of the Western writers, India is a country of unique wisdom and civilization.

Of all the above mentioned Indians whom America adores, only one is alive—Pandit Lallan. All others are gone. So is Mr. Pratap Chander Mozumdar, the Brahmo missionary, who likewise raised his mother-country in the estimation of all who had the privilege of sitting at his feet. Another Indian who is respected by Americans from Maine to California is the Buddhist missionary, the "Anagarika" Dharmapala.

As a consequence of these Indian masterminds touring the United States, the erstwhile self-sufficient American to-day has become conscious of the fact that the civilization of India must be far higher and in advance of his own.

Following the examples of these great men, some Indians have opened in various parts

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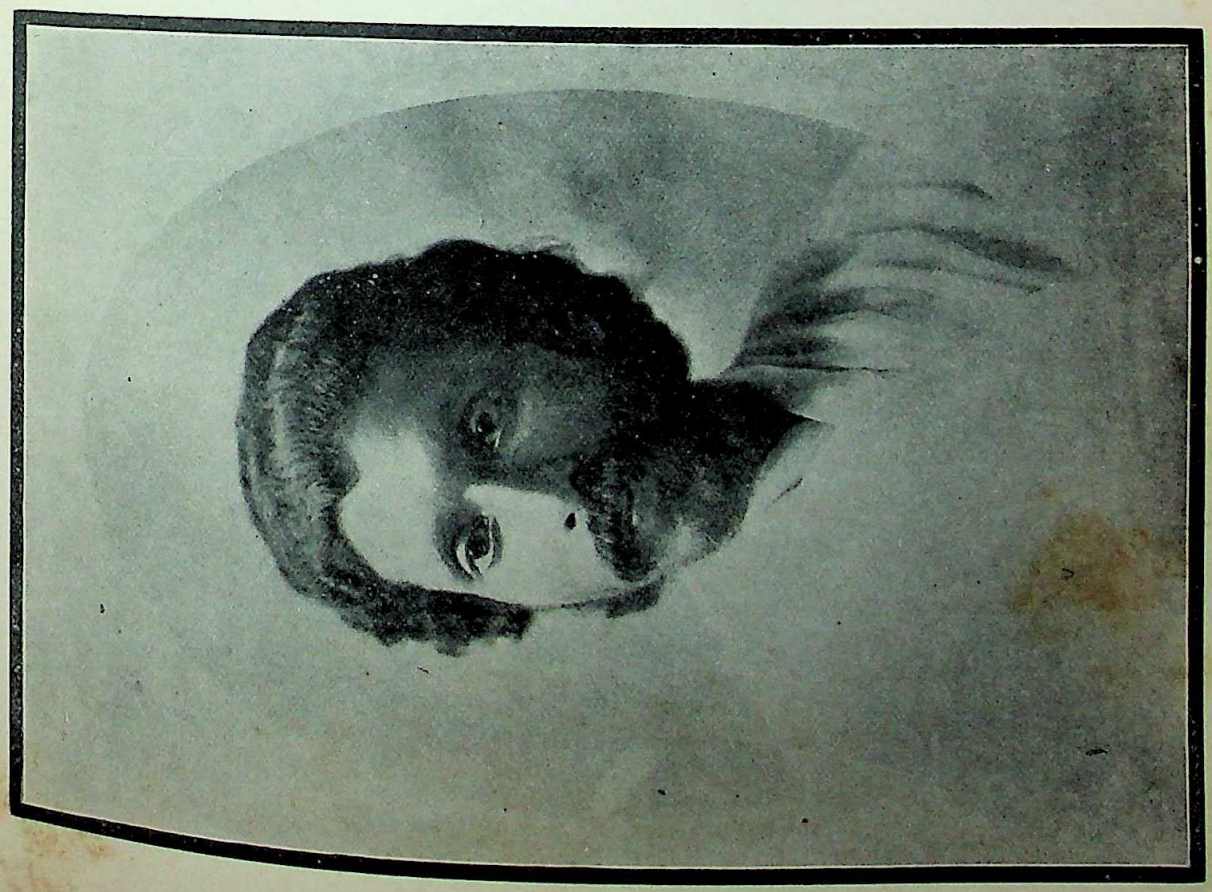
SAINT NIHAL SING.

THE INDIAN PRESS, ALLAHABAD.



THE ANAGARIKA DHARMAPALA.

Supplement to "The Modern Review."

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PANDIT F. K. LALIAN.

BABA PREMANANDA BHARATI,
WITH A KNOT OF AMERICAN FOLLOWERS.

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of the United States schools for teaching higher psychology and esotericism. These are doing something toward changing the direction of American minds from materialism to spiritualism. Los Angeles, Caliornia; Chicago, Illinois; Des Moines, Iowa; Boston, Massachusetts; and New York City are the vital centres of a movement which has for its aim the spiritualization of materialistic Americans. Hindus singly and in groups are saturating the minds of the *elite* of these and surrounding cities with the highest conception of Vedantic and Vedic philosophy.

Baba Premananda Bharati, who once was a newspaper man in India, came to America a few years ago and started, in Los Angeles, California, a Vaishnava home. Therefrom he regularly printed a monthly magazine entitled "The Light of India," wherein he sought to give spiritual instruction. He also endeavoured to clear misconceptions regarding India which are engendered by the writings of Kipling and other Anglo-Indians. He has visited a number of the States in America and held classes for explaining Karma, Re-incarnation, spiritual concentration, communion and the science of divine love.

In Chicago an Indian Theosophist, Pandit Sakharam Ganesh, B.A., is just starting a school wherein he purposes to teach seekers after truth Hindu psychology and Oriental spiritualism. Until recently Mr. Ganesh had the co-operation of Kate Kinsey Brook, an American woman journalist of wide reputation and deeply interested in Indian religions and philosophies. Mrs. Maude L. Howard, another prominent Chicago woman of broad sympathies, has interested herself in the institution which Mr. Ganesh is starting in Chicago.

At Des Moines, Iowa, Count Natho has opened a temple of psychology. Mr. Natho is described as a young man of small stature, dark-skinned, with long flowing silky-black hair and fathomless black eyes. Besides being a teacher of psychology, Natho is the father of a remarkable child whose mother is the American wife of the Count, fairskinned and lithe. She is a graduate of the University of Wisconsin. Eli Rami, as their child is called, is known in America as a little human chameleon. He turns three colors in a day. In the morning his face looks like a rose. At noon his skin assumes a dusky tinge. At eventide his countenance once again undergoes a transformation and the face resembles alabaster. Many medical men and women have evinced great interest in this peculiar phenomenon, the cause of which is said to be the mixture of races. Aside from the change of color Eli Rami is a normal child, bright, vivacious and cherub-like.

All these Indians, in a small way, are endeavouring to introduce the wedge of Hindu spiritual ideals into American lives. The sanest and best organized effort made in this direction, however, proceeds from the Ramakrishna Mission, founded by Swami Vivekananda, with headquarters in New York City and branches in several leading American cities. At the head of this mission is the Swami Abhedananda, the "Gentle Hindu Monk," who is universally held in esteem.

In addition to the above named institutions, itinerant teachers of Indian philosophy appear in American cities from time to time. Since the days of Vivekananda, the one who has attracted to himself the most tremendous notoriety is the Mahatma Agamya Guru Paramahamsa. The American press has been flooded with accounts of his marvellous faculty of controlling the heart's action, reducing or accelerating the pulse beat at his will. His pictures have been printed in the leading American papers and magazines with catching captions, like: "Women should be put under the feet of men, as in India"; "Americans have monky minds." Random phrases from his talks like: "We are a spiritual people. When the famine comes, the millions of India say, 'All right, we will die.' It would be well for America if her people could say that"; and "I am a God, I know everything," have been exploited to afford delectation and amusement to the readers.

Besides the teachers of religion and philosophy, there are other educated Indians in America engaged in commerce and professional business. Their number is limited; but it is rapidly increasing, as the chances for making money and building up a reputation are plentiful and tempting.

Amongst the immigrants settled in the Pacific Coast States there are some who peddle wares from door to door. They buy the goods at wholesale prices and make fairly large profits which they re-invest and thus are constantly adding to their capital and stock in trade. Some of the shrewd ones have evolved from the chrysalis to the butterfly stage and are now planning to open small stores.

Two young men in Chicago are displaying considerable earnestness in opening up a small shop for the importation and sale of Indian curios, teas, condiments, carpets, rugs, etc. One of them is Mr. Sayed Mahomed Jaffer, a resident of Hyderabad, the capital of the Nizam's dominion in the Deccan, at present a

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senior student in the Hering Medical College of Chicago, Illinois; the other is Dr. Yotindra Mohan Bose, a graduate of the Chicago Rush Medical College, which is affiliated with the Chicago University.

In Louisiana there is a settlement of thirty or forty Indian Mahomedans engaged in importing goods from India and selling them in the Southern United States. Ali Ali, the head of the colony, is said to have amassed a fairly good-sized fortune and is affectionately attached to the men associated with him in business. Many of these men are married to negro women, have large families and are contented and prosperous in their adopted country.

Lately a business man of great insight and wide experience has intimated his intention of opening a large establishment which will unite India and America commercially. Mr. Umiashanker L. Joshi, a native of Cutch, and who, until recently, was at the head of the Soonderji Arjun concerns in China and Japan, is coming to America to open branches in the industrial centres of the United States and Canada.

An Indian artist, Mr. Shanker Rao, is endeavouring to wedge his way into advertising circles in order to make that his permanent business. Mr. Rao is a young man from the Nizam's State, where his father holds an important post in the army.

A few Indians in America are following literature as a profession. The writer of these articles is one of them. Mr. M. Barkat Ullah also writes for American papers and magazines; Mr. S. L. Joshi is engaged in teaching Indian languages; and Mr. S. Deva, of the Chicago University, makes a specialty of giving instruction in Sanskrit.

The Indian fortune-teller in America is a bird of passage, found here, there and everywhere, barring those States where it is a criminal offence to follow that profession. He is travelling all the time, from town to town, county to county, State to State and coast to coast. He plies his trade wherever he can, usually making a success of it.

In Vancouver, British Columbia, resides one of this fraternity. "Dr." Duni Chand has a fine suite of rooms in a Vancouver rooming-house and his doorplate advertises him as a "palmist, clairvoyant and fortune-teller." He also practises the *Vedic* system of medicine. The "Doctor" affects the professional dress of a doctor of medicine and lives in good style. Mrs. Duni Chand is, like the Doctor, a native of North-western Punjab. She has been in Canada for a number of years. She is, it may parenthetically be remarked, the only Indian woman in the Dominion of Canada.

SAINT NIHAL SING.

MOUSTAFA KAMEL PACHA*

فما كان قيس هلكه هلك واحد * ولكنه بنيان قوم تهدم

The loss of Kays is not, alas, the loss of but a single soul.
It marks the death of a nation's hopes, it spells the ruin of a People whole.
—*Hamasah.*

I

(BY ONE WHO KNEW HIM.)

THE seventh of Mohurrum, a day of universal sorrow in Islam, assumes a yet darker and sadder aspect for the dwellers of the City where the revered head of the "Prince of Martyrs" finds its last resting place and the wail of the mourners of Husain mingles with the lamentations of those bewailing the tragic end of another martyr for the cause of Truth and Liberty.

For *Moustafa* is dead, dead ere his prime,
Young *Moustafa* and hath not left his peer.

* * * *

Egypt, hapless Egypt! It is not thou alone that mournest the loss of thy darling child. The whole world of Islam is overcast with gloom and plunged in deep sorrow. Nay, thou

* 1. Moustafa Kamel born, 1874.
2. Delivers his first political speech in French at Toulouse, 4th July, 1895.
3. Founds *Al-Lewa*, Arabic daily, 1900.
4. Denshawai incident, 1906.
5. Visits England for the first time to work for the release of the Denshawai prisoners.
6. Founds the "*Egyptian Standard*" and *L'Etendard Egyptien*, for acquainting the English and the French public with the aims and aspirations of the Nationalist Party, February, 1907.
7. Release of the Denshawai prisoners on the anniversary of the Khedive's accession to the throne, 8th January, 1908.
8. Dies, 9th February, 1908.

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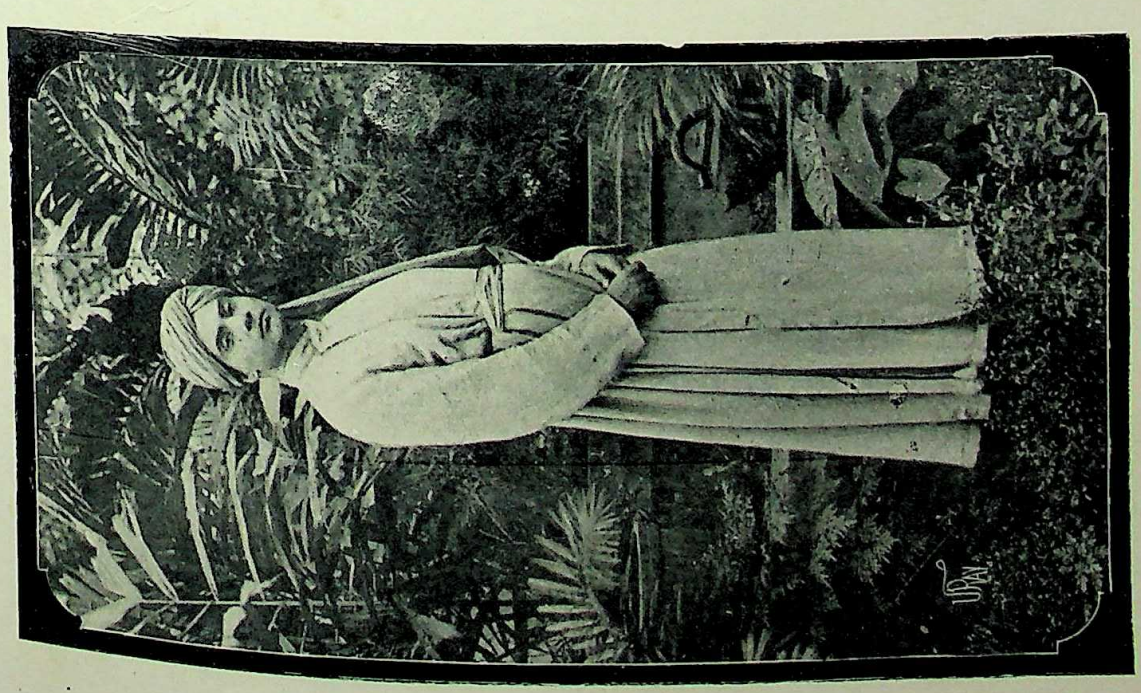
PRATAP CHANDRA MAZUMDAR.

THE INDIAN PRESS, ALLAHABAD.



SWAMI ABHEDANANDA.

Supplement to "The Modern Review."

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ALI KAMEL,

BROTHER OF MOUSTAFA KAMEL PACHA.

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mourner of nations, even the stoic hearts of the dwellers on the banks of the Indus and the Ganges are laden with grief for the death of a son of the valley of the Nile. The domain of Patriotism is wider than the realm of Religion: the heart of Asia is wrung with anguish and stirred to its very depths. For that "Emir of the aristocracy of patriotism," that "lion of the forest of freedom," that champion of the rights of humanity, Moustafa, is dead.

... The world has lost a man,
Whose mighty bosom, filled with love, awoke
A chord in ev'ry sentient heart, and sent
Vibrations pulsing deep thro' all the realms
Of thought—a soul whose passion flights arose
Thro' regions higher than the stars, and pour'd
An incense far sublimer than the breath
Of flowers, and clouds, and beating suns.

* * * *

Can it be true that Moustafa, young Moustafa, handsome Moustafa, Moustafa with all his brilliant accomplishments, is dead and gone, and nothing but a shapeless mound of earth and sands marks what remains of him? How can he be dead who himself was Life? How can he sink us into the abysmal depths of dejection and despair, who himself was Hope? How can the messiah, destined to give life to the world-old mummy of Egypt, be himself overwhelmed by death.

* * * *

Moustafa was in the full bloom of his youth, in the prime of his life, in the very pride of his manhood. He was barely thirty-three,—the age of Jesus.

* * * *

The blood of the martyr is the seed of the church. The cross, which wrung from the unwilling lips of the Son of Mary the bitter cry of anguish and despair, is to-day the Cross of Hope at which thousands of hopeless hands are clinging.

* * * *

The death of Moustafa may mark the dawn of Egypt's liberty and be the signal for the deliverance of the children of Ishmael from the dominion of the Pharaohs and their happy entry into the Promised Land of Freedom.

"'Twas meet ONE man should die for the whole people,
Thou wert the victim chosen to retrieve
The sorrows of the Earth with full deliverance
And, as thou diest, these shall surely live."

* * * *

"Therefore I do not grieve. Oh hear me, Egypt!
Even in death thou art not wholly dead."

* * * *

Moustafa has fulfilled his mission and attained his *Nirvana*. In life, he was a Demosthenes, in death, he is a god. Though death has silenced for ever his soul-stirring eloquence and chilled his life-giving, hope-inspiring, fire and enthusiasm, he will live as long as the Pyramids of his beloved motherland, embalmed in the memory of his fellow-believers, cherished, idolized, adored in the hearts of such of his compatriots whose head could measure the loftiness of his thought and whose heart could fathom the depth of his soul.

* * * *

His fragile frame and pale face, when not lighted up by the fire of his enthusiasm and the fervour of his eloquence, bespoke the lover whose heart was in flames, and whose body was being devoured by the intensity of his own passion. From the very first I was apprehensive of his early death. For I myself was a prey to the disease that was consuming him So I gave him the advice which I could not myself follow. I besought him to take special care of himself. I impressed upon him the value of the general's life to the army, --that he must *live*, and not die, for the success of the cause nearest his heart. For a time he betook himself to a French health-resort whose pure air and serene atmosphere braced him up. But the excitement of the Denshawai incident and the "atrocities of justice" which followed swift and sharp, and the burden of three dailies, gave him no respite, and at last snapped the frail thread of his life. The acorn developed into an oak and the jar was shivered.

* * * *

Moustafa was no dangerous revolutionary, nor a notorious agitator, nor a vulgar Anglophobe, as he has been styled by some models of Anglo-Saxon chivalry who are jubilant over his untimely end. He was a "believer in evolution and not in revolution." He was fully aware of the untold misery and suffering which preceded and followed all revolutions. He had only to recall the revolution of Arabi and the horrors of Zagazig. The following quotations from his speech at Alexandria, 13th April, 1906, show his real attitude towards the English:—

L'Angleterre elle-même ne pourrait jamais mépriser ou détester un Egyptien patriote, Une des raisons qu'elle invoque pour rester en Egypte est celle d'éduquer les Egyptiens. Eh bien! est il admissible que les Egyptiens soient bien éduqués saus être patriotes? Jamais.

Quant à la nation anglaise elle-même, nous ne ponvous que la respecter. Quoi qu'il arrive nous la respecterons toujours comme nous respectous toules

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les autres nations. Contre un peuple on ne peut avoir aucune haine. On ne condamne pas toute une nation pour la faute de quelques-uno des ses fils.

* * * *

Moustafa was no pessimist. He was not an Apostle of Despair, but a Prophet of Hope and Life. This characteristic of hopefulness is the predominant note of even his last speech at the meeting of the first General Assembly of the Egyptian National Party on 27th December, 1908 :—

"We are the party of hope, the party of life, the party of the Fatherland, the party of Independence. . . Henceforth no sadness for you, beloved Egypt! Henceforth no dejection, no despair!... Raise up your heads, you who are the descendants of the great Pharaohs, the heirs of the civilisation of Islam... Say all together with me : Long Live Egypt! Long Live Independence."

Happy Moustafa even in thy early death! Better far to die early full of hope, full of faith in the glorious vision of the future, with the words "Long Live" on one's lips than to live long to be disillusionised, to see one's fondest desires blasted, and most cherished hopes shattered and the golden dreams of one's youth give way to the gathering gloom and darkness of dejection and despair.

* * * *

What though Moustafa is dead? Ali, his devoted brother and lieutenant, yet lives. Farid yet lives, and thousands may yet rally round the standard of Egypt which falls from the nerveless hands of Moustafa. In the fifty thousand mourners following the bier of Moustafa I see a faint glimmer of "the flame of burning and undying passion for our cause which I hope to kindle in the breasts of the children of Asia before the fierce flame which is fast consuming the candle of my life is hushed in the silence and darkness of death." The following beautiful lines which foretell the untimely death of one of Moustafa's friends may more fittingly be put in his mouth :—

مقصود ماست یکدلی و فیض خاکیاں
دارد بهاے ماه عرب آفتاب ما
جبریل وحی آور ما حسن سرمدیست
عرش دلست منزل ام‌الکتاب ما
ایام ما گذشت بغربت ولے چه غم
اشراق شرق و غرب شد از اغتراب ما
قسمت پیام مرگ رسانید رخ نماے
اے بت فداے حسن تو گشته شباب ما
از مرگ قبل وقت منم شادماں مشو
صد شعلها جهد بوجود از تراب ما

My object is to enlighten and unite the hearts of the denizens of the earth,
My Sun derives its lustre from the Moon of Arabia.
My Revelation-bearing Gabriel is the Eternal Beauty.
The throne of my heart is the seat of the Mother of the Book.
What though my days are spent in poverty, banishment and sorrow,
The illumination of the East and the West is the result of my exile in the wilderness of Europe.
Cruel *kismet* (fate) has delivered to me the message of Death :
Lift up thy veil and show thy face, O Beloved, at whose altar the best days of my youth have been sacrificed!
Do not rejoice, O mine enemies, at the premature extinction of the candle of my life :
A thousand flames shall leap into existence out of the ashes of this dying fire.

La Makan,
February 12, 1908.

II.

(SPECIALLY TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF MADAME JULIETTE ADAM BY AL-MA'MUN SUHRAWARDY).

"Je crois que la préface de Madame Adam suffit pour donner une idée de ma vie et de ma carriére"—*Moustafa Kamel to Al-M'amun Suhrawardy.*

It was apparently reserved for me to place before the reading public in France a portion of the work of the orator who has delivered the speeches contained in the present volume. I made the acquaintance of Moustafa Kamel Pacha when he was only 19, and had just completed his legal studies at Toulouse. I was so interested by his passion for knowledge and warmth of heart that I inquired of him what his innermost ambitions were. "I wish," he replied "to work by means of speeches, schools, journalism and books in order to awaken the dormant patriotism of my countrymen, so that Egypt may repossess the Egyptians, and the Egyptians Egypt." These words were uttered in such a tone that for my part, I in whom patriotism is the ruling sentiment, said to him :—"Well, I will watch you with an interest that shall not flag a single day and if I can I shall prove useful to your cause."

At the time when the English believed that they had completely quenched all patriotic ardour in the hearts of the Egyptians and blotted out for ever even the faintest desire for independence in the land of the Pharaohs, by the defeat of the troops of Arabi, which was due to the treachery of their military leader, there was coming to the fore a young civil leader, educated in Europe, who having come into contact with contemporary politics and felt glowing within himself a resolution to defend his country by lawful means, to fight for the independence of Egypt, not by revolt, the only form of attack and defence understood by Orientals, but by the arms of reason, by the force of an opposition, founded on the sentiment of justice and the right of logical argument.

Moustafa Kamel has already realised a part of his programme. While he was struggling against the opposition by his speeches, he was founding a school. His object was to impart to the young men of his country a national education and to give to the rich Egyptians an example which was soon imitated.

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The distinguishing feature of this school is that while the sons of well-to-do people receive there a sound education, the same education is given to the children of the poor, one-third of the number of the students being admitted free.

To raise worth from the low depths where it lies buried, to hallow the brotherhood taught by the Prophet, to help men to achieve a position in society, while the English reject those who do not belong to centres of culture and education—such is in short the generous ambition of Moustafa Kamel. I have been to a prize distribution at his school, heard him speak to his boys, rich and poor, as well as to their relatives—to a crowd of 2000 persons in one of those most beautiful sun-lit days of the luminous and light-bathed Egypt, in a huge white court-yard, under a deep blue sky. The front seats were occupied by a large number of important, noteworthy persons in their magnificent Oriental costumes. The rest of those present wearing red turbans on their heads were playing the wild poppy in this field of humanity. Europeans present at this gathering were few and far between. A friend of mine translated to me the report of the brother of Moustafa Kamel, who was the Director of the school. In this report was an account of his ten years of office as well as the increase in the number of pupils and the self-imposed sacrifices of its founder.

Ali is the name of this brother of Moustafa Kamel. He is a figure that cannot be eliminated from the active life of that young national tribune. Ali was a lieutenant in the Egyptian army. He was put on the retired list by the English by way of punishing Moustafa Kamel, for his vigorous opposition. Smarting under his inactive life, Ali sent up his resignation. A few days later the Dongola expedition was decided upon, when Ali wrote to Kitchener, withdrawing his resignation and praying to be taken back into service. He is employed in a battalion and takes possession of his post. Five or six days later he was seized and degraded and Kitchener wants to have him shot as one resigning in anticipation of war, and consequently a deserter. The Khedive, not without difficulty, prevents such an atrocity, but for seven months the Sirdar, whose cruelties in the Sudan render him proverbial, keeps Ali as a common soldier, and Ali makes the dangerous compaign in this humiliating position, Kitchener hoping to stay Moustafa Kamel's ardour in his fight against the occupation through a fear of his brother's suffering. But the patriotism of the young fighter got the better of his fraternal affection; in spite of his sufferings doubled by those of Ali he never implored any body. Besides Ali himself wrote, "Do not lay down your arms."

It was for the purpose of seeing the English flag waving over Khartoum that the Egyptian army had displayed so much heroism, that the Khedive, descendant of Mehmet Ali, has counted the number of soldiers who lost their lives in order to reduce to the profit of England his old rebellious subjects. After the capture of Dongola, the Khedive restored Ali to his rank, but Ali could not keep on fighting for the glory of Albion. He left the army to become his brother's first lieutenant. Moustafa Kamel has incessantly been filled with enthusiasm for his work. He has traversed the whole of Europe, coming in touch with the most influential persons connected with politics or journalism. If his ardour of convictions failed to convince, they had at least the power to interest, and the force to make one think. In his remarkable interview, he put forward the question of the English occupation of Egypt with a perspicuity or rather ability which went deep into the minds of his audience or his readers. He proved to them what interest they themselves or their countries could take in protecting the interests of Egypt.

One of his most absolute principles is the understanding between Egypt and Turkey with respect to the English occupation. It is evident that if Turkey accept the view of England with respect to Egypt, Egypt must needs be for ever sacrificed. Never did an Arab orator meet with greater success and consequently with more envy than Moustafa Kamel, now a Pacha. Although very young still he has attained in the whole of the East, and all the Islamic countries, the widest popularity and the most honoured position. His co-religionists, it may be said, admire in him not only the art of speech, which produces such a deep impression on Eastern minds, but that patriotic flame, which kindles with a single word the flame dormant in their hearts and which fires him to such a degree that neither the martyrdom of his brother, nor Fashoda, nor the treachery of more than one of his old friends and allies, nor the Anglo-French treaty, nor any of those facts which would have chilled the ardour of any other man, have been able to quench his ardour, and shake his faith in the time to come.

Moustafa Kamel did not believe that his speeches and his schools were enough to serve the national cause to which he has devoted his life. In 1900 he founded a daily paper in Arabic called 'El-Lewa,' the Standard. Its success was immediate and its renown and influence universal in the East. 'El-Lewa' is to-day the most powerful arm of opposition to the English yoke in Egypt. In spite of his ceaseless toil, Moustafa Kamel has never let slip a single occasion to write books that may lay the seed of his patriotic ideas and cause them to grow and develop in the minds of the rising generation.

In every possible form he makes war against discouragement, lukewarmness, lack of patriotism, a trinity of scourges, menacing not only Egypt, but France herself—scourges fraught with far greater peril than even the invaders themselves. The same advice and counsels are repeated to his countrymen, are often repeated in his speeches, and their repetition is always in a state of constant increase. All the formulas of patriotism are marked with a heroic uniformity recalling the famous 'Delenda est Carthago.'

The greatness of Moustafa Kamel's conceptions with respect to the progress of modern Egypt lies in his attempt to engraft modern science on ancient tradition, on time-honoured Arab lore, which has reigned for centuries over the world, safeguarding thereby the pride of his race, which refuses to accept anything except a return of what she lent to Europe in times gone by.

Moustafa Kamel is grieved to see his countrymen dominated, nay, crushed by the English occupation, exactly when they appeared most apt to assimilate the progress of European civilisation. The proof of this undeniable fact is Moustafa Kamel himself and the young men of his generation, educated as highly as the educated youth in France. Great is the suffering of the Egyptians, a suffering all the bitterer because it comes from France. For France has wantonly destroyed through the hands of M. Delcasse an

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admirable work which had taken her a century to build up and the destruction of which has proved as fatal to our interests as to those of Egypt.

A last crime remains for us to commit, a crime to which England wishes to drive us; it is the crime of destroying the capitulations and the mixed tribunal so that we are becoming even more hateful to the Egyptians and to the European settlers in Egypt than the English themselves. To be sure, a secular codification of interest may require necessary revisions, but rivision is one thing and destruction another. Let us not commit this crime towards Egypt, but let us rather account for the fact why since the moment we surrendered the valley of the Nile to England, difficulties are pouring down upon us and have just commenced in Morocco. Since 1882, our governors, one after another, seemed to have exerted themselves to support all that the English have planned in the shape of useful reforms like the abolition of forced labour, etc., etc., and to lend them our most active co-operation, while they were fixing the chains to Egypt. From year to year all the instructions given to our ministers have been against the interests of Egypt and against those of our own. It will not be difficult to recollect these instructions.

We who possess Algeria and Tunis have been guilty of an irreparable mistake in handing over a Moslem country to England. Come what may, we cannot but be accused by our Mohammedan subjects of being the cause of the sufferings and servitude of their co-religionists in Egypt, or if England treat the Egyptians better than we treat the Algerians and Tunisians, of running the risk of adding to the power of the propaganda which England has among them. Our famous peaceful penetration into Morocco, had but one possibility of success : namely, by gaining for us confidence in Egypt. It is through the Egyptian Moslems alone that we could attract to ourselves the Moslems of Morocco and turn them into friends and allies and not objects of exploitation. The whole of the Moslem world receives the impulse of its ideas at the University of El-Azhar in Cairo. More than 1200 students are initiated there in Moslem learning and it is from that centre that thousands of Doctors come out and spread themselves throughout all Moslemdom.

One of the most Machiavellian combinations of England has been to have compelled us to deliver Egypt up to her, and to mark us out by this act as the worst enemies of Islam, and to offer us in return for the treachery towards the Egyptian Moslems a means of achieving a peaceful influence over the Moslems of Morocco.

At present what have we done? With the object of making some Moslems accessible and favourable to us, we have betrayed and surrendered other Moslems. For the purpose of supporting more than hazardous interests, we have given up interests that were sure. Is all this not senseless, incomprehensible, inexplicable, unless you boldly pronounce the word which is uppermost in your mind? . . . .

It has appeared to me that it was useful to our countrymen to acquaint them with the first patriotic personality of Islam and to show them what argument Moustafa Kamel uses to awaken the national sentiments of his race and to shake off the torpor into which it has fallen.

His confidence in the final outcome of his preachings is implicit. Nothing can cool down his ardour or shake his faith in the future, be it envy, intrigue, persecution, weakness or treachery. At the present time there subsist between him and the Egyptians ties which cannot be broken. Egypt understands that she lives in that soul in all its entirety. If he has found admirers only among those who have been crushed by the first loads of the Occupation, he has gained disciples and continuators of his work among the generation to which he belongs and the one which is being educated and is gaining consciousness for the rights of Egypt and her people.

As for me who have seen Egypt and believe that I have understood it, who love and admire it, I have firm faith in its national fecundity, which is imperishable and eternal, like her monuments—fecundity which is ready to manifest itself under the cultivation of her patriots, just as we see in a few weeks the fruitfulness of her land bursting forth under the plough of her fellahs.

THE DAIRY INDUSTRY IN THE UNITED PROVINCES

INDIA being an agricultural country, the dairy industry, which is connected with agriculture, is carried on in almost every village and town from time immemorial; but dairying on the improved European system is of very recent growth. Speaking generally, the native method of treating the milk for making ghi, which is more commonly used than any other dairy product, is first to boil it for the purpose of purifying it. Then sour curd is added and the milk is allowed to stand for twelve hours at least before it is churned. Warm water is then added and when the butter begins to break, cold water is added. The butter is then gathered and is put into a vessel and boiled over the fire until the water is evaporated and the curd is deposited at the bottom of the vessel; but care is exercised at the last stage, as, if the deposited curd is allowed to burn at all, the ghi would be spoilt. This system of first boiling the milk to purify it and then to artificially sour it with curd is quite on a par with the best European modern system and secures a maximum yield of butter from the milk provided the boiling process is not continued too long. The weak point in it is that the milk after being so treated becomes butter milk and is of a low value for sale. In ghi-making we get only two products of the milk, *viz.*, ghi and *mattha*. According to the improved European methods, the cream which the separator takes out of the milk contains all the ghi

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and the separated milk contains all that is required for drinking purposes and for use in making curds and cheeses and also sweetmeats. The cream being only about a twelfth part of the whole not only reduces the labour in dealing with it but reduces the cost of fuel in making the ghi. The milk being taken away reduces the curd in the ghi and thus improves the quality. Under the ordinary system of dairying and the treatment of milk it is difficult to manage any quantity of milk in the hot season, but by means of the separator the difficulties are at once overcome; the cream being taken away from the milk as soon as it comes from the cattle, places the products absolutely under control. The cream can be kept and ripened for butter and ghi-making and the separated milk is suitable for drinking purposes.

Dairying has recently assumed a very important place in all Western countries; and the measures which were taken by Government with a view to improve the dairy industry in this country were briefly these. In 1889 at the suggestion of the Government of Bombay the Dairy Supply Company sent Mr. Howman to India to make enquiries into the dairy industry, to ascertain by trials whether the cream separator was needed in India and whether it could be profitably utilized in the manufacture of ghi. After an extended tour in several provinces and after having made various trials he reported in favour of the adoption of the separator. On his leaving the country the services of his assistant, Mr. E. Keventer, were retained by the Bombay Government with a view to organize improved dairy arrangements in that Presidency. In 1891 the Government of these provinces secured the services of Mr. Keventer. He at first commenced his work at Cherat, four miles from Aligarh, where a number of cattle belonging to the Agricultural Department were kept on an *usar* reserve and where dairy operations on a small scale had already begun. By the beginning of the cold weather public interest in the dairy began to be awakened and the demand for butter increased steadily. It then became necessary to purchase milk from the *Ahirs* in neighbouring villages. Next year, in 1892, a dairy was started at Lucknow in connection with the jail and the necessary cattle were purchased from Hissar, Batesar, Muttra and Etawah, where good milch cows and buffaloes are procurable. The experiments made by Mr. Keventer both at Aligarh and Lucknow showed that good butter can be made at all seasons of the year, that it can be transported fresh to considerable distances even in the hottest weather and that it could command a remunerative price. In Aligarh the amount of milk required to produce one lb of butter was 18·48 lbs. In Lucknow the proportion of butter to milk was 1 lb of butter to 15·16 lbs of milk. The difference is due to the fact that at Aligarh the milk was chiefly bought; at Lucknow it was all the produce of the dairy cattle. The analyses of the butter from Lucknow and Aligarh showed it to be excellent both as regards aroma and keeping qualities. A quantitative experiment was carried on at Aligarh to compare the amount of butter obtained by the European and native methods, respectively. The results were as follows:—With European appliances 74 lbs cows' milk gave 3lb 6¼ oz. butter or 1 lb of butter from 21·72 lbs of milk. So again 43 lbs of buffalo's milk gave 3 lbs. 1 oz. of butter or a ratio of 1 : 14·29. With native appliances 37 lbs. of cow's milk gave 1 lb. 7 oz. of butter or a ratio of 1 : 25·74 and 11 lbs. 12 oz. of buffalo milk gave 10¾ oz. of butter or a ratio of 1 : 17·49. Thus by means of the European methods a larger outturn of butter was obtained both from cows' and buffaloes' milk. These butters were each analysed by the Chemical Examiner and the result showed that the quality of the butter made by European methods was distinctly superior. It contained considerably less water and curd than that obtained by native methods. Owing to climatic conditions, which in India differ so much from those in Europe, the experiments with cheese were not attended with quite the same success as the other dairy operations. At Aligarh the skim or separated milk was nearly unsaleable and most of it was fed to the cattle: but in Lucknow when the dairy got better known purchasers for this milk were found and the supply was insufficient to meet the demand. Mr. Keventer was much impressed with the necessity for the more careful selection and breeding of milch cattle and for the growing of the best fodder crops. Cows and buffaloes are unable to produce milk on the scanty and dry food they are commonly fed with, but if properly fed with green crops the outturn of milk increases. The dairy at the Lucknow jail was subsequently closed on the representation of the Inspector General of Prisons and that at Aligarh was later on sold to Mr. Keventer, as its continuance under Government management would have interfered with private enterprise.

The success of Mr. Keventer's experiments did much to stimulate dairying on the improved system and dairy farms were started by military authorities in several cantonment stations. Owing, however, to the distance from Aligarh station the situation of the dairy at Cherat was not convenient for private persons who desired instruction in butter-making. Still several apprentices visited the dairy to learn the method of working, which resulted in the opening of private dairies in places. In Aligarh there are two or three small dairies which make butter on the improved system, but which depend for their supply of milk on neighbouring villages. Here in Lucknow we have two good private dairies, the Diamond Dairy and the Star Dairy. The development in these provinces of this industry according to the improved system has nevertheless been rather slow and in his University Convocation address of 1903 Sir James La Touche had to refer to the subject thus:—

"Of all these the most hopeful perhaps for this province are the industries connected with agriculture. It has always been a regret to me that a successful industry like that of the farm for dairy produce in this station and in Aligarh has not been taken up by the people of this province. There is an unlimited demand for ghi and other dairy produce. The process of manufacture is capable of immense improvement; the study of suitable fodder plants has great economic value but modern science is of no avail unless there is an industry to which it can be applied."

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The demand for good dairy products is daily increasing. In larger towns it is now practically impossible to ensure a supply of pure milk. The stalls where cows and buffaloes are kept by *Ahirs* and *Ghosis* are always saturated with the manurial matter; in the rainy season they become quagmires. The supply of milk from such places is a fruitful source of diseases to those who drink it. All the larger towns should therefore have one or two good dairies managed by private persons on the improved system. If they can work successfully at Lucknow, where there is also a dairy farm worked by the military authorities, there seems no reason why they should not work profitably in other large stations also. Good butter is sold at the rate of 12 to 14 annas per pound; and the margin of profit in making it is greater than in ghi which is usually sold at eight annas per pound. At the outset about Rs. 5,000 are enough for the purchase of cows, buffaloes and dairy appliances and for making sheds. If a regular supply of good milk can be arranged from neighbouring villages small dairies for butter making can profitably be worked on a much less initial cost. No difficulty is ever felt in disposing of the dairy products. Ghi, butter, cream and milk, whether whole or separated, are readily sold locally in all the seasons of the year and in the cold weather butter can be sent to distant places like Calcutta and Bombay where it is in good demand.

The case of ghi requires some special notice. It is one of the chief articles of export from these provinces. Ordinarily its annual exports amount to about 2½ lakhs of maunds, the value of which at Rs. 40 per maund comes to one crore of rupees. Its consumption inside the province is much larger. The manufacture of ghi is carried on in almost every village according to the system already described. In Rohilkhand and Oudh the produce is just enough for local requirements; but in Meerut, Agra and Allahabad divisions, specially the four Bundelkhand districts of Banda, Hamirpur, Jhansi and Jalaun, the industry is important and the exports of ghi are chiefly drawn from these tracts. Calcutta takes about 1¾ lakhs of maunds a year partly for local consumption and partly for re-export to Burma and other countries; the rest goes to Bombay and other places. The question of the supply of pure ghi in larger towns is more pressing than that of milk, as ghi is more commonly used. The ghi which is offered for sale in the bazars is of very poor quality, being adulterated with fat and vegetable oils. If in the larger towns shops were opened for the sale of pure ghi they would be welcomed by the public and if they were worked on an organised scale the export trade also might be stimulated. No risk whatever is involved in this trade and as the price of ghi does not much fluctuate, a moderate amount of profit can always be secured.

SYED HOSSAIN,
Department of Land Records and Agriculture, U. P.

CIVIC ELEMENTS IN INDIAN LIFE

THE essential condition for the development of a strong civic spirit lies in the maintenance of the communal life and consciousness, and this condition is fulfilled nowhere else in the world as it is in oriental countries. This is to a certain extent the result of climate. Life, in the clear air and under the cloudless skies of India, is necessarily passed much in the open air. That the street is a kind of club, the very architecture, with its verandahs and stone couches, bears mute witness. The family-homes stand ranged behind the great open-air *salon*,* like a row of convent-cells, for the stricter members of the choir. Sometimes there are added evidences of the larger social grouping visible to the eye. Bhubaneswar has its great tree in the midst of the parting of three roads, and at any hour one may see there knots of talkers of one sort or another, seated at ease beneath it.† Conjeeveram is like a city out of the old Greek or Assyrian world, so wide is the roadway that leads to the temple-entrance, and so splendid the arch that spans it just before, eloquent, both, of communal worship and rejoicing. Nor are women in India altogether without their civic centres and gathering-places, though these are necessarily concerned chiefly with the bathing-ghat, the temple, and the well.

Such meetings, however, of the inhabitants of a single street, or the members of either sex, amongst themselves, are not in strictness reunions of the highest civic order. They serve indeed to keep before the mind of each member of the community that social unit which transcends the family. But that unit is still simplified by adhesion to a single religious

* *Salon*—French for drawing-room, *boithak-khanâ*.

† This is the case with almost all rural towns and villages.—*Ed., M. R.*

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doctrine or a single body of custom. It is thus communal or parochial,* rather than civic. It is after all, intellectually speaking, but as an assembly within the village. Now a city is made up of men and families from a thousand villages, and they are by no means of one faith alone, or even of one nationality. How complex is the typical city, we may be better able to judge, if we recall for a moment some of its more primitive examples. They stand always, as Kropotkin points out, at the crossings of the great highways. To see this, we have only to look at Benares, at Allahabad, at Babylon. To this day, all the railroads in India centre at Delhi.

The ideal city, then, is the meeting-place of shepherd and peasant, of merchant and artificer, of priest and pilgrim, of court and camp. It is the centre towards which converge streams that rise in all the quarters of the globe. It is a marketplace and an exchange, a focus of wealth and industry, a hall of international council, and the quadrangle of a world-university. Babylon,—set on the great river that flows north and south, midway between Persepolis and Thebes, with her highways running to Damascus and Baalbek, to Arabia, and even to distant China,—forms a supreme example of the civic complexity. But Taxila must once have curiously resembled her, and ancient Thaneswar, and glorious Pataliputra.

The fractional unit, then, is not the civic unity. The "quarter" is not the city. Yet it is, as we know it in India, a marvellously enduring fragment of an old-time unity, which carries with it, if we have eyes to read, a code of civic honour and a habit of civic fraternity. The village is a larger family, and a smaller city, and nothing can be more significant than the forms which its communal activity takes in India. The portion of the field that belonged to the Brahman was tilled for him. The widow's digging was done by her neighbours. The schoolmaster and his wife were maintained by gifts. It is learning, we note, and the spiritual power, for whose maintenance the community concentrates its energy. To this day, there is no village in India, however poor, that will ask a stranger to visit it, in the capacity of teacher or thinker, without paying every expense of conveyance to and fro, in addition to the outlay incidental to the presence of a visitor. We have here the evidence of a vast civic culture, deeply-rooted in historic habits.

* How instructive is the comparison between the English word *parish* and the Bengali *para*!

The same truth is impressed upon us in another way, by the ease with which Indian towns exert themselves to show civic hospitality. Here we have substantial earnest of the readiness to enter into larger organisation. There is no Hindu township that would present an address of welcome to a distinguished guest without the inclusion of Mohammedan names. Similarly, the Mohammedan district will make no representative deputation unless the Hindu residents of good standing are also to be found upon it. India is supposed to be sectarian, but no one ever heard of the members of one sect trying to exclude those of another from collective action! In such mutual courtesy and recognition, we have the largest possible basis for civic self-realisation of the highest order. It is by the study and understanding of our own cities, and their institutions, it must be remembered, that we shall be able to develop and build up our civic sense.

It has been said that the whole demand of citizenship lies in the claim that all the work of the city should be done by the people of the city. This is, as I cannot help thinking, but a defective summary of the duties of citizens. Surely they ought to rejoice together! Unless they meet now and then, indeed, with conscious thought of the one bond that securely unites them, amidst all their apparent diversities, the very spirit of citizenship will be likely to depart altogether, and leave them sundered. And this thought of kinship must be expressed in festivity. It has ever been in the history of man, that the realising of social unity found expression in joy.

This is the feeling that speaks in every triumphal arch that ends a village-road, and crowns a bathing-ghat, on the banks of the Ganges. This is the feeling that our fathers knew, when they instituted the practice of procession. Over and over again, in the Rig-Veda, the earth is referred to as "the sacrifice" round which the path of light makes a priestly circle, in the course of the year. It is one of the most beautiful and vigorous of similes. That of Auguste Comte which may be freely translated "The Earth itself is but the largest image, and space about it the infinite altar," sounds almost like an echo of the Vedic metaphor. But it reminds us of the beautiful procession of the images which are so characteristic a feature of life in Indian towns. As the light encirles the earth, so verily do these ceremonial pilgrimages girdle our boroughs and villages, nay, it is not only the worshipper of Saraswati or the commemorator of Mohurrum, who makes the circumambulation

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of the communal home. The whole Indian idea of enjoyment is communal, and even at a marriage, processions form the typical delight.

Let us not forget that at the heart of the circle lies the sacred object. Already there are rising amongst us, hereafter to be multiplied in number and deepened in significance, those other processions, symbolic of the idea of city and nationality. Already it is no uncommon thing to see the streets and lanes of a Hindu town filled with its singing boys who, carrying banners and instruments, are chanting prayers to no god or goddess, but intoning the sacred address to the Mother-land "Bande Mataram." Let us all remember as we watch them, that the city about which they march is the symbol of the nationality, that in her is the throne of the Mother Herself. The future will see more and more of these hymns and poems of place. It was a Mahommedan who composed that Ascription to the Ganges that every Hindu child in Bengal learns in babyhood. In doing so, he was the forerunner of a new era in literature. Even now we are only on the threshold of that great age. But many who are young to-day will not have grown old before these things shall come to pass. To Indian hearts, Hindu and Mahommedan alike, high caste and lowly-born, woman and man, there will be no symbol so holy as, firstly, their mother-land, and secondly, their city. The civic life will offer a conception as clear as that of family and home. The duties of citizenship will seem not less precious than those of *jât* and *samaj*. And the worship of place and sense of civic honour, dignity, and happiness will bear their flowers in each individual soul.

AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENTS IN THE UNITED PROVINCES

THE bulk of the people of India belong to the agricultural class. In these provinces this class forms quite two-thirds of the entire population. Agriculture here is the chief source of the wealth of the people and the revenue of the Government. And yet until a comparatively recent date there was practically no Imperial or Provincial department of Agriculture worthy of the name.

It was not until the great famine of 1877 that a beginning was made on the report of the Famine Commission with what has since been styled the Department of Land Records and Agriculture, of which even the name suggests that Agriculture formed merely a secondary object.

The idea of an Experimental Farm at Cawnpore had been conceived by the late Sir John Strachey in 1874, but it was Mr. (now Sir Bampfylde) Fuller, who as an Assistant Director of the Department actually started the Farm in 1881, with a small workshop for making and repairing agricultural implements and a seed store, and worked hard to give it a firm foundation. To this the Department subsequently added a staff of trained well-sinkers available to the public at a fixed salary and also a branch for cattle-breeding. In the early nineties a small Agricultural School was also opened at Cawnpore, of which the main object was to train candidates for the post of Kanungos, and about the same period occasional bulletins in English and a monthly journal in Urdu called *Mufeed-ul-mazareen* began to be published by the Department for the dissemination of useful agricultural information and Agricultural Shows and Demonstrations began to be held. But until the beginning of the present century, the Department did not find much scope for development and the work was done only on a small scale owing chiefly to the small funds provided for it and the comparatively little interest which the Imperial and Local Governments evinced in the matter.

Happily since the last few years a better state of things has come into existence. Although the divorce of the Department of Agriculture from that of Land Records, which our representative, the Honou,rable Babu Sri Ram, pressed in the Imperial Council has not yet been made in form and the two Departments are still united, the principle has been adopted, and an officer of the Indian Civil Service has recently been appointed as a Deputy Director, to relieve the Director of Land Record's work, and the latter is now practically a whole-time Director of Agriculture. A scheme has been sanctioned under which a central institution for scientific research and for education has been established at Cawnpore by converting the Agricultural school of that place into a college, and local organizations for Agricultural investigations and for assistance to the public have been started at various places and more are to be started at others.

The college, which was started last year, has a three years' course to give instructions in the theory and practice of agriculture as well as in several branches of science, such as physics, chemistry, botany, entomology, zoology and agricultural engineering, in so far as they are required for the purposes of agriculture, besides other useful subjects. The object of the education given in the college is mainly threefold, *viz.*, (1) to train candidates for the revenue service of the

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Government among whom a knowledge of the agricultural conditions is very desirable, (2) to train candidates for the staff of the Agricultural Department without which its proper development is impossible and (3) to train young men chiefly of the landholding classes to be qualified to act as land agents to the Court of Wards and the Zemindars, or to carry on the profession of farming.

European specialists are being appointed, under whose direction and supervision Indian professors will carry on the teaching, while the former will devote the greater part of their time to the work of scientific enquiry and research into the agricultural problems specially concerning these provinces. To enable this to be properly done well-equipped laboratories are being attached to the agricultural college.

Turning to the local organizations we find many forms in which the activities of the Department are displayed. The most important of these is the multiplication of Agricultural Stations with experimental farms, one or more of which it is proposed to establish in each distinct region of these provinces for purposes which may be classified under four heads: (1) to make a detailed study of the agricultural conditions and difficulties of each region, (2) to spread the knowledge of successful investigations by demonstrating the value of ascertained improvements, (3) to supply by sale or loan, the best available seeds and the most improved agricultural implements to the public and (4) to give advice and information to all applicants, whether tenants or landholders.

It is at present proposed to have ten such agricultural stations in these provinces. The Farm at Cawnpur had already existed since a quarter of a century. Commencement was made with another, the Orai Farm (in Jalaun) in June 1905, and within a year after that the Partabgarh and Aligarh Farms were started. Last year sites were also acquired for a Farm at Banda and another at Benares. The Government contemplates to place these agricultural stations under trained expert supervision of four Superintendents of Farms who should all be Indians in future though at present this is not considered possible owing to the lack of so many properly qualified men in these provinces.

The important work of the supply of seeds and agricultural implements from the agricultural stations is increasing and may soon become difficult to cope with. Already arrangements have been made to establish other centres and private agencies to distribute them in view of the growing wants of the public. Particular interest is taken with regard to seeds and last year credit sales of the Department @ 25 per cent. interest rose from 2,000 to 10,000 maunds. The Government is also encouraging the formation of co-operative seed societies, of which 10 are now in existence, 7 of which buy their seeds from the Agricultural Department.

As to the work of giving advice and information to the public, reference may be made to the fact that correspondence is freely exchanged between the different agricultural stations and private gentlemen and encouragement is given to private persons to carry on their farming on the improved lines which experience has approved, and at present six farms are working in consultation with the department, *viz.*,

(1) Meerut Farm of Sheikh Wahiduddin.

(2) Jatau (Agra) Farm of Kunwar Dhianpal Singh.

(3) Kharauli (Meerut) Farm of Babu Jagannath Prasad, a diploma-holder of Cawnpore Agricultural School.

(4) Ghazibad (Meerut) Farm of Babu Ram Chandra Gupta, another diploma-holder of the same school, the leading feature of which is the free teaching in agriculture given to sons of agriculturists.

(5) Tajpur (Bijnor) Farm of Kunwar Sheonath Singh.

(6) Samrauta (Rai Bareli) Farm of Raja Chandrachur Singh.

In this connection I might mention that as a means of giving information to the public, the system of issuing Bulletins, of publishing the vernacular Agricultural Journal, *Mufeed-ul-mazaeen*, of which 1,000 copies were sold last year, of holding agricultural shows, and demonstrations, particularly Sugar Demonstrations, has been kept up with earnestness and even improved.

Another form of local organisation now being developed is the scheme to attach to each Tahsil where there is a demand, a specially trained well-sinking staff available to the public at fixed rates to render assistance in locating sites for new spring wells by making trial borings, and in rendering existing spring wells more efficient by boring to a lower spring in a cheap and effective way. A well survey of the whole Province, village by village, has been accomplished to ascertain what villages require more wells, where *Kacha* wells serve the purpose, where masonry wells are needed and what are the reasons for want of masonry wells in those places, whether the opposition, apathy or poverty of the landholder or the great depth of the spring levels or other engineering difficulty. This well survey will greatly assist the Government in the encouragement and assistance which is now proposed to be given to the increase of well-irrigation in the Province as a measure of protection against drought.

Up to this time 26 districts which urgently required it have been supplied each with a district staff of well-sinkers. As more men are trained and as the demand grows, the full scheme will be gradually worked out.

Still another form of local organization which is being developed under the Civil Veterinary Department is a system of veterinary establishments to deal with outbreaks of cattle disease and depôts for rearing and supplying bulls in tracts where facilities for breeding exist.

For all these improvements we must acknowledge our gratitude to Government. And first of all, our

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thanks are due to the Local Government and the Provincial Department of Agriculture which have laboured from the beginning in initiating and keeping up and improving the various forms of their activities for the promotion of Agriculture, in spite of the small funds placed at their disposal for the purpose. In the next place, we must thank the Government of Lord Curzon whose interest in Agriculture and whose energy and comparative generosity, which I would take leave here briefly to detail, has rendered the re-organisation of the Agricultural Department on a large scale possible, and we cannot but associate with him in this matter the late Sir Denzil Ibbetson, his Secretary in the Revenue Department.

As I have already stated, before the time of Lord Curzon very little interest was taken by the Government of India in the development of Agriculture and very little money was allotted for that purpose. In 1901, for the first time an expert head under the title of Inspector-General of Agriculture was appointed to the Imperial Agricultural Department, and since then both the Imperial and Provincial Departments have been gradually strengthened by the appointment of experts in different branches. In 1903, the scheme of the Pusa Institute of Agriculture was sketched by the late Sir Denzil Ibbetson and it has since been inaugurated and an Advisory Board of Agriculture has been constituted upon which both Imperial and Provincial officers are represented. The advance made in the development of the Agricultural Department since 1903 was most remarkable : in the Imperial Department the expenditure actually doubled itself in three years from about 10 lakhs per annum in 1903 to about 20 lakhs per annum in 1906.

But so far as our Provincial improvements are concerned the most remarkable step taken was in March 1905, when in the Budget Statement of the Government of India the substantial sum of 20 lakhs per annum was allotted for a scheme of Agricultural research, experiment, and instruction to be undertaken by Local Governments.

Now mark the rapidity with which this scheme was pushed through. In the very next month (April 1905) the late Sir Denzil Ibbetson on behalf of the Government of India called for an early report of the manner in which Provincial Governments desired to develop their Agricultural Departments. Sir James La Touche submitted in May a scheme of development prepared by our Director, Mr. Moreland, and this scheme, with certain reservations, was sanctioned in July by the Government of India which in August made a grant of 3 lakhs to meet the expenditure of the then current financial year in connection with it. In September 1905 the Resolution of the Local Government announcing the scheme to the public was published and since then its development has proceeded apace on the lines which I have explained above. There is, however, still a great lack of qualified Indians both for the superior and the subordinate staff of the Department which is hampering its more speedy realisation, but it is hoped that the Cawnpore Agricultural College and the existing and proposed Agricultural stations will be able to educate and train such men before long.

I think I have said enough to explain the first part of my motion. The second part suggests an addition to the scheme sanctioned by Government, which I have no doubt will commend itself to you as well as to the Government without the need of much reasoning and persuasion. The full benefit of Agricultural Stations cannot be realised, unless the experiments carried on there and their results as well as the lessons to be learned from the attached demonstration farms are orally explained in a fixed regular manner to those who attend to learn them and at the same time some primary agricultural education is given there in the vernacular in order to enable them better to profit by those lessons. It seems that our Director of Agriculture is himself alive to the advantages of such an addition, for in his last report he notices with approval the attempts made by private farms in this direction.

I must now address myself to the third part of the motion, and here I am rather sorry that the wording of the Resolution is limited. I should like to explain briefly what the people themselves should do to improve the condition of our Agriculturists, while as it stands, it merely affirms one of these things to be undertaken by a particular class.

The distribution of good seeds and improved implements as well as the demonstration of the value of ascertained agricultural improvements are duties in which the public should come to the assistance of the Government. What is at present required is co-operative seed societies or seed depôts for seeds, and private agencies and, if possible, private factories for implements, distributed largely throughout the Provinces, where the cultivators could purchase or borrow them and also a separate organization to induce the ignorant cultivators to try the new seeds and implements. The enlightened and well-to-do zamindars could assist very largely in this way as well as by opening or continuing their private farms on improved methods that Government experience has proved successful, thereby setting an example to their tenants. Educated and enlightened gentlemen, who are not zamindars, could assist by exercising such influence as they possess over the zamindars, to prompt them to action, and by encouraging and if possible joining the organizations to which I have referred.

For the prosperity of the Agricultural Classes enormous possibilities exist in these matters. As an illustration, I may refer to Muzaffarnagar wheat. It has been demonstrated that if good seeds of this variety are sown in Oudh in place of the ordinary seeds used here, and at the harvest time the price of wheat is 16 seers for a rupee, the increase in the quantity and the quality of the crop, under ordinary circumstances, would be such as to produce an extra profit of Rs. 8 per acre to the cultivator. Now in Oudh 20 lakhs of acres of wheat are ordinarily sown and thus simple arithmetic would tell us that if all Oudh cultivators were induced to sow only Muzaffarnagar seeds in their wheat fields, they would be richer by

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one crore and sixty lakhs each year. Is this figure not astounding? And yet what notice has been taken of the publication of the results of the experiment on Muzaffarnagar wheat by the general public? It is a great pity, really a shame, that while a foreign Government is doing so much the public should be doing so little in a matter of such paramount importance as Agriculture. I cannot refrain from stating, though I assure you that I do so without meaning any offence to any person or to any party or class, that the attention of the public seems to me to be distracted by other more exciting, but less profitable topics, and our leaders and their subordinate workers have not sufficient time and energy left to spare for the unfortunate agriculturist.

ZAHUR AHMAD.

A MUSLIM HEROINE

A WARDEN OF THE MARCHES.

A NOBLE Persian family of Yezd took refuge in India early in the seventeenth century and rose to high distinction in the service of the Mughal Emperors. One grandson was Paymaster under Shah Jahan, and another named Khalilullah Khan was a provincial governor and married a niece of the Empress Mumtaz Mahal. Their son Amir Khan was a noble of the first rank in the reign of Aurangzib and governed Afghanistan for 22 years with remarkable success and reputation.

He acquired his knowledge of mountaineers and hill-fighting by acting as the military commander of the Jummu hills and afterwards leading a punitive expedition against the Yusufzai Afghans of Shahbazgarhi (near Langarkot), whose villages he destroyed and whose cattle he drove away with great ability and firmness. Even when posted in Bihar as Governor, he was not rid of the Afghans; there was a colony of these turbulent men in Shah-jahanpur and Kant-golah, who rebelled and were defeated and captured by Amir Khan.

After these preparatory experiences came the great opportunity of his life; in March 1677 he was appointed *subahdar* (viceroy) of Afghanistan and filled the post with undimmed brilliancy till the day of his death, 28th April, 1698.

His first meeting with his new subjects was not a happy one. An Afghan named Aimal Khan had set up as king of the hillmen and struck coins in his own name. The first expedition against the rebels near Lamghanat ended in the rout of the Imperial force. The sword having failed, the new governor took to policy. He engaged himself in winning the hearts of the Afghans with such success that the chiefs of the clans

"left their shy and unsocial manners and began to visit him without any suspicion."

His statesmanship bore such good fruit that

"during his government of 22 years no disaster befell him and no administrative failure or disorder took place. Robbery and oppression were kept down by his firmness and activity. Whatever he planned succeeded; all his desires were fulfilled."

The tribal chiefs became thoroughly obedient to him; every one of them looked up to him for advice in conducting his own affairs. Under his astute guidance they ceased to trouble the Imperial Government and spent their energies in internecine quarrels! His cleverness made him triumph over every difficulty.

Once there was a great gathering of the Afghans under Aimal. There was hardly any tribe that did not join him. Every male fighter in the hills took provisions for a few days and attended the muster. The subahdar's army was too small to encounter a nation in arms. Amir Khan was alarmed, took counsel with a very clever subordinate, Abdullah Khan Kheshgi, and made him write feigned letters to the head of every tribe in the rebel camp, saying,

"We had long been waiting for such a happy event as that the government of the country would pass to the Afghans. Thank God, our long deferred hope is at last being fulfilled. But we do not know the character of your new king. If he is worthy to rule, write, and we shall join you, as service under the Mughals is not to our liking."

The Afghan chieftains highly praised Aimal Khan in their replies. Then Abdullah Khan wrote again,

"All this praise is good no doubt; but is your leader so eminently just as to treat his kinsmen and strangers with impartial equality? Try him by asking him to parcel out among the clans the land already conquered. Then you will find out whether he has any greed or reluctance to be impartial to all."

At this the tribesmen made the proposal to him. Aimal declined saying

"How can a small territory be divided among so many men?"

All was now dissension in the Afghan camp. Many of the hillmen immediately returned

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home in anger. Aimal Khan had at last to make a division of land; but as he naturally showed greater consideration to his own clan and kinsmen, the quarrel broke out afresh. All the other chiefs left him in disgust, and wrote to dissuade Abdullah Khan from joining such a bad king! Surely the policy of *divide et impera* has never triumphed so well in Afghanistan.

A WOMAN WHO RULED THE AFGHANS.

Amir Khan's wife SAHIBJI (=Her Highness) was a daughter of Ali Mardan Khan, a highly gifted Persian, who rose to be the Premier Noble of the Court of Shah Jahan. She was a wonderfully clever and expert woman. In conducting the administration she was her husband's partner. His success in many a difficulty was due to her wise suggestions and business capacity. *She* was the real Governor of Kabul.

One night the Emperor Aurangzib learnt from the report of Kabul the news of Amir Khan's death. Immediately summoning Irshad Khan (who had formerly acted as *Diwan* of Afghanistan), he said in great concern,

"A great difficulty has cropped up. Amir Khan is dead. That province, which is ever ripe for a thousand disturbances and troubles, has now none to govern it. A disaster may happen before the arrival of his successor."

Irshad Khan boldly replied,

"Amir Khan lives. Who calls him dead?"

The Emperor handed him the report from Kabul. The Khan read it and added,

"Yes; but then it is Sahibji who governed and controlled the province. So long as *she* lives your Majesty need not fear any disorder."

The Emperor at once wrote to the lady to guard the province till the arrival of her husband's successor in office, which, however, happened two years afterwards. During this interval she was the sole Governor of Afghanistan, as she had been in all but the name in her husband's lifetime.

Death overtook Amir Khan when he was out among the valleys. If the fact had got wind, the Afghans would have taken heart and massacred his leaderless escort in their narrow defiles. Sahibji with great presence of mind suppressed her grief, concealed his death, dressed a man like Amir Khan, made him sit in a *palki* with glass doors, and thus marched long distances. Every day she inspected the troops and received their salute. It was only after issuing safely from the hills that she went into mourning.

After her husband's death, all the Afghan chieftains sent their relatives to condole with her. She treated them with great respect and sent word to the headmen,

"Take your customary dues. Do not rebel or rob, but remain obedient as before. Otherwise I defy you to a fight.* If I defeat you, my name will remain famous to the end of time."

The headmen out of regard for fair play gave her new promises and assurances of their loyalty and did not break out in lawlessness.

Her courage and presence of mind were as conspicuous in her youth. Years ago at Delhi she was passing by a lane in a *chaudol* (sedan chair). The Emperor's own elephant—the chief of its species—appeared in an infuriated (*mast*) condition before her. Her attendants wanted to turn it back. But the *mahouts* as a class are vicious, and this one was further proud of being the Emperor's own driver. So he urged the elephant rashly onward. Her escort pulled out their arrows from the quiver; but the brute flung its trunk on the *chaudol* to seize and trample it down. The porters dropped it and fled. Quick as thought Sahibji jumped out, ran into a money changer's shop hard by, and shut the door. This was no common feat of agility, as a Muslim noble woman travelling on the public road must have been securely wrapped up like a postal parcel in the rainy season.

She had saved her life, but alas! she had broken *purdah*, an unpardonable offence against Indian etiquette. Amir Khan was angry at her audacity, and for a few days lived in separation from her. Then the Emperor Shah Jahan told him frankly,

"She has played a man's part; she has saved her own and your honour at the same time. If the elephant had seized her and exposed her (bare body) to the public, what privacy would have been left?"

So she was taken back by her husband.

"Bring forth men children only!
For thy undaunted mettle should compose
Nothing but males,—"

Amir Khan might have cried to his heroic wife. But unfortunately she was childless like Lady Macbeth. Her husband in fear of her durst not take another wife, but kept a secret harem and had children by them. At last Sahibji discovered it, but adopted and lovingly brought up her step-sons.

On being relieved of the government of Kabul, she made a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, where she spent large sums in charity and was highly honoured by the Sheriff and other people.†

JADUNATH SARKAR.

* Lit., "here is the ball and here the polo field," *i. e.*, a challenge to a contest.

† The materials of this sketch have been taken from the Persian *Masir-ul-umara*, i., 277—286.

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COMBINATION OF AGRICULTURE WITH MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY

My attention has, during the past two years, been attracted to the great help to improvement of Agriculture which can be effected by combining with it Manufacturing Industry. Rich and well-to-do landholders have been exhorted to open demonstration farms and to adopt up-to-date methods of agriculture in their home-farms. They are good things, no doubt, but mean extended knowledge of those methods and also willingness to spend money without much immediate return, two things which are not by any means to be found in abundance amongst the richest landholders anywhere. It has, however, struck me that the money-making instinct among all rich landholders may induce them, for example, to open small and large factories right in the midst of their tenantry in those products of their lands which can be then and there manufactured into marketable commodities. For example, in the United Provinces, a vast amount of sugarcane is grown and many rich landholders have the command both of the tenantry and the capital to start profitable sugar factories, if they will only be a little enterprising and not lie content and luxurious on the balance received from the rent rolls after payment of the Government demand and the cost of collection. Similarly a vast amount of raw cotton is exported out of the country; a landholder possessing, say, a number of villages can easily command enough produce for a most profitable ginning and spinning and weaving mill, planted right in the midst of the producing fields. Similarly for oilseeds and other agricultural produce.

Such a combination appears to me to be the *immediate need* of our present economic situation. The factories will work profitably and continue to be prosperous with the help of the agricultural produce, simultaneously with improvement in such produce rendered imperative by the necessities of the factories. The profits of agriculture will help the profits of the factory and the losses, if any, in one may be covered by the gains of the other. For instance, better kinds of seeds of cotton, Egyptian or American, will naturally be used for the purpose of finding improved staple for the factory, and must be distributed for cultivation among the tenantry for their benefit as well as to supply one uniform quality to the factory. Thus improvement in both will result and the landholder will be the gainer in many ways out of the combination. The present methods of investment generally adopted by rich landholders is money-lending to their own tenantry or their poorer brethren, or lending to Government by purchase of Government paper. If, however, they adopt this combination, by first ascertaining the kind of agricultural produce available in a given place and then establishing factories for their manufacture into marketable products right in the midst of villages which produce them, they will soon find the immense profits which can be made for themselves as well as the wide openings for work and profit for their tenantry.

And in this vast country of ours we have in different parts of it almost every kind of land capable of producing any and every crop and tree known on this globe. It can be said with confidence that possessing, as we do, the Arctic cold of the Himalayas and the Equatorial heat of the Sahara in Rajputana, no tree or shrub exists in any part of the world but can be grown in some one or other part of the Indian Empire.

Nor can the inhabitants of our country be classed as inferior in intelligence to the denizens of other parts of the world. Thanks to British authority and influence, we have now the liberty and security in engaging in any trade and manufacture we please, even if it were dependent on distant communications and markets. Thanks to the vast system of Post and Telegraph, Roads and Canals, every part of India is easily accessible, and the seaport towns are nearer to us now than a ten mile distant village in the last century.

I advocate the establishment of factories right in the midst of the fields and villages which produce wheat or cotton or oilseed, which the factory is to manufacture; and roads and railways are so plentiful that no difficulty whatever exists for the transportation of the products of the factory to the markets, however distant.

In spite of the efforts made by Government in its agricultural and commercial department by publication of pamphlets and establishment of Agricultural schools and colleges and experimental farms, no visible improvement in our old time-honoured methods of agriculture has resulted, because the landholders and the actual cultivators have not been approached and not been leavened with the new knowledge and experience and enthusiasm. The establishment of such factories in villages is sure to be followed by establishment of practical demonstration farms in the particular produce with which they deal, and will thus provide many an institution where the information collected by Government in the Agricultural and Commercial Department may well fructify to the benefit of both the owner of the factory, the landholder and of the tiller of the soil.

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A writer in the *Indian World* of October 1907, deplores that the great noblemen of Bengal, possessors of immense areas of land and long rent rolls, "evince no practical interest in the improvement of their estates," and advocates "Agricultural Associations" and "introduction of scientific methods of Agriculture" by co-operative bodies scattered all over the country. He portrays vividly how land is diminishing in productive capacity and how immediate efforts should be made by landholders to increase that capacity and says that an increase of 2 annas per bigha in the 916 considerable estates, measuring 40 million acres, will increase the gross annual wealth of Bengal by one and a half crore rupees.

The premier living poet of Bengal in his profoundly thoughtful and statesmanlike address as President of the Pabna Conference, has, the other day, suggested that in order to take advantage of machinery in cultivation and in smaller manufactures, villagers should combine their lands and combine their callings; for example, all cultivating cane or jute should put their lands together, so that machinery imported from their joint funds may be used in their fields, and also to press all their cane-juice, to bale all their jute, together and so on. Weavers may likewise combine in their own villages, and import machinery to suit them, and increased produce of their own labour will result. That is to say, a general spirit of co-operation is advocated.

The idea of establishing factories and mills right in the midst of villages and among the homes of the cultivator and the labourer serves a double purpose, economical and social. The moral and social deterioration of large numbers of working men and women torn from their homes and indiscriminately huddled together round a capitalist's large factory in towns is well known. This could be avoided if such mills and factories were established near the homes of those who produce the raw material and who naturally will be working men in it.

But who is to lead the way? Who has the requisite enterprise and capital and knowledge to show practically what can be done?

I emphatically advocate the combination in one and the same hand of both agriculture and manufacture. And the motive power I claim to be prospects of immediate and large profits. What the writer in the *Indian World* proposes is almost academic and lacks the strong incentive of immediate gain; and I am afraid the poet's idea is almost a dream, for the ignorant and uneducated ryots and weavers and milkmen can hardly be expected to form companies or conjointly work a spinning or dairy factory. On the contrary those who are owners of long rent rolls have the land at their command, which, even if they do not cultivate themselves, may be easily made available for the purposes of their factory which deals with their produce. It is doubtless easier for rich land-owners to start and work such combinations than for poor uneducated ryots.

It may be said that the great majority of our richer land-owners are too satisfied with their wealth to work for new projects, they lack the enterprise and energy which such combinations mean, and the pioneer's work has not been yet commenced.

Well then, it lies with the educated middle class to form the pioneer companies, to work such combinations and to present the object-lesson—required to stimulate our large land-owners into activity. I have during the past two years been trying to work such a company.

In these provinces as well as in Bengal and the Punjab, most of the culturable land is under the plough, and rights have grown up round each field which perhaps it is undesirable to disturb, even if it could be, for the purposes of such a combination. Some large tracts exist in Eastern Bengal and Assam and the Punjab which are at present uninhabited wastes and the cultivation of which, and the establishment of factories in which, means an expenditure of capital and also waiting for many years for any return, quite unsuitable for making a feasible place where to start such a combination. Looking elsewhere in India, we find in the Malwa Territories of His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior a most suitable and convenient country. There large numbers of villages are available on favourable terms to a company whose object is cultivation as well as manufacture. The land is what is known as black cotton soil. There are five large districts of it as big as British Districts, *viz*, Ujjain, Shajapur, Amjhera, Mandsaur, Neemuch and Bhelsa. Except in the southern part of Amjhera, the climate is very good, much better than many parts of Bengal, and less hot than most parts of these Provinces, and in Ujjain and Neemuch the climatic conditions are ideal. There are no extremes of heat and cold and the water everywhere is sweet and wholesome. The nights of Malwa in hot weather are cool and pleasant, and the rainy weather in Malwa, in fact, is colder than the cold of the winter season. Unlike other parts in the plains of this vast country of ours, rainy weather in Malwa, as in Rajputana, is quite enjoyable. There are great rivers in Malwa, the Chambal, the Sipra (the Ganges of the Deccan), the great Kali Sindh, the Betwa, the Parvati, the Vaisali, the Retam, the Bamni; and other streams of smaller dimensions, which however are liable to be dried up if sufficient rain does not fall in season. There are many bends in these rivers which pass hilly and uneven country, admitting of the erection of large lifting machinery for the irrigation of wide expanses of country. In our old books, Malwa is described as full of grain and as never having suffered from famine or scarcity. In point of fertility and resources the land of Malwa is pre-eminent in all India from an agricultural point of view, producing the best wheat, cotton and opium; it requires only a little moisture to grow all sorts of produce, plants, trees, shrubs and grain luxuriantly. Sir William Hunter, in his Gazetteer, says, "Malwa is the richest part of Central India and has never in historical times suffered from famine caused by drought." Lord Curzon, in his speech at the public meeting in

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the Town Hall of Calcutta on the 16th February 1900, to organize charitable relief for famine sufferers, said, "In Central India even fertile Malwa which has *always* been an asylum for famine-stricken wanderers from other parts has itself been stripped bare, etc."

Ujjain is the central part of Malwa and forms the first plateau of the Vindhya Mountains, which run parallel to the Nerbudda, and below 10 to 30 feet of the soil of Malwa exists the Deccan Trap, the hardest rock which holds all the rain water like an underground reservoir and keeps the soil moist, though on the surface it may be hard and dried. Only 26 inches of rain in season is enough to ensure bumper crops.

Such is the land which the severe famines of 1897-98 and 1900-1902 has left badly affected, and there are large numbers of villages which His Highness the Maharaja Sir Madhava Rao Scindia is offering to settlers of education, experience and position on favourable terms, who organize themselves into a co-operative body to combine agriculture with manufacturing industry.

As to communications by rail and *pucca* road, the following lines of railway pass through Malwa :—

1. The G. I. P. Railway from Itarsi *viâ* Bhopal northwards through Bhelsa, Bina, Jhansi and Gwalior to Agra and the north.

2. The Rajputana-Malwa Railway (the B. B. C. I. Railway) from Khandwa *viâ* Indore and Mhow to Fatehabad and Ratlam to Mandsaur and Neemuch and north-westwards to Ajmere.

3. Fatehabad to Ujjain.

4. Bina-Goona Railway.

5. Bhopal-Ujjain Railway.

6. Nagda-Muttra Railway.

As to *pucca* roads there are many already, and His Highness' Roads Department, is actively engaged in adding new ones every year since his accession to full powers, twelve years ago.

His Highness' terms, shortly stated, are that the company will be granted lease for 20 years, the annual lease money being the average of the *annual realizations* to the State during the past five years less 8 per cent. for the first ten years, and 15 per cent. less than the rental for the remaining ten years. The lease is liable to renewal and all buildings of the company will be their permanent property, who will also have power to sub-lease any villages to persons other than His Highness' subjects. Permanent proprietary heritable and transferrable rights will be given on recommendation of the company to individual shareholders.

Now the actual realizations to the State during the past five years have been from 40 to 70 per cent. of the Settlement recorded revenue, so that the margin of profit, to all intents and purposes from the management of villages on a large scale, is almost sure of being large : besides giving the company unlimited scope for extension of cultivation over thousands of acres of good land at a continuous stretch. I have observed the conditions existing in the villages in Malwa and have no doubt that an organised body can engage on these terms in the management of villages alone with the minimum of capital and of chances of loss and have the maximum of probabilities of success and profit. And further many groups of villages exist where wheat and cotton are grown and where ginning mills and flour mills can, with advantage and with every prospect of success, be planted. The shareholders have, *firstly*, the profits from the management of the villages, *secondly*, the profits from the advances made to the tenants in cash and in seed and plough cattle, *thirdly*, the profits from dairy farming, from cattle breeding and other incidental incomes connected with zamindari, and *fourthly*, the profits of mills and factories of their own, with which no other factory or mill will be able to compete, or the company will own both the lands and its own factory and thus have practical command of the supply of raw material, even from neighbouring villages not belonging to it. For example, a cotton mill, not possessing its own villages, has to buy its cotton in the open market, where the supply is usually of different kinds, and sometimes insufficient or not available at proper working time. The company, by advancing one particular kind of seed to its tenantry, may easily obtain, in lieu of its advances and of the rents realizable, cotton of one uniform quality, and may easily regulate the quantities required to proper times of working of the factories and have sufficient material to ensure working for a full period of the season. *Fifthly*, the company, having the command of the villages, can engage in new ventures in cultivation to supply new ventures in manufactures.

These are the prospects in Malwa and the immense opportunities available in that part of our country. Instead of emigrating to ungrateful Transvaal or to inhospitable Canada or Australia, I urge upon the attention of my countrymen the advantages which His Highness the Scindia offers in a salubrious part of our own country.

A corporation has already been formed and has started working by taking possession of 81 villages in the Districts of Mandsaur and Ujjain. People of education from the Berars, from Gujrat, from Bengal and the Punjab and these Provinces already are there, though working individually small tracts without any organization or combination. What is however requisite, to open out the yet vast tracts available, is a strong syndicate possessing skill and knowledge, technical and professional, of all kinds, and experience of the various matters connected with land management and manufactures and machinery, and possessing influence if not vast capital; to fructify, as an object lesson to all India, the idea of *Combination* of agricultural and manufacturing industry, which alone can bring about the economic salvation of our country.

K. P. Bose,
Pleader, Meerut.

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SIR HENRY CRAIK ON EDUCATION IN INDIA

SIR HENRY CRAIK, K.C.B., M.P., lately head of the Scottish Education Department, has been travelling in India, and has recorded his observations in the pages of the 'Scotsman'. In Scotland he has administered an official instruction machine not unlike the kind of thing from which we suffer in India; he is an active member of the Opposition, and in every way a representative Imperialist magnate; and he has visited India with ideas entirely different from those of Mr. Keir Hardie; and so we may expect that his views will at least be considered, where those of avowed Nationalists would not.

Before I proceed to Sir Henry Craik's own words, I shall make some quotations from a letter which Professor Patrick Geddes wrote when calling my attention to his pronouncement. Says Professor Geddes:—

"I should print and circulate, if I were you, this frank confession of the bankruptcy of the official instruction machine, as from *the* man who has passed his life in administering substantially the same sort of thing in Scotland. The one thing I will say in addition is this, don't call this sort of rubbish, this administrative cram, 'Western Education,' any more than you would wish me to call the most mechanical and debased of recorded Oriental drudgeries 'Eastern Art!' Understand it, as the product and residuum of the triumph of an early XIXth century sect of Utilitarians—Futilitarians as we now see them to have been—which we are now all seeking to escape from, this country just as with you.

"Recognize, too, that the trouble is not only with the vested interests of the official class, (which are sure to be protected even in any change), but in the wooden heads, the arrested minds, the incompetent hands, &c., &c., of those who have gone through this machine, whether here or with you in India. It lies in your thousands of barristers and clerks and crammers, who know all the programme of the University of London in its darkest days . . . . but who know nothing of the vital movements in literature, science and art, &c., by which we in some measure here escape or at least mitigate our official oppression, and even begin to modify it.

"In short, then, the strife is *not* between '*Eastern*' and '*Western*' '*Education*' (Instruction, Cram rather) but between *Cram* and *Education*, and for us both alike, in West as in East. It is very hard indeed, upon *your* thousands of graduates to say that they must be considered as lost victims of a mistake, and put aside as useless for practical purposes, save here and there the man who has the will and power to re-educate himself anew from the beginning. But the same is true here at home, and nothing could be more disastrous, I think, than for you in India to give your present Europeanised graduates the re-organizing of things; that would be continuing our mistake, not correcting it. But recover your own arts &c., on one hand, and *utilise also the general Western progress since* the futilitarian doctrinaires and their bureaucratic successors. Learn from France—non-official France, primarily, of course, from America on her non-philistine side, from Germany at her best, (though this is being materialised in most of the universities or elsewhere), from the small countries you as yet practically ignore—Scandinavia, Netherlands, &c., and so on. Don't believe the usual contempt of South American States: they are far more advanced than most Europeans know: in short open yourselves more widely to the Western influence—*similia similibis curantur*."*

I proceed to Sir Henry Craik's own words. He says:—

"We have entered with some confidence upon schemes of Western education, and one is tempted to ask what are the prospects of success, and what has been the actual result. . . A wise observer, of long experience, said to me the other day, 'It would have been a happy thing for India had Macaulay never lived.' Such a heresy will make the orthodox Whig aghast with horror. I would not venture to propound it, but I cannot help recognizing that it has some justification. It is with Macaulay's name that the foundations of our educational system in India are associated. It took its rise at a time when educational ideals found their hopes of realisation in examination and the competitive system, and when no inconvenient doubts existed as to the infallibility of Western methods. We have learned much since then, and above all we have learned to distrust some of the most cherished axioms, and to see that we must follow nature, and not fetter her: that we must adapt ourselves to the material with which we have to deal. We have found that education means something more than imparting information or developing a few intellectual aptitudes, and that, if it is to be effective its chief work must be to build up character. * * *

"But the great work of education in India was taken in hand just when doubts were ignored: when the crude theories which gave us London University of the early Victorian days were in full vogue; and when a South Kensington, with its annual crop of so-called qualified teachers as its crowning result, was looked upon as the main hope of national development. That time has not long passed away but we have safely left it behind us at home. It dominated our scheme for India, and there its bondage is still strong. * * *

* I have only this comment to make on Prof. Geddes' illuminating remarks, that perhaps there *is* somewhat more to be hoped from those graduates who have been through the mill, but do not admire it, than there is from those who still administer it cheerfully and ignore the mother tongue altogether.

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"On most Indian questions I form an opinion with diffidence and express it with hesitation. On the main aspect of the educational question I confess that I feel less hesitation. I have seen much earnest and energetic work, and I am conscious that there is much more that I have not seen. But in thinking that in its main lines *it is hopelessly wrong* I am only repeating the opinion expressed to me universally by all the wisest Anglo-Indians and natives whom I have seen, and impressed on me by my own experience. I can only describe that impression by saying that there is a sort of mildew lying over the work. System, routine and formality rest like shackles over the whole thing. I found handbooks of the modern philosophy of the West in the hands of whole class-rooms of students, who could formally con their teachings, but in whose minds a totally different set of thoughts were implanted by their history and their nature. Theories of political science and of political economy were being inculcated in youths who could deftly apply them to their own purposes, but who were entirely ignorant that the matters which they discussed and the theories which they propounded were not fundamental axioms, but matters on which in Western life a hundred different views were entertained. One of the ablest amongst the educational workers whom I have met told me, with the weariness of misapplied labour, "I have to-day been trying to explain to a class of Hindoo students the meaning of Shelley's *Ode to the Skylark*, and *Silas Marner*. They are prescribed in the University curriculum, and so they must be learned. What good can it do?" Only one answer is possible. In the libraries of the higher schools I constantly found *Tom Brown's School Days*. What meaning can that have for boys who have drunk in with their mother's milk ideas of formal courtesy, of studied respect for age and rank, of a personal dignity dependent on fixed rules which have the force of religion? Do we really imagine that we shall create in them the spirit of the English schoolboy by what they must hold to be a travesty of all the relations of life as these appear to them?

"I am quite aware that there is a good deal of sound technical education being attempted in India, and I am glad to know that some of the ablest of our Indian administrators feel the necessity of more being done in this way. But in many cases I am obliged to confess that *such technical education as I saw was a miserable mockery*, and those who showed it could only say that they had hopeless hindrances—the weight of which I fully admit—to contend against. The system of caste, the habits of the people, their inertness in manual labour, their fixed idea that clerical work has a dignity of its own—all these will take long before they are overcome. But meanwhile we might surely endeavour to link the intellectual training which we give more closely to their life and their traditions, and to abandon the *senseless attempt to turn an Oriental into a bad imitation of a Western mind*. Why should we teach them that education is impossible without acquiring the English language? What can that impress upon them, except that education is useful only to enable them to undertake those administrative duties which are their absorbing ambition? * * *

"If education is to do anything for them it must be by making them cultivated gentlemen, of enlarged views, but not necessarily views out of harmony with their own traditions. As it is, they leave our colleges with only one aim, to become Government officials, and with acquisitions of knowledge that drive them further from their own people, instead of bringing them into closer touch with, and rendering them more fit for, the work which can be discharged by none except themselves. *It is not a triumph for our education—it is, on the contrary, a satire upon it—when we find the sons of leading natives expressly discouraged by their parents from acquiring any knowledge of the vernacular.* Yet instances of this are by no means rare. * * *

"I am quite aware of the immense difficulties of recasting the educational system. But that it requires recasting is the opinion, not of a man here and there, but of every one who is capable of judging. We must free education from the domination of examinations. We must leave greater freedom of choice and of method to separate colleges and schools. We must show the native that education has other aims than to make Babus (!), subordinate officials, and pleaders. We must teach them that there are other spheres of activity for the educated man than the Law Courts and Government appointments. We must abandon the vain dream that we can reproduce the English public school on Indian soil. *We must recognise that it is a mistake to insist that a man shall not be considered to be an educated man unless he can express his knowledge otherwise than in a language which is not his own.* Place no restriction on English as an optional subject, but cease to demand it as the one thing necessary for all."

In the foregoing quotations from Sir Henry Craik's article, the italics are mine. I wish I could hope that his words could be taken to heart by Indian educationalists, European or otherwise. In Europe it is beginning, at last, to be understood, as Professor Geddes suggests, that to be efficient as an educator, the teacher must build according to the constructive ideals of the taught, and upon the sure foundation of existing culture. Yet it is this which Western, and Westernized Indian, educators most persistently ignore in India. Indian literature, history, music, art, philosophy, all these are subordinated to a still rampant Macaulayism, which makes English the medium of instruction, and English culture, or rather so much of it as suffices for professional and utilitarian ends, the one ideal. To merely mention these facts in England provokes a smile at their absurdity, and yet the system goes on day by day, eradicating intelligence and filling half-educated minds with quantities of facts having no relation to their real problems and true interests.

All this must be changed, and all who care for the future of Indian culture, and especially all Indian nationalists (I hope, that is to say, all Indians), must see that it is changed. For otherwise, as Professor Geddes remarks, the mere change from a foreign to an Indian control of Indian education will be of little benefit. The great principle to be remembered

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is, that if modern education is to add anything to the greatness and nobility of the Oriental ideal, it can only be by the fulfilment and not by the rejection of the existing culture. So stated, this may appear to be a truism; but there is no principle more consistently ignored. There is only one possible basis of true education, the basis adopted by Denmark and other of the small countries referred to by Professor Geddes, that is, the development of the people's intelligence through the medium of their own national culture. Thus alone can that character be built up which Sir Henry Craik declares to be the true work of Education. This means that true education in India must in the future, as in the past, be founded on the two great epics that enshrine the national ideals of the characters of men and women; for in India it is only possible to build up character upon a foundation of religious culture. Also, there must be a vital relation between life and education; that can be no true education which makes a man a stranger in his own country, and sets before him an ideal, which he does not in his heart acknowledge. And if all this means that the official instruction machines, the Indian institutions based on their ideal, and the missionary proselytizing mills, alike must go, so be it. Better scrap the whole system and trust to life itself as an education, than go on as we are going now. I have, for example, often said that though I yield to none in a desire for the giving of equal intellectual opportunities to men and to women, yet I cannot pretend to any enthusiasm or excitement upon the subject of the higher education of Indian women at the present time. For if 'higher education' is to mean only the cramming which their brothers get, frankly, they are better without it, the more obviously so as they are not under the same immediate necessity of earning money, and may, therefore, think of education as something to be desired for its own sake.

There is a curious fallacy prevalent, fostered by zenana missionaries, that there is an organised resistance to the education of women in India and the East generally. The facts are very much the reverse. For one thing, India possesses an ancient culture which makes it impossible to judge of education by the mere test of a capacity to read and write. It is this common culture, based on life itself, that explains Robert Knox's comment on the Sinhalese husbandman in the 17th century. There is a Sinhalese proverb that runs 'Take a ploughman from the plough, and wash off his dirt, and he is fit to rule a kingdom.' Says Knox,

"This was spoken of the people...because of the Civility, Understanding, and Gravity of the poorest men among them. Their ordinary *Plowmen* and Husbandmen do speak elegantly, and are full of compliment. And there is no difference between the ability of speech of a *Country-man* and a *Courtier*."

There could hardly be greater things said of a people than these; but I fear they cannot be said of those who have passed through the instruction machines to-day. It is no such thing as this that is taught in the London board schools, and it is no such common culture which compulsory education (of the kind that Government contemplates) will give back to the Indian people.

There are, and have been, many women, and men, too, in India, of whom it could be truly said that they were educated, though they could not read or write; and there are many that can read and write, but are not in any true sense educated.

But it was not to this fact that I referred, when I said that there had been no general resistance to the higher education of women in India; nor did I refer to the existence of women like Bhaskaracharya's famous daughter, Lilavati, or other learned women of the past. I referred on the one hand to the eagerness for education which leads to the acceptance of whatever is offered in that name, from whatsoever ulterior motives; the feeling which in Ceylon makes a Cambridge Local (!) certificate as valuable as a dowry, and leads learned and devout Hindus to send their daughters to mission schools, even though they must learn their own language, literature, and music out of school, and must listen in school to a definite daily quantum of dogma, as a part of their 'education'; and the feeling which leads to the employment of English governesses in the north of India by aristocratic families for the education of their daughters, instead of the Persian duenna who did at least knew something of the traditions and ideals and literature belonging of right to those with whom she was associated. And on the other hand I contrasted with this attitude, the resistance which has been made to the higher education of women in England, for example by medical students and professors who, when mere inertia failed, endeavoured by brutal and disgusting methods to prevent their qualification as doctors; and to the similar resistance which has been made to their entrance into each profession in turn; and to the organized resistance of Englishmen, summed up in the

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contemptuous reference to an educated woman as a 'bluestocking'. And I remembered that to-day in England the older Universities grant no degrees to the women whose examination fees they are glad to pocket; and that to-day in England, a reference to women's suffrage provokes in a parliament of 'gentlemen,' a cynicism and a violence unworthy of barbarians.

I did not, however, when beginning this article, intend to refer at any length to the special subject of the education of women, rather to the principles of education in general, and especially to show that the Early Victorian philistinism and narrowness, Macaulayism, from which we are still suffering in India, are beginning to be things of the past in other countries, and that the ideals of English educators in India are not always admired even by English Imperialists at home. Perhaps another pronouncement, also by an English Imperialist, may be with advantage set beside Sir Henry Craik's. Sir George Birdwood is reported to have said last year, that English education in India

"has destroyed their love of their own literature, the quickening soul of a people, and their delight in their own arts, and, worst of all, their repose in their own traditional and national religion. It has disgusted them with their own homes——their parents, their sisters, their very wives. It has brought discontent into every family so far as its baneful influences have reached."

To this true and scathing criticism, it is needless to add many further words. I will only say that the question of National education is the most important problem to the solution of which Indian Nationalists should direct their energies.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

THE PEOPLE IN ANCIENT INDIA

THE secret of successful Government in Ancient India lay in the perfect confidence which the people had in their king and his ministers, the mutual trust in the good faith of one another, the identity of Government with popular interests, and the united effort of the king and the people to bring about the greatest good of the greatest number. The king existed for the people, and not the people for the king.* The latter sacrificed his interests on the altar of popular good. He never cherished even the remotest idea of having an official majority on his side in his Council; in proof whereof I ask my readers to read the account of its very constitution.† The king generally belonged to the Kshatriya caste, and if he wanted self-aggrandisement, or the aggrandisement of his own caste over the others, he could easily have secured an official majority by appointing a predominating number of Kshatriyas as ministers. But this he never did. Out of the thirty-eight Amatyas or ministers, only eight were Kshatriyas. Nor could it ever be suspected that the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas combined together with a view to constitute an official majority, inasmuch as the number of the former was only four The majority of the ministers were drawn from the Vaisya caste, their number having been twenty-one. Even with the king as President of the Council, and all the ministers belonging to the other castes ranged against their side, they could carry everything before them, if only they chose to do so. But, as a matter of fact, there was no spirit of antagonism at all in the Council, no clashing of interests, nor any discordant note to mar the harmony of feeling among the members. All seemed to be animated by one thought and one desire, *viz*, the consummation of the well-being of the State, and the greatest good of the greatest number. But why, it may be asked, was the number of the *Vaisya* ministers so large in the Council? The answer is short and simple: "Because their stake in the country was great." The Vaisyas represented, as it were, the wealth of the State. They were the merchants of the country—the exporters and importers of goods, by land and sea—the agriculturists,—the financiers of all the arts and industries,—and the keepers of cattle, which, in ancient times, were valued no less than gold and silver, not only by the Indo-Aryans, but also by the other branches of the great Aryan family. It was, therefore,

* अराजके हि लोकेऽस्मिन् सर्व्वतो विद्रुते भयात् ।
रक्षार्थमस्य सर्वस्य राजानमसृजत् प्रभुः ॥ Manu, VII. 3.

† *Vide* my article on "Limited Monarchy in Ancient India" in the October number of the *Modern Review*, Volume II.

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only meet and proper that these Vaisyas should have an adequate representation in the Council of the State. That the Vaisyas were regarded as an influential community is evidenced by the honour in which they were held by the king, and the large number of their representatives in the Council.

Friction between class and class was greatly minimised in Ancient India by the organisation of the caste system, and the assignment of certain definite duties to each caste, which nobody ever thought of usurping. One of the principal duties of the king was to see that the four castes properly discharged their respective duties, and kept themselves confined within their own definite limits. Any transgression made by anybody was visited with condign punishment. The result of this was the maintenance of perfect peace and order in society, and the reign of happiness and contentment all around. There was no competition between caste and caste, no spirit of rivalry, nor any desire on the part of anybody to take an undue advantage over another. Hence there was seldom any necessity for political combinations, popular demonstrations, or show of force. The people seemed wedded to their own avocations, and every one did his best to contribute to the sum total of social and political well-being.

The above picture represents the state of society when the castes were elastic, the three higher castes not removed from one another by any long distance, and intermarriage the order of the day. These three castes and the Sudra caste, formed, as it were, the different limbs of the same social body, each of which performed its legitimate functions in order to keep the social body healthy, vigorous and active. But in course of time the caste rules became rigid, and the fluent mass grew hard and crystallized. Intermarriage came to be interdicted, and social intercourse discountenanced, which resulted in either disjointing the limbs from the main body, or paralysing them to a great extent. Though the Brahmans represented the head of the social body, their control over the limbs became gradually relaxed, and their supremacy had to be bolstered up by artificial methods, *viz.*, a tissue of fictions as to their divine and superior origin and their right to receive the worshipful homage of all the castes. The Mahabharata and the Puranas teem with tales, illustrating the superior origin of the Brahmans, but the very necessity of relating and repeating these tales *ad nauseam* unmistakably points to the danger (which was more than a mere apprehension) of losing their firm hold upon the various limbs. As the codification and the interpretation of the laws of the country, however, were in the hands of the Brahmans, and the rules for the performance of religious rites and ceremonies were dictated by them, Brahmanism succeeded in the long run in maintaining its supremacy in Indo-Aryan Society. But the limbs became more or less disjointed from one another and only somehow kept themselves alive by such sustenance as they could derive individually from the head. The result of all this was a general deterioration of the social body, the growth of innumerable independent caste-republics, the cessation of that healthy and mutual intercourse among the limbs which alone could keep the body growing and vigorous, and the gradual dismemberment of the social organism. Herein lay the germs of decay of the Hindu race, and their ultimate downfall. People gradually ceased to think and act in concert. The ideal of life became narrow and cramped. The broad horizon which was at first conterminous with the State became gradually narrower and narrower until the vision was restricted within the four corners of each of the small caste-republics only. Patriotism also soon came to an end, and nobody cared to take any interest in anything that did not concern him and his community immediately.

A word about the caste-republics would not be out of place here. All the members of a particular caste had, as a rule, equal status, rights and privileges. No distinction was made between the rich and the poor, and the literate and the illiterate. Every member of the caste Panchayat had a voice in its deliberations, and the decision of the Panchayat was final and binding upon all.* To act in contravention of that decision was to incur the displeasure of the Panchayat, and secede from caste. The rebel was completely cut off from all social functions of the caste, and even the other castes never dared invite him to any social functions of their own, for fear of losing the sympathy of his caste-people. For, in spite of the division of the social organism into numberless caste-republics, there was yet the semblance of a body corporate, just as the numerous small kingdoms into which the country was divided, owned allegiance to the Paramount Power, and regarded themselves as parts of the whole.

The various castes that lived in the village formed themselves into a community which

* "Cultivators, traders, herdsmen, money-lenders and artizans have authority to lay down rules and laws, for their respective classes." (*Gautama*, xi, 21, Sacred Books of the East Series, Vol. II, page 237.)

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was known as the Village Community, for the purpose of performing certain common secular and religious duties, which have been extensively dealt with in my article on "Municipal Institutions in Ancient India."*

From the brief account given above of the caste-republics and the village communities, it would appear that the people in Indo-Aryan society developed a right to control the affairs which concerned them immediately, that their spirit was democratic and that they enjoyed more independence in all such affairs than they have ever done under British rule.

Every village had an officer appointed by the king to administer its affairs, to collect revenue, to perform the functions of an arbitrator in village disputes, to protect the interests of the villagers, and in fact, to perform all the duties of a petty administrator. He was assisted in the discharge of his duties by the Village *Panchayat*, whose members represented the interests of the people. This official head of the village was called the *gramik*, *mandal*, *patel* or *mukhya*. He was entitled to receive all the shares of the products of the village, to which the king himself was entitled.† After keeping a certain specified portion of the "revenue" thus collected for self-maintenance in a manner befitting his position as the head of the village, he transmitted the remainder to his immediate superior, who was generally the lord of ten villages. This lord was allowed to appropriate to his own use all the products of one *kula*, or as much land as could be cultivated with the help of two ploughs, each drawn by six oxen, and he again transmitted the revenue collected from the village lords to his own immediate superior who was generally the lord of 20 villages. In this way, the revenue of the country passed from hand to hand till it reached the Royal Treasury, the last lord who paid it directly into the Treasury, being generally the lord of 1,000 villages. There were, of course, superintendents selected by the king from among his *Amatyas* or Ministers, who exercised a general control and supervision over these lords, but there were also secret emissaries to watch the doings of the superintendents themselves, so that the king could keep himself in touch with the actual state of affairs in the provinces, and protect the people from the oppression of greedy and unprincipled officials.‡ The king carried on the Central Government, as I have already pointed out in my article on "Limited Monarchy in Ancient India," § from his capital, assisted by his three councils of *Ritwiks*, *Mantris* and *Amatyas*, the last representing all the principal castes, living probably in the capital town; also by an assembly of courtiers (सभासदः) who were selected from among the people for their high character and sterling virtues; and lastly, by a great Popular Assembly, consisting of the principal village lords, feudatory chiefs, military officers and the principal representatives of the people living in the town and the provinces, whom the king summoned to meet on very important and extraordinary occasions only, as for instance on the occasion of nominating a successor to the throne. We have got a very interesting account of the functions of this great Popular Assembly in Valmiki's *Ramayana*, which we cannot resist the temptation of reproducing here *in extenso*.

The occasion was that of nominating a successor to the throne of the kingdom of Kosala. King Dasaratha, having become old and decrepit, naturally felt a strong desire to nominate and appoint his successor, and retire from public life. Rama was his eldest son, and according to the law of primogeniture which governed succession in almost all the ruling Indo-Aryan families, he would have ascended the throne, as a matter of course, after the death of his father. But Dasaratha was anxious to see him installed on the throne in his own life-time, and herein arose a difficulty. He was afraid of Kaikeyi, the young and beautiful queen, on whom he doted, and whom he would not, for the life of him, displease. Lest she should press on him the nomination and appointment of her own son, Bharata, in preference to Rama, he wanted to attach to the installation of Rama, the character of popular sanction,

* Vide, *Modern Review*, vol. ii, September number.

† यानि राजप्रदेयानि प्रत्यहं ग्रामवासिभिः ।
अन्नपानेन्धनादीनि ग्रामिकस्तान्यवाप्नुयात् ॥ Manu, vii, 18.

‡ दशी कुलन्तु भुञ्जीत विंशी पञ्च कुलानि च ।
ग्रामं ग्रामशताध्यक्षः सहस्राधिपतिः पुरम् ॥
तेषां ग्राम्याणि कार्याणि पृथक्कार्याणि चैव हि ।
राज्ञोऽन्यसचिवः स्निग्धस्तानि पश्येदतन्द्रितः ॥

नगरे नगरे चैकं कुर्यात् सर्वार्थचिन्तकम् ।
उच्चैः स्थानं घोररूपं नक्षत्राणामिव ग्रहम् ॥
स तानानुपरिक्रामेत् सर्वानेव सदा स्वयम् ।
तेषां वृत्तं परिणयेत् सम्यग्राष्ट्रेषु तच्चरैः ॥
राज्ञो हि रक्षाधिकृताः परस्वादायिनः शठाः ।
भृत्या भवन्ति प्रायेण तेभ्योरक्षेदिमाः प्रजाः ॥
Manu, vii, 119-123.

§ Vide *Modern Review*, vol. iii, October number.

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instead of making it a matter of personal choice. Accordingly, he consulted his ministers and summoned the great Popular Assembly which was attended by the lords, nobles, feudatory chiefs, and all representative men of the city and country-towns. The king took his seat in the Assembly-hall, and the lords and representatives also seated themselves according to their rank and order, with their faces turned towards the king.

"Then facing the whole court, that lord of earth, the king, resounding all sides as if with thunder, in a mighty voice, echoing and solemn, and like unto the sounds of a kettle-drum, spake words fraught with welfare and capable of creating high rapture, and worthy of the attention of all. And in tones overflowing with royal signs, and mellifluous, and peerless, and surcharged with the sentiment of surprise, the monarch addressed the princes, saying: 'It is known to ye that the people of the spacious empire now governed by me were governed like unto children by those sovereigns that were my predecessors. Now it is my intention to bring welfare unto this entire earth worthy of being rendered happy, which had been governed by all those sovereigns, Ikshvaku and the rest. Following the path trod by my predecessors, I have, heedless of my own happiness, to the best of my power, always protected the people. And under the shade of the white umbrella, I effecting the good of the entire community, have brought decrepitude upon my body. Having attained an age extending over many thousands of years, and lived for a long period, I desire rest for this decrepit frame. Bearing in the interests of the people the heavy burden of duty incapable of being borne by even those that have controlled their senses, and requiring (in the bearer) right royal qualities, I have become fatigued. I therefore wish for rest, after, in the interests of the subjects, installing my son, with the permission of all these excellent twice-born ones around me. My worthy son, like unto Purandara himself in prowess--Rama, the conqueror of hostile cities, hath been born, endowed with all my virtues. Him, like unto the moon while in conjunction with the Pushya constellation—the foremost of those maintaining righteousness, the chief of men, will I, in the morning, with a delighted heart, install as the heir-apparent* to the throne. And that auspicious elder brother of Lakshmana will make a fit ruler for ye——yea, the very three worlds might consider themselves as having a lord, by possessing him. Through his agency, I shall this day bring about the welfare of the world, and shall renounce my toil by reposing in him the task of government. If what I have devised be meet, and also recommend itself to ye, do ye accord approval to it,—proposing what I am to do besides this, together with the how of effecting it. If I have thought thus, solely because I find delight in it, do ye look about any other way to welfare. Far different is the thought of the dispassionate; and by friction becomes far more efficacious.'

"As the king had said this, the princes exceedingly delighted, seconded him even as peacocks dance at the sight of a mighty mass of clouds showering down rain. Then there arose a pleasant resonance (from the assembly of the potentates); and next from the vast concourse inspired with high rapture, arose an echo generated by their voices, which seemed to shake the earth. Then, being in complete possession of the views of that one (the king), versed in morality and interest, the Brahmans and the principal personages of the army, in company with the citizens and the inhabitants of the provinces, took counsel together, and became unanimous—and having again revolved the matter individually in their mind, spoke unto the aged king, Dasaratha, saying—'O king, being many thousand years old, thou hast become aged. Do thou then install Rama as the heir-apparent to the throne. We wish to behold the exceedingly strong and mighty-armed hero among the Raghus, riding a huge elephant, his countenance underneath an umbrella.' Hearing these welcome words of theirs, the monarch, as if not knowing their minds, asked them,—'Ye have asked for Raghava, soon as ye have heard my speech. This, ye kings (chiefs), raiseth my doubts. Do ye, therefore, speak out your minds truly. Why, while I am righteously governing the earth, do ye wish to see the highly powerful Rama as the heir-apparent?' And those high-souled ones together with the citizens and the inhabitants of the provinces said unto him, 'O King, many are the virtues of thy son, having for their object the welfare of the people. To-day, we will recount unto thee in detail the merits, making even enemies happy, of the meritorious and intelligent (Rama), resembling a celestial. O Monarch, furnished with the choicest qualities, Rama having truth for prowess is like unto Sakra's self; and he towereth above Ikshwaku and all. Rama is the one excellent person among men; and is true and devoted to truth. And in very Rama is established morality with prosperity. Touching the good of the subjects, he is like unto the moon, and in the quality of forgiveness, he is like unto the earth; in intelligence, like unto Vrihaspati; and in prowess like Sachi's lord. He is cognizant of duty, and true in promise,—and honest; and not given to detraction. He is forgiving, and soothing, and sweet-speeched and grateful and of subdued senses. He is pliable to entreaties and staid, and of agreeable carriage, and uncalumniating. Raghava speaketh every one fair, and is of truthful speech. He ministereth unto variously-versed aged Brahmans. It is for this that in this world, his fame and renown and energy go on increasing. He hath mastered all the weapons that are extant among the gods, the Asuras and human beings. He hath performed his ablutions after having acquired learning, and knoweth the Vedas with their branches. And Bharata's elder brother is a proficient in music. He is the abode of all good, and is saintly, and hath conquered his grief and is magnanimous. He is lowly unto those twice-born ones that are worthy and are conversant with morality and interest. And when in company with Sumitra's son, he wendeth to the fight with a view of protecting a city or a province, he cometh not back without conquering the foe. And even as a father enquireth after the welfare of his sons, he, returning from the field on horse or elephant, exhaustively and consecutively enquireth after the weal of the citizens, concerning their sons, or their (sacrificial) fire, or their wives, or their servants, or their disciples. And that tiger-like Rama always asketh the Brahmans: 'Do your disciples tend you,' and the Kshatriyas—'Do your disciples always remain mailed?' When

* Rama was to have been the *de facto* king bearing the burden of the State, while Dasaratha was to remain king only in name during the remaining years of his life.

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calamity befalleth the people, he experienceth excess of sorrow; and on their festal occasions, he rejoiceth even like their own father. He speaketh the truth and is a mighty bowman. He ministereth unto the aged, and hath controlled his senses (passions). He preludes his speech with a smile, and is established in righteousnes with his whole soul. He entirely bringeth about good, and he taketh no delight in bandying words after a quarrel. In reasoning in chain, he is like unto the lord of speech himself. His eye-brows are graceful; and his eyes expansive and coppery; and he is like unto the very Vishnu. Like Kama, he is charming unto all by virtue of his heroism, prowess and might. He is ever engaged in protecting the people: and the desire for the good things of the world cannot perturb his mind. He is capable of bearing the burden even of the three worlds,—what then is this earth? Neither his pleasure nor his displeasure ever goeth for naught. He slayeth those that deserve to be slain; but he is never enraged with those that ought not to be slain (*i. e.* the unoffending);—with whomsoever he is pleased, he bestows wealth upon. In virtue of his self-control and other qualities, dear unto the subjects and capable of exciting the delight of mankind, Rama shineth even like the effulgent sun surrounded by his rays. And even that Rama, crowned with such qualities and having truth for his prowess,—like unto a Lokapala, the earth wisheth to have for her lord. By our good luck it is that thy son hath acquired competence in the task of administration; and also by thy good luck it is that Raghava hath been born, endowed with sonly qualities, like unto Marichi's son Kasyapa. The gods, and the Asuras, and men, the Gandharvas, and the Uragas, and the inhabitants, rural and urban, pray for the strength, health and long life of self-knowing Rama. And whether inmates or outsiders, citizens or natives of the provinces, everyone speaks highly of him. Women, old and young, in both the morning and evening, with intent minds, bow down unto all the gods on behalf of the intelligent Rama. Let their desire, O worshipful one, be fulfilled, through thy grace. And we would behold the son of the foremost of monarchs, the foe-destroying Rama, dark-blue like a lotus, installed as the heir-apparent to the kingdom. Therefore, O bestower of boons, it behoveth thee, for the sake of our well-being, with a delighted mind to speedily install thy son furnished with noble qualities resembling the god of gods, and ever intent upon the welfare of the entire community." *

"And when they had raised unto their heads their clasped hands resembling lotuses, the king responding unto them addressed them in welcome words fraught with good: 'Exceedingly pleased am I, and incomparable also is my influence,—because ye wish to behold my dear first-born installed as heir-apparent.' Having greeted them thus, the king in their hearing spoke unto Vasishtha, Vamadeva, and other Brahmans, saying—'This is the holy month of Chaitra; and the groves look beautiful with blossoms. Do ye now prepare for the installation of Rama.' When the king paused, there arose a mighty tumult from the multitude. And when it subsided, the lord of men, the king, addressed that foremost of ascetics, Vasishtha, saying, 'It behoveth thee, O worshipful sir, to order for things, necesary for the installation of Rama.'" †

Vasishtha did, as commanded by the king. Then the king asked his charioteer, Sumantra, to fetch Rama to the Assembly-hall. On Rama arriving there,

"That entire assembly looked beautiful in his presence, like the cloudless, autumnal sky, crested with stars and planets, in the presence of the moon."

The king then

"addressed his son, well-seated, in these words, saying, 'Born of my eldest wife, worthy of myself, thou crowned with the best qualities, art my worthy son, O Rama, dear unto me. Thou hast by thy virtues drawn unto thyself the hearts of the people; therefore do thou during the conjunction of the moon with the Pushya constellation, receive the office of hair-apparent. Thou art by nature crowned with virtues. Notwithstanding thy great virtues, I will, O son, from affection tell thee what is for thy profit. Practising greater humility, do thou constantly restrain thy senses. Do thou renounce the ills that come through anger and lust. Replenishing thy exchequer and arsenal do thou, acquainting thyself with the state of things personally or otherwise, administer justice and thereby enlist the affection of courtiers and other subjects; for the friends of him that swayeth the earth, pleasing the people to his satisfaction, rejoice even as did the immortals on obtaining ambrosia. Therefore, do thou, O son, disciplining thyself thus address thee to thy task." ‡

These words were addressed to Rama by the king in the presence of the whole Assembly. Subsequently, he took him to his private chamber, and among other things spoke the following words:

"To-day the subjects in a body have expressed their desire of having thee for their sovereign. Therefore, O son, I will install thee as the heir-apparent." §

It may be asked here, if the voice of the people counted for any thing, why did they who had already unanimously selected Rama for their sovereign, tamely submit to the command of King Dasaratha unjustly banishing him into the wilderness? The answer is short and simple. The people were thoroughly convinced that Dasaratha was not acting from caprice or like an autocrat in the matter, but that he,—poor king,—was bound, hand and foot, as it were, by the moral obligation he was under to fulfil his promise, *truly* made to Kaikeyi. None would have been happier than Dasaratha himself, if Rama had refused to be banished at the dictates of Kaikeyi. But Rama, noble and truthful that he was, saw the sad predicament in which his father was placed, and at once came to

* From M. N. Dutt's "Prose English Translation of Ramayana." Book II, sec. iii.

† Ramayana, Book. II, sec. iii.

‡ Ramayana, Bk. II, sec. iii.

§ अद्य प्रकृतयः सर्व्वास्त्वामिच्छन्ति नराधिपम् ।
अतस्त्वां युवराजानमभिषेक्षामि पुत्रक ॥
Ram. Bk. II, sec. iv, 16.

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his rescue. Rama considered the value of *truthfulness and filial piety* higher than that of a crown, and he cheerfully sacrificed his crown and his own *self* at the altar of Truth and Filial Piety. Herein lay his real greatness. The people fully appreciated his greatness and wonderful self-sacrifice, and this very appreciation took away the sting, as it were, from their indignation against the king who became more an object of their pity than of their fury. Mark how they talked among themselves over the affair:

"Knowing every kind of enjoyment, that magnanimous one (*i.e.* Rama) who has tasted of every luxury, *for maintaining the dignity of morality, does not wish to falsify his father's word.*"

They were, however, rightly indignant at Kaikeyi's conduct. She wanted the kingdom for her son Bharata; but with a view to spite her, and also show their devotion to Rama, they were determined to convert it into a desert, and actually followed Rama, with their wives and children, into the wilderness, till Rama gave them the slip and disappeared suddenly. Mark their words:

"Accompanied by our wives and friends will we, like Lakshmana, follow the departing Raghava by the same way that he takes. And leaving aside our gardens and fields and abodes, will we, making the righteous Rama's happiness and misery our own, follow him. Let Kaikeyi possess herself of our deserted mansions,—deprived of their buried treasures, with their unswept courtyards, robbed of kine and wealth, and shorn of all substance, and filled with dust, and abandoned by the deities—mansions where rats will run from hole to hole, which will neither emit smoke nor contain water, which will not be swept by broomsticks, from which sacrifices and the slaughter of sacrificial beasts, and the offering of oblations, and the recitation of sacred texts, and *japa*, will be absent, and around which will be strewn broken earthenware, as they are on occasions of political commotions, or the occurrence of natural calamities. Let the forest to which Raghava repairs resemble a city, and let this city renounced by us be converted into a wilderness. Inspired by the fear of us, serpents will leave their holes, and beasts and birds the caves of mountains, and elephants and lions the forest. Let them occupy the tracts left behind us.....Let Kaikeyi reign in this realm, along with her son and adherents; we, renouncing our houses, will dwell in the forest with Raghava."* (Bk. II, section 33).

The sacredness which always guarded the person of a woman in the eye of the Indo-Aryans, alone saved Kaikeyi from a violent death at the hands of the indignant populace. An infuriated European mob would either have led her to the guillotine, or hacked her to pieces even in her own bed-chamber.

I do not apologise to my readers for making the above lengthy extracts from the *Ramayana*, inasmuch as they present a vivid picture of the excellent relations that existed in Ancient India, (or, at any rate, the ideals of the excellent relations that ought to exist), between the king and the people, and also furnish a lofty ideal of kingly virtues, which the Indians still hanker after, but which unfortunately they do not find embodied in, or even pursued by their present day rulers. They also go to show the power of *vox populi* in Ancient India, which, though not supreme, could not yet be trifled with, or disregarded by the Government.

The power of *vox populi* is again witnessed in the *Ramayana*, when Rama, returning from his exile with Sita and Lakshmana, ascended the throne. He was ruling the kingdom with justice and righteousness; yet he felt desirous of knowing what the people actually thought of him and his rule. One day, he asked one of his trusted officers, Bhadra by name, to tell him, if he knew, a bit of the people's mind. Thereupon Bhadra said that the people were exceedingly pleased with his just and benign rule, and they had nothing to complain against his conduct as a ruler of men. But they condemned his conduct in one particular respect which was none other than the fact of his taking back Sita, and living with her as his royal consort, although she had forcibly been carried away by Ravana, and had to live in Lanka for full ten months, under his complete control. This, according to popular opinion, was a very bad example for the king to set, as what the king did was always regarded as a precedent to be followed by the subjects in similar circumstances. Rama at once understood the drift of the popular talk, and though he believed Sita, in the inmost recesses of his heart, to be a lady of pure and unblemished character, and though her innocence and purity had already been proved by her passing through the ordeal of fire in Lanka, yet he could not help yielding to the popular murmur, and exiled his wife with a view to set to his subjects a noble example of the purity of the Royal family.

Coming down to comparatively historical times, we find that there were certain kingdoms in India, where the law of primogeniture

* This was no mere idle talk. The people actually did what they had said. "On Raghava having left for the forest....., the men and beasts were deprived of their senses by grief. And in the city, there arose a mighty tumult in consequence of the hurrying of people, the elephants waxing mad and furious, and the neighing of horses. And the entire city, containing young and old, extremely afflicted, rushed after Rama, like persons oppressed with the heat of the sun rushing towards water." Bk. II, section 40. Such a state of things would not have been possible, if the people were not free to think and act as they liked.

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was not in force. The people elected their own chief who ruled over them either for life, or for a certain number of years, at the expiration of which he had to vacate his office. We have got an account of a democracy like this in Buddhist records, which we cannot do better than reproduce here in Dr. Rhys David's words. Says he with regard to the Sakya clan:

"The administrative and judicial business of the clan was carried out in public assembly, at which young and old were alike present in their common Mote Hall (Santhagara) at Kapilavastu. It was at such a Parliament or palaver that King Pasenadi's proposition was discussed. When Anhattha goes to Kapilavastu on business, he goes to the Mote Hall where the Sakyas were then in session. And it is to the Mote Hall of the Mallas that Ananda goes to announce the death of the Buddha, they being then in session there to consider that very matter. A single chief,—how, and for what period chosen we do not know, was elected as office-holder, presiding over the sessions, and if no sessions were sitting, over the State. He bore the title of *Raja*, which must have meant something like the Roman Consul or the Greek Archon." *

There is also an excellent account of the election of an Emperor in Beal's "Buddhist Records of the Western World" (Vol I, pp. 210-212) which we cannot resist the temptation of quoting here. The Emperor was no other than the Emperor Harsha, the hero of Bana Bhatta's well-known work, the *Harshacharita*.

"The people having lost their ruler, the country became desolate. Then the great minister Po-ni (Bhandi), whose power and reputation were high and of much weight, addressing the assembled ministers said: 'The destiny of the nation is to be fixed to-day. The old king's son is dead. The brother of the prince, however, is humane and affectionate, and his disposition, heaven-conferred, is dutiful and obedient. Because he is strongly attached to his family, the people will trust in him. I propose that he assume the royal authority; let each one give his opinion on this matter, whatever he thinks.' They were all agreed on this point, and acknowledged his conspicuous qualities. On this, the chief ministers and magistrates all exhorted him to take authority: 'Let the royal prince attend! The accumulated merit and the conspicuous virtue of the former king were so illustrious as to cause his kingdom to be most happily governed..... The opinion of the people, as shown in their songs, proves their real submission to your eminent qualities. Reign then with glory over the land; conquer the enemies of your family; wash out the insult laid on your kingdom, and the deeds of your illustrious father. Great will be your merit in such a case. We pray you reject not our prayer.' The prince replied: 'The government of a country is a responsible office, and ever attended with difficulties. The duties of a prince require previous consideration. As for myself, I am indeed of small eminence, but as my father and brother are no more, to reject the heritage of the crown—that can bring no benefit to the people. I must attend to the opinion of the world, and forget my own insufficiency.'"†

A careful survey of the different stages of Indo-Aryan civilisation in Ancient India will convince all impartial readers that *vox populi* was an important factor which had to be reckoned with as much in political as in social affairs. The spirit of democracy pervaded all important concerns of life. But, as I have already said, there was a serious defect in the social machinery which prevented the welding of the scattered masses and the discordant elements into a homogeneous whole, and which, in course of time, led to the deterioration of the Indo-Aryan race. The firm establishment of British rule in India, and the spread of Western culture among the people, have done much to draw them close together, and produce a feeling of unity among them. This feeling has to be carefully nursed, fostered and strengthened, by doing away with all pernicious systems and customs that obstruct its free play and growth. The spirit of democracy is ingrained in the very nature of the Indians, but it requires to be emancipated from the bondages imposed upon it, mostly by the people themselves. The political regeneration of the Indians, therefore, depends greatly on the successful carrying out of social and religious reforms.

ABINAS CHANDRA DAS.

* Dr. Rhys David's *Buddhist India*, p. 19.

† In this connection, it would be interesting to read the following extracts from the *Ramayana*, showing the right of the Councils of Mantris and Amatyas to select a successor to the Throne in the event of the king dying childless or without any heir. King Dasaratha having died,—Rama and Lakshmana also having gone to the forest, and Bharata and Satrughna living far away in Rajgriha, there was none left at Ajodhya to sit on the Throne. The Ministers Kasyapa, Vamadeva, Javali and others assembled together, and addressing the Prime Minister and priest, Vasishtha, pointed out to him the horrors of anarchy and the necessity of appointing a king, saying: "Do you select some one this very day from the descendants of Ikshwaku, to be king here. Verily doth a kingdom go to ruin, when without a king." Hearing their words, Vasishtha said unto the Brahmans, and the adherants and counsellors (of the late king): "Bharata, on whom the King has conferred the kingdom, along with his brother, Satrughna, is living happily in the house of his maternal uncle. Let envoys by means of fleet coursers speedily repair thither and bring those heroic brothers. What shall we decide?" "Let them go," said all unto Vasishtha. * * * Bharata, accompanied by Satrughna, came back to Ajodhya, and lamented over the death of his father and the exile of his brothers. After the performance of the last rites of the King, on the morning of the fourteenth day, the ministers of the King assembled, addressed Bharata in the following words: "Having exiled his eldest son and the exceedingly strong Lakshmana, Dasaratha has gone to heaven. Do thou, therefore, O illustrious prince, become our King. Having been permitted by the King, thou wilt commit no fault (by doing so), as this kingdom is without a master. O Raghava, having procured all these necessaries for the installation, the counsellors and others as well as the citizens wait, O King's son. Do thou, O foremost of men, have thyself sprinkled, and rule over us." Thereupon Bharata replied: "In our line, it is ever fit for the first-born alone to perform the task of the government. It doth not behove ye, who are wise, to say so unto me. Certainly Rama, our eldest brother, shall become the king, and I will abide in the forest for five and nine years." *Ramayana*, Bk. II, secs. 67,68,79.

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THE GREAT WAR IN BENGAL, 1658-1660

(Based on original Persian Sources.)

CHAPTER II.

Shuja's First Advance.

Shuja crowns himself.

The story of the royal illness, with its embellishments by Rumour's news agency, reached Shuja at Rajmahal, the then capital of Bengal. He immediately crowned himself king, took the pompous title of Abul Fauz Nasiruddin Muhammad, Timur III, Alexander II, Shah Shuja Bahadur Ghazi. The *khutba* was read in his name in the mosques, coins were struck bearing his title,* and the assumption of royalty was complete. It only remained to defeat his rivals and seize the throne of Delhi.

Marches on Benares.

For this purpose he started with a large army, an admirable park of artillery, and the highly useful war-boats (*nawwara*) of Bengal. Passing through Patna, he reached Benares by the end of January, 1658. Meantime Dara had despatched an army of 20,000 cavalry, 2,000 foot-musketeers, and 200 *barqandazes*, with a well-filled war-chest and many elephants.† The nominal command had been given to his eldest son, Sulaiman Shikoh, a mere youth; but the real power lay in the hands of his associates, the politic and experienced Rajput chief Jai Singh, and the doughty Afghan leader, Dilir Khan Ruhela. The old Emperor had entreated the generals to do their best to avert the fratricidal war; they were not to molest Shuja, if he retired peacefully to his own province, and should fight him only if he persisted in advancing.‡ This army came in touch with Shuja's at Bahadurpur, 5 miles north-east of Benares.§

His camp at Bahadurpur.

Here on the high bank of the Ganges Shuja formed an entrenched camp, with his flotilla moored close at hand. Dara's army halted three miles off. For some days there was a distant artillery duel, and now and then skirmishes between the scouts of the two armies. The Delhi troops had no such decided superiority of strength as to storm Shuja's position with the certainty of victory. Sulaiman, therefore, carefully studied the enemy's position and habits. He found out that they did not take ordinary military precaution nor patrol round their camp, and that Shuja was grossly indolent, letting things drift and sleeping till late in the morning.

Surprised by Sulaiman Shikoh.

So Sulaiman made his own preparations. Early in the morning of the 14th February, he marched his troops out on the pretence of changing their ground, and suddenly fell upon Shuja's camp.‖ "The Bengal soldiers after rubbing their sleepy eyes found that the enemy were already around them; they had no time to put on their tunics, but took the shortest road to safety."

The tumult broke Shuja's sleep on a couch hung round with mosquito-nets. He took an elephant and hurried out to retrieve the day, but the battle had been already lost. The enemy had swarmed into his camp and were looting it. "All his captains from their respective quarters had fled, without caring what became of their master." Here and there a few knots of men were facing the enemy and offering resistance, but more to win their way to safety than to gain a victory. Some three thousand of the enemy encircled his elephant and plied their muskets and bows at him. Their arrows rained down on his *howdah*, and some even glanced off his coat of mail. But he boldly kept them back, emptying two quivers of arrows with his own hands. He shouted to his own men to rally and form behind his elephant, but it was of no avail. The enemy pressed closer still, and tried to capture the elephant, one of them coming near enough to slash its leg with his sword.

* Khafi Khan, ii. 5. Masum 32, *b*.

† *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 215, *b*. *Alamgirnamah*, 31. Masum, 34, *a*. *Amal-i-Salih*, 9, *a*.

‡ *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 216, *b*.

§ Bahadurpur (Indian Atlas, sh. 88) only 2 m. east of the right bank head of the Railway bridge over the Ganges at Benares.

‖ *Alamgirnamah* 31, Masum 34*a*.—40*b*. My account of the surprise and flight is taken from the latter's graphic description.

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Only one path of safety lay open. The elephant was driven to the river-bank, where the fire of the naval guns checked the enemy's approach. But even this retreat had to be effected in the teeth of the enemy's keenest opposition and after repeated counter-charges by a band of his devoted followers under Mir Isfandiar Mamuri and Syed Ismail Bukhari. They gained time for the elephant to break through the enemy's cordon, and reach the bank, where Shuja quickly dismounted and sought safety among his boats.

Shuja's flight.

Sulaiman's men now plundered the entire camp. The tents, jewels, furniture, and all sorts of goods, besides money, horses, and elephants, were seized by the victors. The Bengal troops had escaped with their bare lives, and left everything behind. Shuja's own losses were estimated at fifty *lakhs* of rupees; his chief minister, Mirza Jan Beg, lost six *lakhs* worth of property in addition to horses and elephants. Even the humblest private had abandoned his little all. The total loss could not have fallen short of several *krores* of rupees.

His camp looted.

The fugitive prince immediately weighed anchor and sped down the river. Some of his followers who reached the bank shortly after him, were too late to embark, and perished helplessly from the enemy's swords. For ten miles the flotilla was rowed in selfish haste, without a halt being made to pick up the men running in distraction on the bank. At last the boats drew up in exhaustion on the further side, and here Mirza Jan Beg, the *wazir*, who had ridden away from the field with only 400 men, was taken on board. The nature of their panic may be judged from the fact that "he congratulated his master on his having saved his life, which, in such a carnage, was equivalent to a thousand victories!"

But the main portion of the army fled by the land route through Saseram to Patna. So thoroughly demoralised were they that disgraceful scenes marked their precipitate flight. Every small group of half-naked peasants, walking behind them stick in hand, was magnified by their terror-stricken imagination into the pursuing army, whose arrival they dreaded every moment. These warriors, though ten to fifteen thousand strong, clad in mail and cuirass, and mounted on chargers, quietly let themselves be stripped of their all by such small bands of villagers! Some even threw away their own accoutrements and money to facilitate their flight! The village women lured the soldiers aside, promising to give them drinking-water, and then snatched away their clothes and property, while the heroes durst not protest even by a word! The entire road to Patna was littered with numbers of abandoned elephants, horses, load-camels, mules, costly articles and sacks of coins. These were quickly appropriated by the villagers.

Miseries of the fugitives.

Shuja reached Patna on the 19th and rallied his men to some extent. But the victorious Sulaiman Shikoh, after freely looting the Bahadurpur camp, was now coming in pursuit. So Shuja pushed on to Mungir (Monghyr), where he stopped to gather the stragglers, give respite to the wounded, and arrange for making a stand against the pursuers. By great efforts and daily supervision he built a wall two miles long from the hill to the river, across the plain outside the city. The rampart was strengthened with trenches, stockades, and batteries; soldiers manned them day and night, on the alert for the enemy's approach.* This unforeseen obstacle brought Sulaiman to a sharp halt. He wavered, encamped 30 miles west of Mungir, and took time to mature new plans.

Shuja goes to Mungir.

Just then alarming news reached him from the Court. His father wrote urging him to patch up a truce with Shuja and hasten back to Agra to meet a new danger coming up from the south.

Treaty with Sulaiman.

Aurangzib and Murad had advanced from the Deccan, joined their forces on the way, crushed Dara's army which barred their path at Ujjain (15th April), and were now in full march on the capital. Terms were quickly arranged between Shuja's *wazir*, Mirza Jan Beg, and Rajah Jai Singh, and confirmed by the principals. It was agreed that Bengal, Orissa, and Bihar to the east of Mungir should be left to Shuja, but his seat should be Rajmahal, as his presence at Mungir, on his western frontier, would be a menace to the ruler of Delhi. As soon as the treaty was signed † (early in May, 1658), Sulaiman hastened back towards Agra, but, alas! too late to save either his father or himself.

Thus Shuja was unexpectedly saved from destruction. A complete change now took place on the political chess-board. Aurangzib pushed steadily on, defeated Dara

Aurangzib becomes Emperor.

* Masum 40 *b* and 41 *a*. † Masum 52 *a*—56 *a*.

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himself at Samugarh, 13 miles south of Agra (29th May), got possession of Agra fort (8th June), deposed his father, treacherously imprisoned Murad Bakhsh at a banquet, and made himself the supreme ruler of Hindustan.

Chases Dara to Multan.

Dara, having lost his last stake in this gamble for empire, fled from the field, through Agra and Delhi, to the Panjab. Aurangzib sent a pursuing column on his heels while he himself halted at Delhi for three weeks to organise a new administration, despatch pressing affairs of State, and ascend the throne as Emperor. To make sure of his rear, he sent a most friendly letter to Shuja adding the province of Bihar to his appanage and promising him other favours, in territory and money, when the affair of Dara would be over. Then, all things being settled for the present, he left Delhi (26th July) to conduct the campaign against Dara in person. That unhappy prince was chased with unbroken ill-fortune further and further away through the Panjab and Sindh. When Aurangzib reached Multan (end of September, 1658), he received despatches from the east which made his quick return imperative.

CHAPTER III.

Shuja's Second Advance.

Aurangzib's letter to Shuja.

We have already seen how in Shuja's darkest hour (the beginning of May, 1658), the clouds that lowered over him were blown away by an unexpected side-wind. He not only got breathing-time and respite from pursuit, but was confirmed in his own possessions with some increase of territory. Aurangzib's letter to him breathed the tenderest brotherly love, "As you had often before begged the Emperor Shah Jahan for the province of Bihar, I now add it to your viceroyalty. Pass some time peacefully in administering it and repairing your broken power. When I return after disposing of Dara's affairs, I shall try to gratify your other wishes. Like a true brother I shall not refuse you anything that you desire, be it land or money."* In the light of Aurangzib's treatment of Shah Jahan, his loving father, and of Murad Bakhsh, the very ladder by which he had mounted to the throne, his protestations of brotherly love were estimated by Shuja at their true worth. He sent in reply a polite letter of thanks and—prepared for war.

Shuja's hope of capturing Agra by surprise.

The news of his brother's absence in the far-off Panjab on the heels of Dara, revived Shuja's ambition. He could not let slip this golden opportunity. To the objections of his chiefs and ministers he answered, "Aurangzib has left between this place and the capital no general strong enough to oppose me. If prince Sultan Muhammad bars my path I shall win him over, and by a quick movement secure the person of Shah Jahan and restore the old government. I shall stay at Court as my father's obedient servant."†

So, he went to Patna. There his general Mir Isfandiar Mamuri, who had been wounded and captured by Sulaiman Shikoh at Bahadurpur and had escaped from his prison at Agra in the confusion following Dara's flight, joined him. He, alone among the Bengal chiefs, fed Shuja's vanity and urged him to make a bold bid for the crown. ‡

His march on Allahabad.

At the end of October, 1658, the Bengal army, 25,000 cavalry, with artillery and the vast flotilla of Bengal, set out quickly from Patna. At first fortune seemed to smile on the expedition. Dara's officers in charge of the forts in the eastern provinces had been ordered by that prince, just after his defeat, to surrender them to Shuja and thus save them from falling into Aurangzib's hands. Rohtas, Chunar and Benares all opened their gates to Shuja, and the commandant of Allahabad wrote to him proffering submission. A detachment sent to the north of the Gan[illegible] captured Jaunpur. At Benares his war-ch[illegible] was replenished with three lakhs of rup[illegible] extorted from the merchants and rich men of the city, both Hindu and Muhammadan. Allahabad was reached on the 23rd December. A small division of Aurangzib's troops under the Khan-i-dauran, which had been besieging the fort, fell back at the very approach of Shuja. §

Reaches Khajwah.

But that Prince's victorious advance was soon to receive a check, and he was to confront enemies of a different stamp. Three stages from Allahabad he reached Khajwah ‖ (30th December) and found Sultan Muhammad, the eldest son

* *Alamgirnamah*, 211, 223 and 224.

† Masum 96 *a* and *b*. *Alamgirnamah* 224.

‡ Ibid 97*a* and 99*a*.

§ *Alamgirnamah*, 224, 225, 239, 240. Khafi Khan, ii. 45-47. Masum is strangely silent about the details of this march.

‖ *Khajwah* (Indian Atlas, sh. 69 N. E., *Khajuha*) is in the Fateh[illegible] District, 5 m. S. S. W. of the Bindki Road station, on the E. I. R. [illegible] is situated at the same distance, 10 miles, from the Ganges on its north and the Jumna on its south. Eight miles west of it stands Korah, which has given another name to the battle. A century afterwards (3rd May, 1765) General Carnac crushed the Vizier of Oudh's army on the plain of Korah.

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of Aurangzib, barring his path. Three days afterwards the Imperial camp became the scene of unusual life and bustle: Aurangzib himself rode into it and took over the supreme command. Now for the decisive battle!

Aurangzib hastens back to oppose him.

To understand this startling development we must hark back to the end of July last, when Aurangzib was crowning himself at Delhi. After sending the conciliatory letter to Shuja, he set off for Lahore; but his mind was not at ease about his brother in Bengal. He had several agents in the eastern parts, who watched every movement of Shuja, and fast couriers who sped with their reports to the Emperor. Shuja's suspicious march from Rajmahal to Patna and his openly hostile action in advancing towards Allahabad had duly reached his ears. But he had little faith in Shuja's ability, military strength, generalship, or rapidity of movement, and, therefore, decided to finish the hunt after Dara first. Hence the pursuit was pushed on down the Indus. But Dara fled like the hunted hare before Aurangzib's generals, without their being able to catch him anywhere. Meantime the news from the east grew more and more alarming. So, Aurangzib at Multan deemed it unwise to neglect Shuja any longer. Leaving Dara's pursuit in the hands of his officers (30th September, 1658), he with a select cavalry escort hastened to the capital, travelling two stages every day to make up for lost time.* It was a splendid feat of endurance, and one supremely needed. Delhi was reached on the 20th November. Three days afterwards he despatched from Agra a strong force with artillery under his eldest son, Sultan Muhammad, to join the Khan-i-dauran's division at Allahabad, block Shuja's path, and report the situation to the Emperor. A picked body of veterans lately returned from the Panjab was sent from Delhi to join the prince. Shortly afterwards the prince's army was still further strengthened by the arrival of Zulfiqar Khan with more artillery, one *krore* of rupees from Agra fort, and several other officers, mostly Rajputs, with their contingents.† While these arrangements were taking place, Shuja was still at Benares: his one chance of swooping down on Agra was thus lost; the open road on which he had counted was now blocked, and the Emperor himself was within hail at Delhi.

Reaches the camp at Korah.

Thus the state of the game was completely changed, and Aurangzib naturally expected that Shuja would now retire quickly from his vain quest, as any wise man would have done. So, he slackened his own speed, halted twelve days at Delhi, and then went to the hunting-lodge of Soron, to wait for news. If Shuja retired, Prince Muhammad would be recalled and the Emperor would return as from a hunt; otherwise he would hasten from Soron to join the campaign. Shuja, however, pushed blindly on, and reached Khajwah as we have seen. The Emperor, constantly informed of the enemy's movements, left Soron on 21st December, ordering Sultan Muhammad not to precipitate an action but wait for him. On the 2nd January, 1659, father and son united their forces near Korah, eight miles west of Shuja's position.‡ That very day, by a happy coincidence, Mir Jumla arrived from the Deccan by forced marches, and at once took his place as the confidential adviser and right hand man of the Emperor.

LABORAMNS.

* *Alamgirnamah* 212 *et seq.* Masum 100 *a* and *b*.
† *Alamgirnamah*, 226, 234 and 235.
‡ Ibid 235—238, 241.

THE NEGRO RACE IN AMERICA

IN the Indian Universities we read histories of the ancient Greeks and Romans, and other extinct peoples, and are led to believe that they were *sui generis*, of a class apart, and that hence their histories have no practical lessons to teach us. The history of no modern nation is taught us in our schools and colleges with the single exception of England, and English history has been omitted from the curriculum of the matriculation examination of the Calcutta University. The successes of Japan have led the curious among us to study the recent history of the Empire of the Rising Sun. But we know nothing of the history of another nation in the making on the other side of the Pacific—the Negroes of America—belonging to the most despised section of the human race. The

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occasional lynching of a Negro, with all its barbarous and inhuman details, is reported in the papers, and eminent persons, including such cultured and liberal statesmen as Lord Roseberry, tell us that there is something radically wrong with the Ethiopians which makes them unfit for self-government and association on equal terms with the whites. This argument is not quite unfamiliar to Indian ears, and well known European journals have supported this favourite theory, so flattering to their pride of race. For instance, the London *Spectator*, dated June 1st 1901, in an article on the ethnological survey of India about to be undertaken by the Indian Government, speaks as follows:—

"The negro is not yet quite a man, and he is not yet a brother to the white . . . . It will take generations- no man can say how many—to bring him to the level of the 'supreme Caucasian man.'"

The following facts, summarised from Dr. Scholes' book, *Glimpses of the Ages*, knocks the bottom off this self-complacent and conceited assertion, and proves to demonstration, if proof were needed, that given favourable environments, the Negro can evolve as good a civilisation as any that exists at present on the surface of the globe.

At the outset it should be remembered that the American Negroes were severely handicapped in the race.

"As slaves they passed two and a half centuries, under a system wherein all that is vile, base and brutish in human nature found its fullest fruition. And when at the close of that epoch of agony and horror—an epoch of mental, moral and physical mutilation—their shackles were removed, they were in a condition of abject poverty and gross ignorance; in that condition they were in a large measure required to educate, and entirely to support themselves, as well as discharge their duties as citizens of the Commonwealth. Nor is this all; for there existed a conspiracy, begotten of fear, of disappointment, of jealousy, of implacable hate, that has fabricated or exaggerated crimes which it has imputed to the coloured citizens, and which, in order to defame them, it has circulated throughout the world. A conspiracy that has intimidated and ostracised them; a conspiracy, which by means of violence has excluded the majority of coloured citizens from enjoying the highest privilege of citizenship, from discharging its most sacred obligation, *viz.*, the casting of their votes; a conspiracy that has heaped upon these citizens humiliation of every description, and by every kind of obstructive and oppressive tactics that fiendish ingenuity can invent, even to murder, has striven, ever since the emancipation, to secure their overthrow and ensure their ruin."

How has this people fared during the period—nearly fifty years—which has elapsed since they were liberated from bondage? The answer to this question will be found in the following pages.

We are informed by the *New York Herald* that throughout the United States coloured American citizens have accumulated school property valuing $ 12,000,000; that the value of their church property is $37,000,000; that they own 137,000 farms valued at $725,000,000; that their property, some part of which had belonged to their former masters, value $ 165,000,000; and that *per capita* their possessions are $72·50. The following facts have been gleaned from the United States Bureau of Education. In 1897 and 1898, there were 916,883 Negro children in the former sixteen slave States and District of Columbia attending school, making sixty per cent. of the coloured enrolment. There are about 180 schools in the United States exclusively for the secondary and higher education of coloured youths. In 161 of these institutions there were employed 1.809 teachers, the total enrolment being 42,330 students. Of these students, those belonging to the collegiate grades numbered 2,492; those of the secondary grades were 13,669; and of the elementary grades 26,169. Students studying the classics were 1,711, those in the scientific courses 1,200, in English courses 9,724, in business courses 244, and in normal courses 4,449. There were 167 graduates from the College courses, 859 from normal courses, and 853 from high school courses. In professional courses there were 1,285 students; in theology 560 students and 63 graduates; in law 1[illegible] students and 39 graduates; in medicine 3[illegible] students and 78 graduates; dentistry, 4[illegible] students and 9 gradutes; pharmacy, 44 students and 11 graduates. In addition to the figures just given it must be stated that 180 students qualified themselves as nurses. Further that of these 421,330 students in the 161 schools for the coloured race, 14,400 were receiving industrial training, of which farming and gardening claimed 1,260, carpentry 1,804, brick-laying 107, plastering 94, painting 130, tin-smithing 47, forging 247, the machine shop 222, shoemaking 219, printing 685, the millinery department 6,923, cookery 1,922, and other industrial branches 2,414. These schools had in their libraries 237,145 volumes, valued at $215,908. There were 21,000 Afro-Americans engaged in the work of teaching; more than 15,000 young men and women were attending various colleges. There were more than 50 coloured normal schools; more than 40 schools for secondary education; there were 18 colleges and universities; 45 theological schools; 6 schools for the deaf, dumb and blind; and several schools of law.

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The business standing of the Southern Negro may be gauged by the following figures collected at the instance of the United States Government Exhibition. Number of negroes in business, 20,320; those of them that employ agents and collectors, 1,172; boarding-house keepers, 2,323; druggists, 137; dry-goods merchants, 135; grocers, 1,839; hotel-keepers, 429; hucksters, 2,655; bank officials and insurance agents, 213; undertakers, builders and contractors, 154; photographers, 596; journalists and publishers, 125; manufacturers, 401; barbers, of whom 5,000 were proprietors, 17,480; butchers, 2,510; blacksmiths, 10,762; watch and clock makers, 61. Of these businesses, more than 700 had been established for more than thirty years. The Afro-American has written 300 books; he owns and edits more than 200 newspapers, which are regularly issued every week; he also owns and edits monthly and quarterly magazines.

There are at least four banks owned and managed entirely by coloured men. The People's Auxiliary Hospital and Training School at St. Louis are entirely under the management of coloured surgeons. The negroes have a co-operative organisation, they control and own a cotton mill, a foundry, a silk mill. The records of the American Patent Office show that hundreds of patents, covering all the departments of mechanics, have been granted to negroes. The Bell Telephone Company, for example, owe their transmitter to the invention of Granville T. Wood, a black engineer, whose electric controller system is that employed on the Manhattan Elevated Railway. Although not much beyond forty years of age, Mr. Wood has already patented thirty-five important devices, including four kinds of telegraphic apparatus, four electric railway improvements, two electric brakes, a telephone system, a battery, and a tunnel construction for electric roads. Another negro, by the name of McCoy, has given America its finest lubricating oil. One of the greatest negro financiers in the United States is Daniel Seales, who has passed the eightieth year. Colonel John McKnee was a negro millionaire, who owned 400 pieces of real estate in Philadelphia, 204,500 acres of farm land, and left property valued at $ 2,000,000.

The Weekly Scotsman of October 29th, 1904, says:—

"There is hardly any branch of industry in which negroes are unrepresented, and that statement includes the women as well as the men. A large city could be founded without a single white man in it, and yet lack for no trade or profession. There are 21,268 Negro teachers and college Professors in the United States and 15,530 clergymen. The negroes could finance a railroad through their 82 bankers and brokers, lay it out with their 120 civil engineers and surveyors, contest the right of way with their 728 lawyers, make the rails with their 12,327 iron and steel workers, build the road with 545,980, labourers, construct its telegraph system with their 185 electricians and their 529 linemen, and operate with their 55,327 railway employes.....They have 52 architects, designers and draughtsmen, 236 artists and teachers of art, 1,734 physicians and surgeons, 212 dentists, 210 journalists, 3,921 musicians and teachers of music, and 99 literary and scientific persons.....It is noteworthy that the proportion of self-supporting negroes is much larger than that of self-supporting whites. Of all over ten years old 84·1 per cent. of the coloured males and 40·7 per cent. of the coloured females are engaged in gainful occupations, against 79·5 per cent. of the white males and 16 per cent. of the white females similarly occupied."

During the War of Secession, 186,000 Ethiopians were enlisted in the Federal army, or nearly one-tenth of all the Northern forces. And at the close of the War, besides the enormous company serving as teamsters, labourers, &c, there were in the Federal ranks 98,000 black infantry, 17,000 black artillery, and 7,000 black cavalry.

"And, fighting with a sustained and splendid gallantry, distinguishing themselves in many battles, these black troops, as is well known, were second to none. Nor was this the first nor the last time that, heeding his country's call, the coloured American has hastened to answer it with his blood. When the thirteen colonies, out of which the great Republic was ultimately forged, were lying in the fortuitous furnace of the revolutionary war, the Ethiopian formed a part of the intrepid band by whose operations on the battlefield the molten mass flowed into the Republican mould. And even to-day, when he is but a seventh of the population, such is his valour, his endurance, his fidelity, and his skill, that both in Cuba and in the Phillipines he has been requisitioned to fight for the Republic."

Nor have the coloured inhabitants proved less successful in the arts of peace. They have shown great zeal in Mission work. The Right Rev. Bishop Alexander Walters, delegate of the Zion African Methodist Church to the World's Sunday School Convention in London, may be mentioned as one among a band of able negro theologians. The Negro Baptists have formed themselves into a National Convention and prosecute Mission work in Cuba and in Africa.

Passing to the fine arts, *belles-lettres*, and general literature, mention may be made of Paul Lawrence Dunbar, the Negro poet and novelist; Colonel George Williams, author of the standard work, *History of the Negro Race;* Professor W. E. Du Bois, of Atlanta University, author of *The Conservation of Races*, and also an authority on sociological questions; Professor W. S. Scarborough of

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Wilberforce University; the renowned scholar, Dr. Blyden, M. A. LL. D., author of several works, and sometime representative of Liberia in the Court of St. James. In painting, the Negro is represented by Mr. H. O. Turner, whose picture, "The Raising of Lazarus," was bought by the French Government for the Luxembourg Gallery. As to the healing art, among many successful Afro-American physicians and surgeons, the name of Dr. Daniel H. Williams, of Chicago, who was appointed examining surgeon of volunteers during the Spanish-American war, may be mentioned. Regarding politics, Judson W. Lyons was Registrar of the Treasury during the Spanish-American war and the bonds issued to cover the war loan bore his signature. Hon'ble George White, late a member of the House of Representatives and one of the ablest criminal lawyers in the State of North Carolina, is a Negro. But the most famous of them all was the late Hon'ble Frederick Douglass, journalist, author and orator, and United States Marshal for the district of Columbia from 1876 to 1881. Among journalists the name of the coloured gentleman, Mr. T. T. Fortune, editor of the *New York Age*, may be mentioned.

The National Association of Coloured Women held its second convention in Chicago in 1899. Of this assembly, the Chicago *Tribune* said:—

"That within a single generation since the war which gave freedom to the race such a gathering as this should be possible means a great deal. Could Abraham Lincoln have looked in upon nearly two thousand people crowded into Quinn Chapel the other evening and seen the representatives of the emancipated, and listened to the addresses, said to have been so admirably spoken, of the President of the Convention, Mrs. Terrel, Mrs. Booker T. Washington, Mrs. Jeffrey, Mrs. B. K. Bruce, Mrs. Thurmen, and others, and observed their essential dignity, evident refinement of manner, and noted the breadth of the outlook for their race and for the country, it is difficult to imagine some of the emotion that would have stirred him."

On the same topic, the *Times-Herald* of Chicago, observed thus:—

"The women of colour were a continual revelation not only as to personal appearance, but as to intelligence and culture. If by a bit of magic the colour of their skin could be changed to white, one would have witnessed a convention of wide-awake women which in almost every particular would favourably compare with a convention of white-skinned women."

We in India are thinking of establishing national universities. In this, as in several other matters requiring self-help, we may very well take a leaf from the Afro-American's book. The Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, Alabama, is the undying monument of the educational enterprise of that foremost of living American negroes, Mr. Booker T. Washington. He has been classed

"among the type of leaders by whom the foremost peoples of the different races in the past and in the present have been made great."

Readers will remember the shock which was felt by the white Americans to whom, as Dr. Scholes says, the social distinctions between black and white are more dear than even their religion, at the news that President Roosevelt had dined with this coloured philanthropist and organiser. Of its kind the Tuskegee Institute is not only the most successful among the institutions in the United States devoted exclusively to the training of the coloured race, but also the most successful among similar institutions in that country devoted to the training of the colourless race. Launched a little over twenty-three years ago, in a small rented church with a single teacher and thirty pupils, but not a single foot of land, this undertaking now owns unmortgaged property valued at $300,000. Its 42 buildings have almost all been erected by the labour of its students. It has 2,267 acres of land, 88 officers and teachers, an attendance of 1,164 students, of whom 801 are males and 363 are females. It is maintained at a cost of more than $100,000 per annum. Its students are drawn from 24 states and territories, also from Cuba, Porto Rico, England and Africa. Tuskegee aims at educating not only the head and heart, but also the hand, and in this respect, by means of an efficient staff, including one director of industries and another of the agricultural department, it imparts instruction in the following branches of industry: Agriculture, blacksmithing, bricklaying, carpentry, carriage-trimming, cooking, dairying, drawing—architectural, free-hand, and mechanical—plain sewing, house-keeping, harness-making, founding, horticulture, laundering, machinery, mattress-making, millinery, nurse-training, painting, shoemaking, stock-raising, tailoring, tinning, and wheel-wrighting. Taking the subject of agriculture to illustrate the thoroughness with which the teaching of Tuskegee is done, it may be mentioned that for teaching practical and scientific agriculture an experiment station was secured in 1897. The laboratory work consists in analysing various soils in order to discover what element may be lacking to make them more productive. Feeds for cattle are also selected by means of analysis, according as the end desired is to produce fat, milk or muscle. More than fifty cows supply material for the dairy. The orchard

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and the market-garden besides furnishing Tuskegee with vegetables and fruit, are used for the student in the art of grafting, budding, trimming and caring for plants and trees. The departments of Tuskegee which are devoted to brain and mind culture are no less thoroughly equipped. The instructors and managers are drawn from the foremost institutions of learning. Tuskegee aims at equipping the Southern States with an educated coloured ministry, with educated mechanics, and educated citizens. It brings its exceptional advantages within the reach of the Negro youth, whose only capital is his labour. It clothes and houses him, instructs him two hours each night at a night school, and at the end of two years teaches him a trade on condition of his stipulating to recoup the outlay by paying two years' labour. Such is Tuskegee, and it is the dream, the idea, the inspiration of one man, and this man himself a graduate of the university of adversity. The story of Mr. Booker Washington's life as told by himself is full of noble lessons for humanity at large, and for ourselves in particular in the present crisis of our national history. In him we have a patriot with high ideas, who has in a great measure realised those ideas by his self-sacrificing efforts for the regeneration of his people. The following extract from his autobiography will doubtless prove inspiring.

"I was born a slave on a plantation in Virginia in 1857 or 1858, I think. My first memory of life is that of a one-room log cabin with a dirt floor, and a hole in the centre that served as a winter home for sweet potatoes; and, wrapped in a few rags, on this dirt floor I spent my nights; and, clad in a single garment, about the plantation I often spent my day. The morning of freedom came, and though a child, I recall vividly my appearance with that of forty or fifty slaves before the verandah of the 'big house' to hear read the documents that made us men instead of property. With the long-prayed-for freedom in actual possession, each started out into the world to find new friends and new homes. My mother decided to locate in West Virginia, and after days and nights of weary travel we found ourselves among the salt-furnaces and coal mines of West Virginia. Soon after reaching West Virginia, I began to work in the coal mines for the support of my mother. While there I heard in some way .....of General Armstrong's School at Hampton, Virginia. I heard at the same time—and this impressed me most—that it was a school where a poor boy could work for his education, so far as his board was concerned. As soon as I heard of Hampton, I made up my mind that in some way I was going to find my way to that institution. I began at once to save every nickel I could get hold of. At length, with my own saving and a little help from my brother and mother, I started for Hampton, although at the time I hardly knew where Hampton was or how much it would cost to reach the school. After walking a portion of the distance, travelling in a stage-coach and cars the remainder of the journey, I at length found myself in the city of Richmond, Virginia. I also found myself without friends, money, or place to stay at night. After walking about the city till midnight—and I had grown almost discouraged and quite exhausted—I crawled under the side-walk and slept all that night. The next morning, as good luck would have it, I found myself very near a ship that was unloading pig iron. I applied to the captain for work, and he gave it. I worked on this ship by day and slept under the side-walk by night, till I had earned money enough to continue my way to Hampton. On arriving at Hampton, I had a surplus of fifty cents in my pocket. I at once found General Armstrong and told him what my condition was and what I had come for. In his great hearty way, he said that if I was worth anything he would give me a chance to work my way. At Hampton I found buildings, instructors and industries provided by the generous—in other words, the chance for me to work for my education. While at Hampton, I resolved, if God permitted me to finish the course of study, I would enter the far south, the black belt of the Gulf States, and give my life in providing as best as I could the same kind of chance of self-help for the youth of my race that I found ready for me when I went to Hampton, and started the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute."

The position of a race, it may be said, depends upon its ability or inability to produce great leaders—not the average, the relative or the mediocritic, but the extraordinary, the exceptional, the absolute leader. The Negro race has produced such men. Mr. Booker Washington is undoubtedly such a man, but there is one even greater than he. The name of Toussaint L'Ouverture is all but unknown in India; lives such as his, which may inspire us with self-confidence, are somehow or other not placed in the way of the young Indian scholar. The history of Toussaint is connected with the Haytian Revolution which took place towards the close of the eighteenth century. Hayti, the western portion of the island of Santo Domingo, was then a French possession. It had a white, mulatto, and black population. The white colonists were planters, but they had no control over the machinery of government, which was in the hands of the home authorities. This the colonists properly considered a grievance, and the planters and the mulattoes revolted. In 1794, the French Assembly gave civil rights to the blacks, and they joined the local authorities against the rebels. It was in this manner that Toussaint came upon the scene. The following biographical sketch of this celebrated Ethiopian is taken from a lecture delivered by the American orator, Wendell Phillips. It ought to prove interesting and instructive reading to the people of India:

"He had been born a slave in a plantation in the north of the island—an unmixed Negro—his father

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stolen from Africa. If anything, therefore, that I may say of him to-night moves you to admiration, remember the black race claims it all, we have not part nor lot in it. He was fifty years old at the time. An old Negro had taught him to read. His favourite books were Epictetus, Raynal, *Military Memorials*, Plutarch. In the woods he learnt some of the qualities of herbs, and was village doctor. On the estate the highest place he ever reached was that of coachman. At fifty he joined the army as physician. Before he went he placed his master and mistress on shipboard, freighted the vessel with a cargo of sugar and coffee, and sent them to Baltimore, and never afterwards did he forget to send them year by year ample means of support. And I might add that all the leading Negro generals each one saved the man under whose roof he was born, and protected the family. Let me add another thing. If I stood here to-night to tell the story of Napoleon I should take it from the lips of Frenchmen, who find no language rich enough to paint the great captain of the nineteenth century. Were I to tell you the story of Washington I should take it from your hearts—you who think no marble white enough on which to carve the name of the father of his country. I am about to tell you the story of a Negro who left hardly one written line. I am to glean it from the reluctant testimony of Britons, Frenchmen, Spaniards, men who despised him as a Negro and a slave and hated him because he had beaten them in many battles. All the materials for his biography are from the lips of his enemies.

"About the time he reached the camp the army had been subjected to two insults. First, their Commissioners, summoned to meet the French Committee, were ignominiously and insultingly dismissed; and when afterwards Franzois, their General, was summoned to a second conference and went to it on horseback accompanied by two officers, a young lieutenant who had known him as a slave, angered at seeing him in the uniform of an officer, raised his riding-whip and struck him over the shoulders. If he had been the savage which the Negro is painted to us, he had only to breathe the insult to his twenty-five thousand soldiers, and they would have trodden out the Frenchman in blood. But the indignant chief rode back in silence to his tent, and it was twenty-four hours before his troops heard of this insult to their General. Then the word went forth—'Death to every white man!' They had fifteen hundred prisoners; ranged in front of the camp, they were about to be shot. Toussaint, who had a vein of religious fanaticism, like most great leaders—like Mahomed, like Napoleon, like Cromwell, like John Brown, he could preach as well as fight—mounting a hillock and getting the ear of the crowd, said, 'Brothers, this blood will not wipe out the insult of your chief, only the blood in yonder French Camp can wipe it out. To shed that is courage, to shed this is cowardice;' and he saved fifteen hundred lives.

"I cannot stop to give in detail everyone of his efforts. This was in 1793. Leap with me over seven years, come to 1800; what has he achieved? He has driven the Spaniard back into his own cities, conquered him there, and put the French banner over every Spanish town; and for the first time, and almost the last, the island obeys one law. He has put the mulatto under his feet. He has attacked Maitland, defeated him in pitched battles, and permitted him to retreat to Jamaica; and when the French army rose upon Laveaux, their General, and put him in chains, Toussaint defeated them, took Laveaux out of prison, and put him at the head of his own troops. The grateful French in return named him General-in-Chief. '*Cet homme fait 'ouverture partout*,' said one—'This man makes an opening everywhere.' Hence his soldiers named him l'Ouverture, the opening.

"This was the work of seven years. Let us pause a moment and find something to measure him by. You remember Macaulay says, comparing Cromwell with Napoleon, that Cromwell showed the greater military genius, if we consider that he never saw any army till he was forty, while Napoleon was educated from a boy, in the best military school in Europe. Cromwell manufactured his own army; Napoleon at the age of twenty-seven was placed at the head of the best troops Europe ever saw. They were both successful; but says Macaulay, with such disadvantages, the Englishman showed the greater genius. Whether you allow the inference or not, you will at least grant that it is a fair measurement. Apply it to Toussaint. Cromwell manufactured his own army—out of what? Englishmen—their equals. This man manufactured his army out of what? Out of what you call the despicable race of Negroes, debased, demoralised, by two hundred years of slavery, one hundred thousand of them imported into the island within four years, unable to speak a dialect intelligible even to each other, yet out of this mixed, and as you say, despicable mass, he forged a thunderbolt and hurled at what? At the proudest blood in Europe, the Spaniard, and sent him home conquered; at the most warlike blood in Europe, the French, and put them under his feet; at the pluckiest blood in Europe, the English, and they skulked home to Jamaica. Now if Cromwell was a general, at least this man was a great soldier. I know it was a small territory; it was not as large as the continent; but it was as large as Attica, which with Athens for a capital has filled the earth with its fame for two thousand years. We measure genius by quality, not by quantity. Further, Cromwell was only a soldier; his fame stops there. Not a line in the statute book of Britain can be traced to Cromwell; not one step in the social life of England finds its motive power in his brain. The State he founded went down with him to the grave. But this man no sooner puts his hand on the helm of state than the ship steadied with an upright keel, and he began to evince a statesmanship as marvellous as his military genius. History says that the most statesmanlike act of Napoleon was his proclamation of 1802, at the Peace of Amiens, when believing that the indelible loyalty of a native-born heart is always a sufficient basis on which to found an empire, he said, 'Frenchmen, come home. I pardon the crimes of the last twelve years. I blot out its parties; I found my throne on the hearts of all Frenchmen'—and twelve years of unclouded success showed how wisely he judged. It was in 1800. In 1800 this Negro made a proclamation; it runs thus: 'Sons of St. Domingo, come home. We never meant to take your houses or your lands. The Negro only asked that liberty which God gave him. Your houses wait for you; your lands are ready; come and cultivate them.' And from Madrid and Paris, Baltimore and New Orleans, the emigrant planters crowded home to enjoy their estates, under the pledged word that was never broken of a victorious slave.

"Again, Carlyle has said, 'The natural king is one who melts all wills into his own.' At this moment he

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turns to his armies—poor, ill-clad, and halfstarved and said to them: 'Go back and work on these estates you have conquered; for an empire can be founded only on order and industry, and you can learn these virtues only there.' And they went. The French Admiral who witnessed the scene said that in a week the army melted back into peasants. It was in 1800. The world waited fifty years before, in 1846, Robert Peel dared venture as a matter of practical statesmanship the theory of free trade. Adam Smith theorised, the French statesmen dreamed, but no man at the head of affairs dared to risk it as a practical measure...But in 1800 this black, with the instinct of statesmanship, said to the Committee who were drafting for him a constitution, 'Put at the head of the Chapter of commerce that the ports of St. Domingo are open to the trade of the world.' With lofty indifference to race, superior to all envy or prejudice, Toussaint had formed this Committee of eight white proprietors and mulatto, not a soldier nor a Negro on the list, although Haytian history proves that, with the exception of Regaud, the rarest genius has always been shown by the pure Negroes. Again, it was in 1800, at a time when England was poisoned at every page of her statute book with religious intolerance, when a man could not enter the House of Commons without taking the episcopal communion, when every State in the Union except Rhode Island, was full of the intensest religious bigotry. This man was a Negro. You say that is a superstitious blood. He was uneducated. You say that makes a man narrow-minded. He was Catholic. Many say that it is another name for intolerance. And yet Negro, Catholic, slave, he took his place by the side of Roger Williams, and said to his Committee: 'Make it in the first line of my constitution that I know no difference between religious beliefs.' Now, blue-eyed Saxon, proud of your race, go back with me to the commencement of the century and select what statesman you please. Let him be either American or European; let him have a brain, the result of six generations of culture; let him have the ripest training of University routine; let him add to it the better education of life; crown his temples with the silver of seventy years, and show me the man of Saxon lineage for whom the most sanguine admirer will wreathe a laurel as embittered foes have placed on the brow of this Negro—rare military skill, profound knowledge of human nature, content to blot out all party distinctions, and trust a State to the blood of its sons; anticipating Sir Robert Peel fifty years, and taking his station by the side of Roger Williams before any Englishman or American had won the right. And yet this is the record which the history of rival States makes up for this inspired black of St. Domingo.

"It was 1801. The Frenchmen who lingered on the island described prosperity and order as almost incredible. You might trust a child with a bag of gold to go from Samana to Port-au-Prince without risk. Peace in every household; the valleys laughed with fertility; culture climbed the mountains; the commerce of the world was represented in its harbours. At this time Europe concluded the Peace of Amiens, and Napoleon took his seat on the throne of France. He glanced his eye across the Atlantic, and with a single stroke of his pen reduced Cayenne and Martinique back in chains. He then said to his council, 'What shall I do with St. Domingo?" The slaveholders said, 'Give it to us'.... Colonel Vincent, who had been Private Secretary to Toussaint, wrote letters to Napoleon, in which he said: 'Sire, leave it alone; it is the happiest spot in your dominions. God raised this man to govern; races melt under his hand. He has saved you this island, for I know it of my knowledge that when the Republic could not have lifted a finger to prevent it, George III offered him any title and any revenue if he would hold the island under the British crown. He refused, and saved it for France.' Napoleon turned away from his council, and is reported to have said 'I have sixty thousand idle troops; I must find them something to do'..... It is said the satirists of Paris had christened Toussaint, the Black Napoleon, and Bonaparte hated his black shadow.....

"So Napoleon resolved to crush Toussaint from one motive or another, from the promptings of ambition or dislike of this resemblance, which was very close. If either imitated the other, it must have been the white, since the Negro preceded him several years. They were very much alike, and they were very French—French even in vanity, common to both. You remember Napoleon's vainglorious words to his soldiers at the Pyramids: 'Forty centuries look down upon us.' In the same mood Toussaint said to the French captain who urged him to go to France in his frigate, 'Sir, your ship is not large enough to carry me'..... Toussaint...could never bear a uniform. He wore a plain coat, and often the yellow Madras handkerchief of the slaves. A French lieutenant once called him a maggot in a yellow kerchief. Toussaint took him prisoner next day, and sent him home to his mother. Like Napoleon, he could fast many days; could dictate to three secretaries at once, could wear out four or five horses. Like Napoleon, no man ever divined his purpose, penetrated his plan. He was only a Negro, and so in him they call it hypocrisy. In Bonaparte we call it diplomacy. For instance, three attempts made to assassinate him failed for not firing at the right spot.... They once riddled his carriage with bullets, he was on horseback on the other side. The seven Frenchmen who did it were arrested. They expected to be shot. The next day was a Saint's day. He ordered them to be placed before the high altar, and when the priest read the prayer of forgiveness, he came down from his high seat, repeated it with him, and permitted them to go unpunished. He had that wit common to all great commanders, which makes its way in the camp.... Then, again, like Napoleon—like genius always—he had a confidence in his power to rule men. You remember when Bonaparte returned from Elba, and Louis XVIII sent an army against him, Bonaparte descended from his carriage, opened his coat, offering his breast to their muskets, and saying, 'Frenchmen, It is your Emperor!' and they ranged themselves behind him, his soldiers shouting, 'Vive l'Empereur!' That was in 1815. Twelve years before, Toussaint finding that four of his regiments had deserted and gone to Leclerc, drew his sword, flung it on the grass, went across the field to them, folded his arms, and said, 'Children, can you point a bayonet at me?' The blacks fell on their knees, praying his pardon. His bitterest enemies watched him, and none of them charged him with love of money, sensuality, or cruel use of power. The only instance in which his sternest critic has charged him with severity is this: During the tumult a few white proprietors who had returned, trusting his proclamation, were killed. His nephew, General Moise, was accused of indecision in

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quelling the riot. He at once assembled a Court-martial, and on its verdict ordered his own nephew to be shot, sternly Roman in thus keeping his promise of protection to the whites.

"Above the lust of gold, pure in private life, it was against such a man that Napoleon sent his army, giving to General Leclerc . . . . thirty thousand of his best troops, with orders to re-introduce slavery. Among these soldiers came all of Toussaint's old mulatto rivals and foes. Holland lent him sixty ships; England promised by special message to be neutral, and, you know, neutrality means sneering at freedom and sending arms to tyrants . . . . Mounting his horse and riding to the eastern end of the island Samana, he looked out on the sight, such as no native had ever seen before. Sixty ships of the line crowded by the best soldiers of Europe—soldiers who had scaled the Pyramids—rounded the point. They were soldiers who had not yet met an equal, whose tread, like Cæsar's, had shaken Europe, soldiers who had scaled the Pyramids and planted the French banners on the walls of Rome. He looked a moment, counted the flotilla, let the reins fall on the neck of the horse, and turning to Christorphe, exclaimed, 'All France is come to Hayti; they can only come to make us slaves, and we are lost!' He then recognised the only mistake of his life—his confidence in Bonaparte, which had led him to disband his army. Returning to the hills, he issued the only proclamation which bears his name and breathes vengeance. 'My children, France comes to make us slaves. God gives us liberty. France has no right to take it away. Burn the cities, destroy the harvests, tear up the roads with cannon, poison the wells; show the white man the hell he comes to make.' And he was obeyed.

"When the great William of Orange saw Louis XIV cover Holland with troops, he said, 'Break down the dykes; give Holland back to the ocean; and Europe said, 'Sublime!' When Alexander saw the armies of France descend upon Russia, he said, 'Burn Moscow; starve back the invaders;' and Europe said, 'Sublime!' This black saw all Europe marshalled to crush him, and gave his people the heroic example of defiance. It is true the scene grows bloodier as we proceed; but remember, the white man fitly accompanied his infamous attempt to *reduce freedom to slavery* with every bloody and cruel device that bitter and cruel hate could invent. Aristocracy is always cruel. The black man met the attempt, as every such attempt should be met, with war to the hilt. In his first struggle to gain his freedom he had been generous and merciful, saved lives and pardoned enemies . . . when rising against aristocrats. Now, to save his liberty the Negro exhausted every means, seized every weapon, turned back the hateful invaders with a vengeance as terrible as their own, though even now he refused to be cruel. Leclerc sent word to Christorphe that he was about to land at Cape City. Christorphe said, 'Toussaint is Governor of the island. I will send to him for permission. If without it a French soldier sets foot on shore, I will burn the town and fight over the ashes.' Leclerc landed. Christorphe took two thousand white men, women and children, and carried them to the mountains in safety; then, with his own hands, set fire to the splendid palace which French architects had just then finished for him and in forty hours the place was in ashes. The battle was fought in the streets, and the Frenchmen driven back to their boats. Wherever they went they met fire and sword.....Beaten in the field, the French took to lies. They issued a proclamation saying, 'We do not come to make you slaves; this man Toussaint tells you lies. Join us, and you shall have the rights you claim.' They cheated every one of his officers except Christorphe and Dessalines and his own brother Pierre; and finally these also deserted him, and he was left alone. He then sent word to Leclerc: 'I will submit. I could continue the struggle for years—could prevent a single Frenchman from safely quitting your camp. But I hate bloodshed. I have fought only for the liberty of my race. Guarantee that; I will submit and come in.' He took the oath to be a faithful citizen, and on the same crucifix Leclerc swore that he should be faithfully protected, and that the island should be free. As the French General glanced along the line of his splendidly equipped soldiers, and saw opposite Touissant's ill-armed followers, he said to him, 'L' Ouverture, had you continued the war, where could you have got arms?' 'I would have taken yours,' was the ready reply.

"He went down to his house in peace; it was summer. Leclerc remembered that the fever months were coming, when his army would be in hospital, and when one motion of that royal hand would sweep his troops into the sea. He was too dangerous to be left at large. So they summoned him to attend a council, and here is the only charge made against him—the only charge: They say he was fool enough to go. Grant it; what was the record? The white man lies shrewdly to cheat the Negro. Knight-errantry was truth. The foulest insult you can offer a man since the Crusaders is, you lie. Of Toussaint, Hermona, the Spanish General who knew him well, said: 'He was the purest soul ever put into a body.' Of him history bears witness: 'He never broke his word.' Maitland was travelling in the depth of the woods to meet Toussaint, when he was met by a messenger and told that he was betrayed. He went on and met Toussaint, who showed him two letters—one from the French General, offering him any rank if he would put Maitland in his power, and the other a reply. It was: 'Sir,—I have promised the Englishman that he shall go back.' Let it stand, therefore, that the Negro, truthful as a knight of old, was cheated by a lying foe. Which race has reason to be proud of such a record? But he was cheated. He was under espionage. Suppose he had refused; the Government would have doubted him—would have found some cause to arrest him. He probably reasoned thus: 'If I go willingly I shall be treated accordingly,' and he went. The moment he entered the room the officers drew their swords, and told him he was a prisoner; and one young lieutenant, who was present, says, 'He was not at all surprised, but seemed very sad.'—They put him on shipboard; weighed anchor for France. As the island faded from his sight, he turned to the captain, and said: 'You think you have rooted up the tree of liberty, but I am only a branch. I have planted the tree so deep that all France can never root it up.' Arrived in Paris, he was flung in jail, and Napoleon sent his Secretary, Caffarelli, to him, supposing he had buried large treasures. He listened awhile, then he replied: 'Young man, it is true I have lost treasures, but they are not such as you have come to seek.' He was sent to the castle of St. Joux, to a dungeon twelve feet by twenty, built wholly of stone, with a narrow window high up on the side looking out on the snow of Switzerland. In the winter ice covers the floor;

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in summer it is damp and wet. In this tomb the child of the sunny tropic was left to die. From this dungeon he wrote two letters to Napoleon. One of them runs thus: 'Sire,—I am a French citizen. I never broke a law. By the grace of God I have saved you the best island of your realm. Sire, of your mercy grant me justice.' Napoleon never answered the letters. The commandant allowed him five francs a day for fuel. Napoleon heard of it, and reduced the sum to three..... In this tomb Toussaint was buried, but he did not die fast enough. Finally, the commandant was told to go to Switzerland, to carry the keys of the dungeon with him, and to stay four days. When he returned, Toussaint was found starved to death."

Dr. Scholes adds :—

"Thus was the greater soul extinguished by the lesser. After this revelation of a character, which in the immensity of its massiveness is so overpowering, is it surprising that standing in its presence, a reviewer [in the International Library of Famous Literature], as if enthralled by the grandeur of its magnitude, should have enquired whether this was the greatest man that has ever lived?"

RAJGRIHA : ITS HISTORY AND SHRINES

ACCORDING to ancient tradition, Bimbisara, built new Rajgriha.* The story is that the houses in Giribrajapur being very close together, fires were of very frequent occurrence. On account of the severe loss which they inflicted on the citizens, the latter represented to the king through his minister to adopt remedial measures. The king, consulting his minister, ordered the person in whose house the fire would first break out, to be exiled to the Sitavana.† And now it happened that the king's palace was the first to be burned with fire. Then he said to his minister, 'I myself must be banished. I wish to maintain the laws of the country. I, therefore, am myself going into exile.' Hearing that the king was in exile, the King of Vaisali raised an army to invade Magadha. Whereupon the lords of the marches built a town and 'as the King was the first to inhabit it, it was named Rajgriha or the King's House.' The king was followed thither by the ministers and the people with their families.

Hiuen Tsiang also mentions that according to some, the new town was built by Bimbisara's son Ajatasatru,‡ which fact is also stated by Fa Hian.§ Probably the fortifications were due to Ajatasatru. But the traditions in the Hindu and Jaina books alike ascribe the building of new Rajgriha to Srenika Bimbisara.

Sisunaga II, the last king of the Videha dynasty, removed the capital from Rajgriha to Vaisali; his son Kalasoka Mahananda, the founder of the *Nanda* dynasty of Magadha, transferred it to Pataliputra.‖ In the tenth year of the reign of the first king of this dynasty, in 351 B.C., the second Buddhist Council was held at Vaisali.

	Nanda Dynasty ...	361—321 B.C.
11.	Kalasoka Mahapadma ...	361 B.C.
12.	Sudhanwa Nanda ...	
13.	The Nine Sons of Nanda.	

After the Nandas the *Mauryas* came into power. The founder of the Maurya dynasty was Chandra Gupta. During Alexander's invasion of the Panjab in 326–27 B.C. Chandra Gupta raised the standard of rebellion against the nine Nandas. The tradition is that Chandra Gupta was the issue of Nanda's mistress, a woman of the barber-caste, named *Mura*, whence the title *Maurya*. As Chandra Gupta's mother was a low caste woman, his half brothers, the legitimate sons of Nanda, looked down upon him. It was probably for this reason that Chandra Gupta fled from Magadha to the Punjab. After the departure of Alexander, Chandra Gupta revolted and made preparations to invade his brothers' kingdom. At last with the help of Chanakya,¶ the Bismarck of ancient India, Chandra Gupta

* Rhys David, *Buddhist India*, pp. 37—38.

† S. Beal—*Buddhist Records of the Western World*; Vol. II., pp. 16—67. In the *Rajgriha-mahatmya* mention is made of सीताबन, Hiuen Tsiang calls it 'cold forest' शतिबन. Probably the two are identical.

‡ Beal. Vol., II., pp. 166—67.

§ Beal. Vol. I., pp. lviii.

‖ Rhys David, pp. 37—38. Hiuen Tsiang says that all the successors of Ajatasatru reigned at Rajgriha till Asoka gave it to the Brahmans and removed the capital to Pataliputra. This is probably a mistake as we know from other sources that Asoka's grandfather Chandra Gupta reigned at Pataliputra.

¶ In the Sanskrit drama 'Mudrarakshasa' by Visakhadatta, the wisdom and intelligence of Chanakya and Chandra Gupta's affection for him, have been described. Most probably Chanakya was known under the following names :—Kautilya, Vatsayana, Mallanaga, Dramila, Angula, Vishnu Gupta, and Pakshila Swami. (See Abhidhana Chinatamani).

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succeeded in establishing the supremacy of the Maurya dynasty in Magadha. Being the issue of a humble Sudra, Chandra Gupta left Rajgriha which was inhabited by ancient and noble families, and made Pataliputra, at the confluence of the Son and the Ganges, his capital. The Maurya dynasty is but a branch of the Nanda dynasty. His power gradually extended over the whole of the Aryavarta or northern India. According to Megasthenes, who was the Greek ambassador at his Court, not less than 118 small kingdoms bowed down before him. He had 6 lacs of foot soldiers, 30 thousand horsemen and 900 war-elephants in his army.

It was during the reign of Chandra Gupta in 305 B. C. that his world-renowned grandson Asoka saw the light. When Asoka was 14 years of age, Chandra Gupta died and was succeeded by his son Bindusara (297 B.C.). Asoka was sent away to Ujjain on account of his misconduct. While at Ujjain his son Mahendra was born in 274 B. C.* Bindusara died in 264 B.C. and there was a civil war among the brothers for the succession. At last Asoka with the help of the old minister Radha Gupta gained the throne of Magadha. Both Chandra Gupta and Bindusara were devoted to the Hindu religion; on account of their patronising the Hindu religion, even their names are not mentioned in the Sanskrit Buddhist books, the 'Asokabadana' and the 'Divyabadana.' Four years after his installation, Asoka embraced the Buddhistic faith, with Upagupta for his *guru*. In 256 B. C. his younger brother did the same thing. Asoka soon established Buddhism as the State religion of India, and by a treaty of friendship with the Syrian King Antiochus II, paved the way for the propagation of the Faith in foreign countries. Prince Mahendra and his younger sister Sanghamitra became converts to Buddhism in 254 B. C. To keep the purity of the Buddhist faith unimpaired, the third great Buddhist Council was summoned in Pataliputra in 242 B. C. in the 18th year of the reign of Asoka. In this Council it was decided to send missionaries to countries far and near for the propagation of the Faith. Accordingly Prince Mahendra and his sister Sanghamitra were deputed to carry Buddhism to Ceylon.

I have given above a brief outline of the activity and enthusiasm of Dharmasoka Priyadarsi, in spreading Buddhism far and near. It was in his reign that the gospel of Gautama Buddha gained a firm footing in India and was preached in most other parts of Asia. Asoka died in 232 B. C. after a reign of 40 years.

Pushyamitra, the commander-in-chief of Vrihadratha, the last of the Mauryas, put him to death and ascended the throne of Magadha founding the *Sunga* dynasty (184 B. C.). The grandson of Asoka, Dasaratha, was a follower of Buddhism. Two inscriptions have been discovered in the Barabar hills† bearing his name. Dasaratha following the noble example of his grandfather excavated two caves in the Nagarjuni hill. The Sunga dynasty too (184-72 B. C.) was Buddhist. Many of their coins have been discovered bearing the figures of the Sangha, Bodhidruma and the Dharmachakra. Devabhumi, the last (tenth) of the Sungas was weak and powerless. His Brahman minister Vasudeva, therefore, took the reins of government in his own hands and established the *Kanva* family which ruled Magadha ably for four generations, (72-27 B. C.)

After the Kanvas the *Guptas* came into power. They were succeeded by the *later Guptas* and *Varmmas* who again were succeeded by the *Pala* dynasty of Magadha. Various coins of Kumara Gupta (reigned 413—455 A. D.) have been discovered. Sasanka (about 600 A. D.), is known in history as a great persecutor of the Buddhists. Tradition gives the name of the last Pala king as Indradyumna, who in 1200 A. D. 'held out the fort of Jaynagar,‡ on the Kiul river against the Muhammadans.'

Buddha and His disciples at Rajagriha.

Though hill-girt Rajagriha lost its political ascendancy after the removal of the capital to the new town and afterwards to Pataliputra, it was resorted to by thousands of Buddhist pilgrims on account of its association with the life and teachings of Gautama Buddha. It was on the hills of Rajagriha that Buddha spent most of his rainy reasons in retreat, and it was here that the first Buddhist Council was held. It was in fact one of the two greatest centres of Buddhism in India.

Buddha§ having entered upon the life of a recluse spent a week in the mango grove of Anupiya. Thence he travelled in one day to

* According to the Northern Buddhists, Mahendra was a younger brother of Asoka. The commonly accepted view is what we have stated above.

† "The two groups of Barabar caves are separated by date as well as by position,... those of Nagarjun were excavated in the first year of Dasaratha, the beloved of the Devas. According to the Vishnu purana Dasaratha was the grandson of Asoka and the son of Sryasas. Cunningham's Archæological Survey Reports, for 1861-62, p. xlviii—xlix, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1863.

‡ Cunningham—*Reports*, Vol. III. p. 135.

§ This is based on Kern's *Manual of Buddhism*.

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Rajagriha, the capital of Magadha, where he begged his food. The King Seniya (Senya, Srenika) Bimbisara, observing the great man (Mahapurusa) from his palace tower, ordered his servants to go and ascertain the nature of the stranger. The men found Bodhisatwa at the foot of the Pandava rock, eating his coarse meal. The king went to the place where the Great Man was sitting and asked the favour that his kingdom should first of all be visited by Buddha.

After staying for sometime near Gayasirsa, the Master wandered with his numerous followers, wending his way to the Sapatittha shrine in Latthivana (Yastivana) near Rajagriha in order to redeem the promise he had made to Bimbisara. When the king heard that Buddha had arrived, he hastened with a great number of Brahman householders, to the Yastivana, and prostrated himself before the feet of the Lord. The following morning when the Master with his disciples entered Rajagriha, there appeared in front of him a young man—a Brahman—in reality Sakra who had assumed that shape—singing the praises of Buddha, the Law, and the Congregation, in the most lofty strain. When the king of Magadha had received his guests, he presented to the Sangha whose chief is the Buddha, in the most formal way by pouring water over the Master's hand, the Bamboo grove (Venuvana, Pali Velubana). Buddha accepted his grant and took up his abode in the grove with his company.*

At that time there lived at Rajagriha, a heterodox wandering ascetic, Sanjaya, who had many disciples, amongst whom were Sariputra and Maudgalyayana. On a certain morning Sariputra saw Aswajit on his begging round and impressed by the Sthabira's deportment, he asked him who was his teacher. Aswajit answered that his Master was the great Sramana of Sakya race and added that he was not yet able to give a detailed exposition of the doctrine, the essence of which, however, was contained in the following formula:—"Ye dhammahetu pabhabo, etc."

'Of those things (conditions) which spring from a cause
The cause has been told by Tathagata
And their suppression likewise
The Great Sramana has revealed.'

Maudgalyayana attained Arhatship in a week, Sariputra in a fortnight and they were elevated by the Buddha to the rank of his two chief disciples.

* Kern, p. 24.

During the Tathagata's stay in the Bamboo grove, the news reached Suddhodana that his son has become a Buddha, and was dwelling near Rajagriha. The old king repeatedly sent envoys, and the same thing happened to all his messengers nine times over, *i.e.*, they attained Arhatship. At last Udayin undertook the task, but on the condition that he should be allowed to become a monk. The king agreed to the stipulation, and the noble went off to Rajagriha, heard the Master preaching and like his predecessors obtained Arhatship. The Master had spent the time of Retreat during the rains, near Benares, then went to Uruvela, where he stayed three months. On the full moon day of Pausa, he went to Rajagriha, remaining there two months, so that five months had elapsed since he left Benares. Now on the full moon day of Phalguna, when the spring in all its loveliness had set in, accompanied by a great number of followers, the Tathagata left Rajagriha with the intention of reaching Kapilavastu in two months.

From Kapilavastu the Master returned to Rajagriha, where he took his abode in the Sitavana. At the time when the Lord was at Sitavana, there came to Rajagriha a wealthy merchant, Sudatta, surnamed Anathapindika, from Sravasti. He heard from a friend in whose house he was lodging that the Lord Buddha had arisen, which moved him to go the next morning to the Sitavana. There he heard the preaching of the Law and became a Srotaapanna. On the following day a great donation was made on the Sangha having Buddha for its head and he invited Buddha to Sravasti.

Once upon a time when the Tathagata spent the rainy season, at the Kalandakanivapa, in the Bamboo Grove—it may have been the second or third retreat or later—it came to the notice of Bimbisara that there was in Vaisali a famous courtezan named Amrapali. Being jealous of that city and wishing to emulate it he resolved to produce in his own kingdom some courtezan who in accomplishments would be superior to Amrapali. Such a person was found in Salavati. A boy was born to her named Jivaka. On a certain day the Buddha happened to be troubled with constipation. Jivaka, who studied medicine at Takshasila, was called and by applying a most delicate purgative succeeded in healing the Lord of his disease.

During his stay in the Bamboo Grove in the third rainy season, the Lord received a deputation from the Vaisalians, imploring him

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to deliver them from a frightful pestilence which desolated their country. The Master willingly acceded to their prayer. Having entered the city, the Tathagata uttered the Ratanasutta and made numberless converts. After receiving many pious gifts he returned to Rajagriha. Three consecutive rainy seasons were spent by the Lord in the Bamboo Grove; in the fifth he sojourned near Vaisali, in the Kutagar hall of the Mahavana.

From Vaisali the Tathagata went to Sravasti, where he spent the sixth rainy season. At the end of the Retreat he removed to Rajagriha. Whilst he was staying in the Bamboo Grove, happened the conversion of Khema, the wife of Bimbisara. During the stay of the Lord near Rajgriha it happened that a wealthy merchant of the place came in possession of a piece of sandal wood. He had a bowl carved out of that piece, put it in a balance, and raising it to the top of a series of bamboos he said: "If any Sramana or Brahman be possessed of miraculous faculty, let him take down the bowl." Pindola-Bharadvaja rose up into the sky, took the bowl and moved thrice round the city, to the astonishment of the public. The Lord rebuked Pindola-Varadvaja for such a display of superhuman power for the sake of a paltry wooden bowl.

From Samkasya Buddha went to the Jetavana near Sravasti. During the eleventh Retreat the Tathagata sojourned near Rajagriha. One day, when he was in the district of the southern hills (Dakshinagiri) at the village of Ekanala he saw the Brahman Bharadvaja superintending the labourers in his fields. It was here that the Lord said:—

"Faith is the seed I sow, devotion is the rain; modesty is the ploughshaft, the mind is the tie of the yoke, mindfulness is my ploughshare and goad. Truthfulness is the means to bind, tenderness, to untie. Energy is my team and bullock leading to safety and proceeding without backsliding to the place where there is no sorrow."

Whereupon the Brahman became a convert.

After spending the 12th, 13th and 14th rainy seasons elsewhere, the Master went to Rajagriha from Alavi, where he spent the rainy season in the Bamboo Grove. The 18th season was spent on a hill near Calika, the following again in the Bamboo Grove, the 20th in the Jetavana. It was in this year that Ananda was appointed the Lord's waiter. After the narrative of the occurrences in the 20th rainy season there is an almost complete blank in the history of the Master.

A new period of stirring events, whatever may be thought of their historical character, may be said to date from the death of Bimbisara and the accession to the throne of his parricidal son Ajatasatru. This took place when the Buddha reached the age of 72 years. Some time afterwards when the Lord sojourning in the Bamboo Grove was preaching the Law, Devadatta rose from his seat and reverentially made the proposal that the Lord on account of his age should leave the leadership of the congregation of monks to him. Devadatta thrice received flat refusal. The Master ordered Devadatta to be denounced. This exasperated Devadatta, who went to Ajatasatru Vaidehiputra and incited him to kill Bimbisara. Said he:—

"Do you kill your father and become king,
And I will kill the Lord and become Buddha."

Accordingly Bimbisara was murdered. Then Devadatta went to Ajatasatru to secure for himself the Prince's support in his design to deprive Gautama Buddha of his life. A man sent by Devadatta to kill him watched the moment when the Lord was walking in the shade below the Gridhrakuta mountain and hurled down a large piece of rock to crush him. But he was baffled. A last attempt on the Lord's life was made by Devadatta by means of the elephant Natagiri, whom they maddened and then let loose in the carriage road of Rajagriha. No sooner had the infuriated animal come into the presence of the Lord, than he was pervaded by a sense of benevolence issuing from Buddha and was subdued.

King Ajatasatru, having killed his father, felt the pangs of conscience. Then on the advice of Jivaka Vaidya, the physician, he went to the great spiritual physician, the Tathagata, and became a convert to the true faith. When the Lord had reached his 79th year and was sojourning on the Gridhrakuta near Rajgir, Ajatasatru intended making war with the Vrijians of Vaisali. Before carrying his designs into effect, he sent the Brahman Varsakara to Buddha with his respectful greetings and humble prayer to be informed anent the issue of the undertaking. Buddha intimated that the king of Magadha would be powerless against the Vrijians.

One day, after explaining to his disciples the merits of morality, mental concentration (samadhi) and wisdom, the Master said to Ananda:

"Come Ananda, let us go to Ambalatthika (between Rajagriha and Nalanda)."

And the Lord went with a large company of monks to that place. After staying there for a short time he proceeded to Nalanda,

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where he took up his abode in the Pravarika Mango grove, repeating the lessons he had given on the Gridhrakuta. From Nalanda, the Lord proceeded to Pataligrama, thence to Vaisali. From Vaisali the Master went to a village in the neighbourhood of that city, Beluva, where he spent his last retreat.

When the Lord had finished his discourse, Ananda emitted the opinion that it would hardly become the dignity of the Buddha to die in so small a town, situated in a waste tract of country and that one of the great cities, Campa, Rajgriha, Sravasti, Saketa, Kausambi or Benares would be a fitter place. But the Master showed him that Kusinara being in former times the royal city of Kusavati, was the most becoming place.

When Ajatasatru heard the tidings that the Lord had departed this life, he forwarded a claim for obtaining the possession of a portion of the relics. The several claimants entreated Drona to divide the relics into eight equal portions and so he did, keeping for himself the urn over which he built a shrine. After the event came a messenger from the Mauryas of Pippalivana to ask for a portion of the relics. No portion being left, the Mauryas had to content themselves with the coals, over which they erected a shrine. There were then eight stupas:—in Rajagriha, Vaisali, Kapilavastu, Allakappa, Ramagrama, Vethadipa, Pava, and Kusinara, besides the shrines erected by Drona and the Mauryas. The monks dwelt in the woods, at the foot of a tree, on a hill, in a grotto, in a mountain cave, a cemetery, a forest, the open air, on a heap of straw. Now a rich merchant of Rajagriha wished to erect buildings for the reverend ones and the Lord Buddha gave him assent saying:—

"I allow you, O Monks, abodes of five kinds—*Viharas*, *Addhayagas*, towers (*Prasads*), stone-houses with flat roofs, and crypts."

The First Council at Rajgriha:

"Younger works state that on the convocation of the First Council at Rajagriha, shortly after the *parinirvana* of the Buddha in 478 B. C., it was the King Ajatasatru, who provided and prepared the hall at the entrance to the Sattapani cave, where the rehearsal of the doctrine took place."* "With the assistance of Ajatasatru, King of Magadha, a splendid hall was built for the assembly of the first synod at the mouth of the Sattapani cave on the side of the Weppara mountain. Five hundred carpets were spread around for the monks; one throne was prepared for the abbot on the south side, facing the north, and another throne was erected in the middle, facing the east, fit for the holy Buddha himself."†

* Rhys David's *Buddhist India*, p. 16.

All available accounts of the Council at Rajgriha agree in this that the *Vinaya* and *Dharma* were rehearsed. The place where the Council was held, the cave Saptaparna (which has been differently identified by Cunnigham, Beglar and Stein) was a sort of recess on the north of the Vaihara hill. Fa Hian had very imperfect notions about the Council, and so he fancied that Sariputra and Maudgalyayana had been present at the assembly, though it is generally known that both died before the Master. Some elements of the tales connected with the First Council were probably older than the composition of the sacred writings, but they have been disfigured to such an extent that it is now impossible to separate the dogmatical and legendary elements from the historical facts.

III.—Post-Buddhistic Period.

A.—*The Decline of Buddhism in India.*

The following causes led to the decline of the Buddhist Church in India:—(1) The rise of Tantrism, (2) the division of Buddhism into sects, (3) the change of dynasties in Magadha, (4) the general change of the popular mind. Fa Hian found Buddhism very flourishing in Udayana, the Panjab, Mathura, and in a satisfactory condition more to the east. He does not mention the College at Nalanda, which in the 7th century was the chief centre of Buddhist learning. This has led Cunningham to suppose that the College must have been established at a much later date. The decline of Buddhism in India may be said to date from the 8th century A. D. This also coincides with the rise of Tantrism and sorcery all over India.

The Kings of the Pala dynasty, whose sway over Gauda and the adjacent regions lasted from about A. D. 800 to 1050, are known both from the annals and their inscriptions as protectors of the Faith. It was during that period that the monastery of Vikramasila was a renowned centre of Tantric learning. During the reign of the Pala kings many Buddhist pilgrims used to visit Rajagriha. Many *Tantric-Buddhistic* gods and goddesses were established at Rajagriha by these kings some of which are still to be found on the Vaibhara hill. 'Ashtabhuja Vajravarahi,' with the inscriptions '*Ye Dharma, etc.*' in the Vipula-giri and the Vajravarahi or Batuk Bhairab are both distinctly Buddhistic images and they were established by the Pala kings.

† Turnour, Bengal *Asiatic Society's Journal*, vii, 516.

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The Sena kings, who followed the Palas in the dominion over Eastern India, though belonging to the Hindu persuasion, were not hostile to Buddhism. Still Buddhism declined during their reigns, and the more so after the invasion of the country by the Muhammadans in A.D. 1200. The monasteries of Udantapura and Vikramasila (in Magadha on the Northern bank of the Ganges) were destroyed; the monks either fled to other countries or were killed. And thus the Law of Buddha became extinct in Magadha.

B.—*Jaina Influence at Rajagriha.**

The Jaina influence at Rajgriha dates its beginning from the time of Bimbisara. The last *Tirthankara* Mahavira Swami resided for a long time at Vipulagiri and gave the Srenika king of Magadha (Bimbisara) instructions on his religion. From ancient Jaina *Puranas* and *Angas*, we come to know that Bimbisara was one of the devoted disciples of Mahavira Swami. It was during his time that hundreds of men were converted to the Nirgrantha or Jaina religion. Though during and after Bimbisara's reign the rise of the Buddha led to the spread of Buddhist shrines all over the five hills, yet the Jaina influence was not altogether eradicated from the hill-tops. In addition to the Vipulagiri, the abode of Mahavira, we have on the Sonachala (Sonagiri), on Ratnachala, on Vaibhar and Udayagiri the remains of old Jaina buildings. At the foot of the image of Parswanath in the Vipulagiri, there is a rock inscription which tells us that the Jainas gathered at Rajagriha up to the 8th or 9th century of the Christian era and after that the Jaina influence was on the wane. On account of the subsequent growth of the Brahmanic influence and persecution by the Musalmans, we get no proofs of Jaina influence at Rajagriha from the 10th to the 17th century. After the decline of the Muhammadan power in the 18th century, Jaina pilgrims again began to assemble at the five hills of Rajagriha, and rich Jainas built many new temples and restored many old ones. In this way 24 images of the *Tirthankaras* and the foot prints of the *Tirthankaras* came to be set up at Rajgriha. The Jaina works of the 18th and 19th centuries only meet the eyes of the visitor at the present time.

C.—*Brahmanic Influence at Rajgir.*

From the description of Hiuen Tsiang it appears that Asoka, the king of Magadha, was a great admirer of the Brahmans at first. During this period of his life he gave the whole of old Rajagriha to the Brahmans. It was from this time that the Brahmanic influence at Rajagriha began. From that time forward, the Brahmans were ever busy establishing Hindu gods and goddesses at those places which had been once held sacred by the Buddhists. Asoka's change of creed and the propagation of Buddhism by him must have checked the Brahmans for some time. They, however, came forward to establish the Pauranik religion at Rajgriha when the Sungamitras rose to power. Then began the demolition of Buddhist shrines. The Gupta kings having been followers of the Brahmanic creed, the Brahmans were all-powerful at Rajagriha. But in the 6th century with the fall of the Guptas and the revival of Buddhism in Magadha, there came a change. It was for this reason that though the Chinese traveller Fa-Hian saw many Brahmans at Rajgir, he saw few Hindu *temples*. The Brahmans were again restored to power with the rise of Yasovarma at Kanauj and of Adisura at Gauda in the 8th century. The rise of the Pala kings, who were Tantrik-Buddhists but not hostile to the Brahmans, saw many Hindu temples, *tirthas* and gods established here. When the sun of Buddhism set for ever in Magadha, the Brahmans of Rajgir in order to attract Hindu pilgrims compiled the *Rajgriha-mahatmya*. In this way, some of the Buddhist and Jaina shrines came to be appropriated by the Hindus. Thus at the present day, though Rajagriha is a great place of interest for the archæologist, it is known to most people as a mere place of pilgrimage for the Hindus, Jainas and Muhammadans!

D.—*Muhammadan Influence at Rajgriha.*

The Muhammadan influence began with the conquest of Bihara by Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyar in 1193 A.D. The pleasant climate and beautiful natural scenery of Rajgriha attracted many Muhammadan saints and fakirs, among whom the name of Makhdum Shah is famous. Makhdum Shah Shaikh Sharf-ud-Din Ahmad was revered by Musalmans and Hindus alike. He lived near the Rishya-Sringa-Kunda, in 715 A.H., and performed many miracles. This *kunda* was appropriated by the Muhammadans and is still known as the Makhdum-Kund. The Musalmans still visit this hot spring and bathe in it.

SATYESH CHANDRA GUPTA.

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RECENT DISCOVERIES OF DR. J. C. BOSE

THESE few pages are meant to give a brief idea of the researches of Dr. J. C. Bose, and of his discoveries, which may be fitly styled the most important and significant discoveries of the day. Since the commencement of his reseraches, I have followed them with the keenest interest, and am struck with their great simplicity and all-absorbing significance.

The sum and substance of the discoveries in question, is the establishment of an *Unity and Uniformity* in nature, whereby the gulf between the living and the non-living has been successfully bridged over.

To give an idea of this abstruse subject—abstruse because it involves questions both of Biology as well as Physics—in the simplest way, we should consider his work under the following headings, for separate consideration :—

I. His fundamental conception of matter and its response to stimuli the *Molecular theory*.

II. His principal method of enquiry into the origin and mode of response- the *electrical method*.

III. His *instruments*—the principal one being an improved form of the *differential galvanometer*, and others—contraction, absorption, death and growth *recorders*—all highly delicate, accurate and automatic.

IV. The *significant discoveries* made with them, *viz.*, the *similarity of response in the living and the non-living*, and the universal application of the law of conservation of energy, with which he has solved many an intricate biological problem, such as life and death, health-tone and the like.

As regards his theory and fundamental conception of response, the most important point is the study *based upon the molecular basis of matter*. Material particles and their interactions being the fundamental basis of both organic and inorganic substances, these discoveries are equally applicable to the living and the non-living.

Stimulus causes molecular disturbance, first locally, which then spreads all about the substance. To take an example. If a steel spring be fixed at one end, and torsion be applied at the other, the latter end will be displaced. If a small mirror be tied there, it would reflect a spot of light on a scale, where this deflection can be accurately measured. Ordinarily this deflection varies with the intensity of the stimulus. No sooner, however, this stimulus is taken away, the original condition is soon restored.

The stages in these changes are, (*a*) the mechanical stimulus acting against the intermolecular resistance of the particles, which stimulus thereby (*b*) causes displacement of the particles there, (*c*) restoration coming on after torsion is removed—with some vibrations in the case of elastic substances, like steel-thread, or wire.

But besides this mechanical change, there are both thermal and electrical changes as well. Dr. Bose's general method of study is, however, not of the mechanical, but of the electrical aspect of change—this last being universal as well as the most capable of accurate measurement.

To apply the electrical method of study to the above, Dr. Bose has modified the above arrangements in this way :—

The substance under experiment is placed in position, and its two ends are connected with a highly sensitive galvanometer, by means of non-polarisable electrodes. (*Vide* Fig I.)

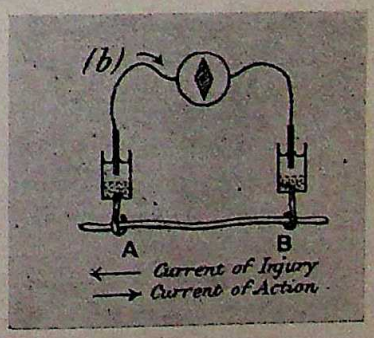

Fig I.

If the homogenous substance be stimulated exactly at the middle, there would be no deflection in the galvanometer, as the influence on the two halves are exactly alike. But if

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it be stimulated towards one side more than on the other the needle would be deflected.

The principal instrument of Dr. J. C. Bose is based on this simple apparatus, which has been further modified and improved so that

(1) Everything in it is capable of *accurate* measurement, even the minutest change.

(2) *Permanent* records may be taken with it, on a moving photographic plate, placed near the scale, where the traversing spot of light traces curves.

(3) The whole may work *automatically* with the least interference from the experimenter.

I have taken such a long time, in describing the principle and plan of this instrument, because that is the most important thing in connection with Dr. Bose's research work. This simple but superb conception of his, has brought to him so many valuable discoveries. The discovery of an instrument highly sensitive and accurate, is the necessary condition for the discovery of valuable truths—as we already know to have been the case, with the discovery of the galvanometer, the thermometer, the stethoscope and other instruments.

The *elastic* steel spring readily responded under torsion, and readily returned to its original position when the torsion was removed. But if a *non-elastic* lead thread be substituted in its place, both the response and the return would be slower, because of its inelasticity. There is thus an important distinction between an *elastic* and a *non-elastic* substance.

Nerves are highly elastic. They are not easily fatigued. They both readily respond to stimulus, as well as are readily restored. Elastic after-vibration has been seen in the case of steel-thread. This is also a common incidence of nerves. It is well seen in the retina, as when after looking at the bright sun in the morning, on closing the eye, we continue to see alternate red and black images, representing the opposite stages in vibrations of the highly elastic retinal nerves.

Stimulus, which is applied in experiments, is various in its nature—thermal, mechanical, chemical, electrical and the like. Of these the electrical stimulus is the most convenient for experimental purposes; thermal, mechanical and chemical damage the tissue more lastingly. The special stimulus Dr. Bose uses is quite original, and it was never known to scientists before.

His common method of stimulation is the "heater"—which is nothing else but a loop of thin platinum wire, heated to redness by a momentary current, passing through it, placed at some distance from the point of stimulation. The influence it creates is momentary, and it does not leave any after-effect. Thus it is the most convenient for rapid and delicate experimental work.

To demonstrate that *chloroform* causes depression and *alcohol* increases irritability, the following experiment will be very suitable. I have already said, that if the substance be stimulated exactly at the middle, there would not be any deflection in the galvanometer, because the influences on the two sides are exactly equal and opposite. But if chloroform be put on one side, and the substance be then stimulated in the middle, a current will be indicated, because one side is depressed by chloroform. Similarly by applying alcohol on that side, and stimulating the substance in the middle, a current will be indicated, but in the opposite direction. Thus *chloroform depresses response and alcohol increases it.* This will be more evident later on, when we will see, that by the application of the former (chloroform) the resulting curve would be lower, and by the application of alcohol, it would be higher than the normal rise. *This is found to be true whatever be the nature of the substance experimented on—whether a plant or animal tissue or even a piece of metal.* (*Vide* Fig. II.)

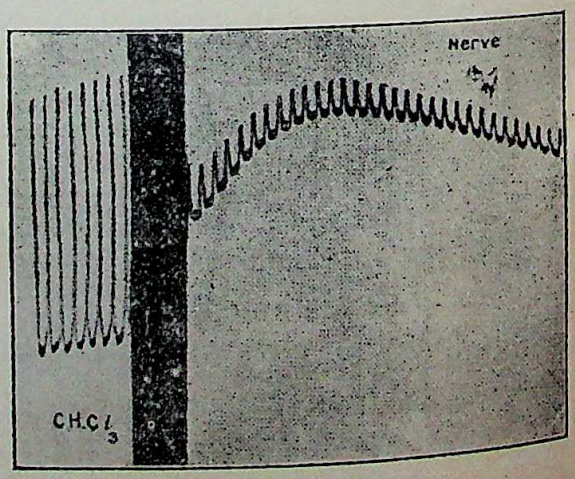

Fig. II.

In this way experiments may be made with any drug, and the results yielded would be a valuable help to more exact, accurate, and detailed, experiments on live animals like rabbit and fowl. The latter method is both expensive and cruel, and may be considerably

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spared by preliminary experiments on simpler things like plant tissue or metal.

The above is a method of differential test—the "*method of difference*"—the *most scientific* method known. By this method, experimenting on different substances—plant, animal or metal; and with various kinds of stimuli—thermal, mechanical, chemical, electrical; and under different condition—*i.e.*, with slowly repeated, very quickly repeated, feeble or strong stimuli, it is found, that the *response is exactly similar in the living and the non-living.*

The curve traced by a moving spot of light on a photographic plate, may be represented thus—

The ordinate or vertical line represents the intensity of response, the abscissa or base line, the time. Stimulus is applied at *a*, response commences after an interval at *A*—*a A* is called the "Latent period of response." AB the up stroke represents the state of "Response," which continues through BC unabated, and the down stroke CD represents the state of "Relaxation" after the stimulus is taken away. *D d e* are "after-vibrations," mostly observed in the case of highly elastic substances like the steel spring or nerve. From this peculiarity of nerve Dr. Bose seeks to explain the phenomenon of "memory."

The above may be called the *normal curve of response.* (*Vide* Fig. III.) Sometimes the

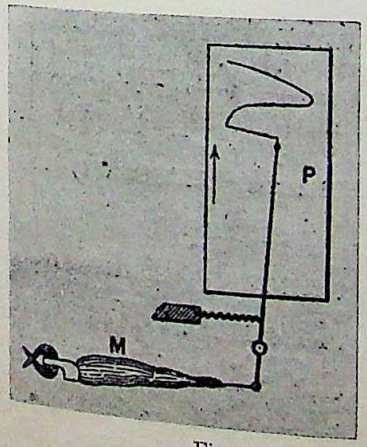

Fig. III.

curves are of peculiar shape, owing either to the variation in the nature of the substance, or in the nature of the stimuli used. Thus in an *excited* condition, as when *alcohol* is applied, the curve rises *higher*, and in a *depressed* condition, as when *chloroform* is applied, it sinks *lower*, (*vide* Fig. II); under *rapidly repeated* stimuli it *continually ascends*—"*staircase rise*" (*vide* Fig. IV)—up

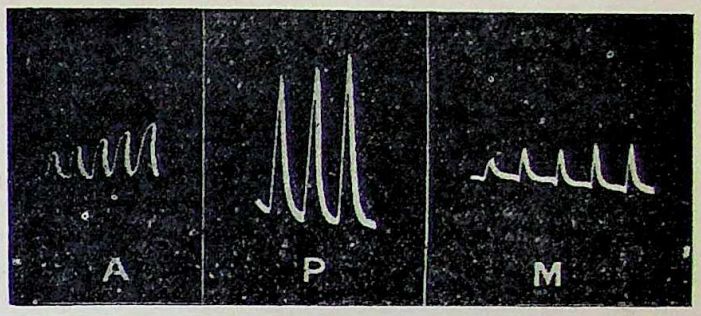

Fig. IV.

to a certain height, and with very *frequently repeated* stimuli we get a "*Tetanic*" *curve.* In *fatigue*, (*vide* Fig. V) the curve is *low* and

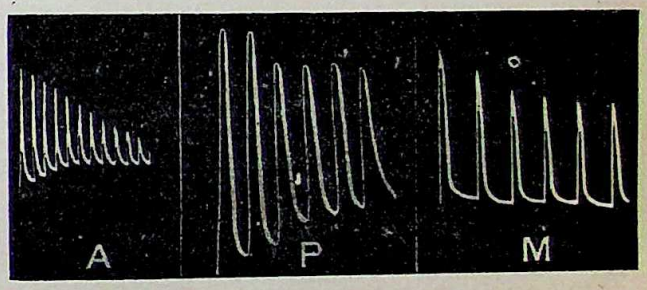

Fig. V.

rapidly descends. In *death*, (*vide* Fig. IV) as when the substance is treated with some

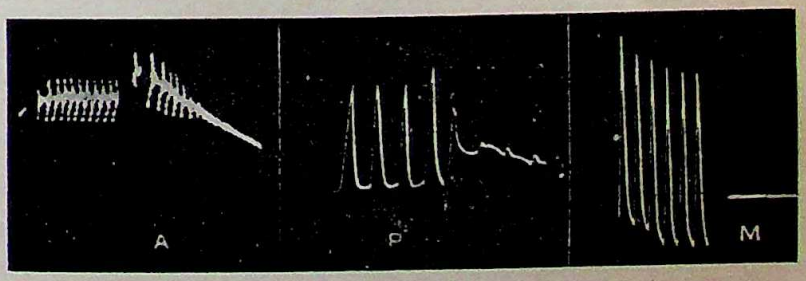

Fig. VI.

A = Response in Animal.
P = " in Plants.
M = " in Metals.

poison, *e.g.*, oxalic acid—there is *no rise*, no response.

In all these cases the *curves are indices of the behaviour of the molecules* of the substance experimented on. A higher curve indicates greater excitability or greater molecular displacement, a lower indicates smaller displacement, a tetanic curve indicates continuous displacement, fatigue indicates increase

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of molecular resistance, while in death there is irreversible clogging of molecules, and consequent want of response.

Experimenting with different drugs on different substances and in different doses, and taking their curves, it has been found that *different drugs act as stimulants or depressants on different tissues*, and that a *small dose shows the opposite effect* to what the same drug shows when exhibited in much *bigger doses*, and that in *very minute doses* it has the effect *similar* to and as intense as very *big doses*. In other words the resulting curve *oscillates* up and down the reference line.

It is a still more marvellous revelation to know that the effect goes on continually varying from one side to another—perhaps *ad infinitum*.

Rightly viewed this is a self-evident truth, and of necessity follows from the law of "Universal cycle" spoken of by ancient philosophers,—the different halves of the same circle, coming on repeatedly, as the circle is retraversed.

I ought to have mentioned one more thing in this connection, and that is about how this idea, *viz.*, the fundamental idea of molecular interaction in response, first occurred to Dr. Bose. In wireless telegraphy, a very sensitive coherer is needed—and this high sensitiveness has been brought about by applications of stimulants like alcohol to the metal-filings which compose the coherer. As is well-known the coherer is a tube in which loose particles of metal are placed in connection with a battery and a galvanometer in series. Here the current of the battery does not cause deflection in the galvanometer, as it cannot pass through those loosely packed metal filings; but whenever an electric radiation is present in the neighbourhood, it adjusts the metal filings in such a way, that they transmit the current, and the consequent deflection of the galvanometer indicates the news sent from a distance. The real discoverer of this principle was Hughes, the discoverer of the microphone and the induction-balance. Marconi only applied it for practical purposes, and hence he has carried away the name and honour. But no one else could explain the real phenomenon, before Dr. Bose. J. J. Thomson's article on wireless telegraphy, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, may be consulted in this connection.

So long I have only dealt with the contents of one of his works—the very first one, "Response in the Living and the Non-living," which deals with the rudimentary principles upon which the other discoveries are to develop. In his treatise on "Plant Response," he has worked out more marvellous discoveries, and the solutions of many an abstruse biological problem, of the highest interest and importance, such as the problems of life and death, health and tone of the organism, and the like. With him *responsiveness is life and its absence is death, and health or tone of the system means* nothing more or less than *the amount of available potential energy stored up in the system*. So-called vital phenomena are as much under the universal law of conservation of energy as any other phenomena. In this book of Dr. Bose's, vegetable physiology has been remarkably simplified by his "Fundamental law of cell-contraction"—

"A living cell *contracts* under the influence of *external* stimulus and *expands* under the influence of *internal* stimulus."

With this simple law he explains *ascent of sap*, and all varieties of *plant movements*, *e.g.*, *heliotropism*, (*i. e.*, movement induced by light) *Geotropism*, (by gravity), *hydrotropism* (by moisture), *nyctiginous movements* of plants, (*i. e.*, closing of flowers and leaves at night), the behaviour of the *sensitive and carnivorous* plants, and the like. Here the cells on two sides are unequally influenced, due to different external or internal conditions, and contract unequally, and hence the various movements are produced.

The most admirable record is the record with the 'Morograph' or death-recorder. If the stimulus is very intense the displacement is so very great, that return becomes impossible, or in other words the particles clog, and consequently there is no more response. This condition is Death. (*Vide* Fig. VI.)

The onset of this condition depends upon the vitality of tissues. If that vitality is low death occurs earlier. All phanerogamous plants die, if their temperature be raised above 60° F. Ferns die at a lower temperature; hence they are kept in the shade of the fern-house. But if the plant be already injured, or unhealthy in any way, it dies much earlier, before 60° is reached. The same principle applies in the case of animals or any of their organs or tissues. The real problem of treatment for diseases is, therefore, the increase of internal energy, or health, or tone, of the organism. The question of judicious use of stimulants like alcohol, etc., and depressants like chloroform come in here for this purpose. The safest mode of treatment consists in gradually administered small doses, which would gradually increase the tone of the organism, without bringing on a

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discharge of energy which would lead to its diminution, and thereby frustrate our purpose.

A remarkable phenomenon is observed at the moment of death. In the curve it appears as a *notch* and represents the "*Death spasm*," with which we are so familiar, in the case of human beings. This Death spasm or notch is less prominent, in case of slow death, or death of old or debilitated organisms, but in case of sudden death, as by poison, or the death of a strong, healthy tissue, both the death-spasm and the notch in the curve are prominent. This tallies with our experiences in human beings. In the case of an old or weak man, low ebb of life imperceptibly merges into death, whereas in the case of a strong man, or sudden death by accident, or poisoning, death produces violent symptoms. The same law holds throughout nature—in human beings, animals, plants, and even in metals.

Are not these strange discoveries—*the uniformity of nature in all her aspects, the Rhythms and Cycles pervading everywhere?*

INDU MADHAB MALLICK.

NOTES

An English Sanskritist's impressions of India.

We have received from a friend in England the following extract from a letter written by a young English Sanskritist travelling in India. The extract selected is given here with perfect verbal continuity, and is published by permission. Comments would occur to all our Indian readers.

"I suppose it is natural you should want to hear something about India seeing that I have been in that country already two months. Well, I have not fallen in love with it or its inhabitants; one day one is pessimistic, the next optimistic; it depends largely on the amount one has had to be out in the sun and the extent to which one has been able to quench one's thirst, but on the whole it may be affirmed, although it is a platitude, that India is not a land for white men. If they are strong and can keep well, I imagine people might become absorbed in it, as they undoubtedly do and get very keen and interested in their work, but personally I could never become enthusiastic about the people or the country; all the English out here in whatever capacity treat their career here as a business and almost count the hours till their next furlough; at least that is the general impression one gets; many do it unconsciously and seem to believe they are bound up in India's destiny. It is rather distressing that we should hate India and India should hate us and yet that there seems no immediate prospect of a change for the better. From my own point of view I cannot conceive how anything short of actual danger to our people or mere love of adventure could have led us to accept such a grave and horrible responsibility as this teeming Indian Empire, and I suppose it is largely owing to those two circumstances that we have got it; but why we should have decreased the extent and number of the native states I cannot think; for my sake I should have said let the native rulers rule as many Hindus as they only can and relieve us of some of the discontent and unpleasantness. But no, we grab that province, get another by craft, curtail a third and so on—till it really does look like mere greed, for no one denies that the natives are more heavily taxed in British territory than in native states and many native states are admirably managed.

Of course one dare not breathe a word of this sort out here; one would be shouted down as another Keir Hardie or a provoker of mutiny. Somehow I cannot get over the feeling that it is wrong that the taxes paid by Hindus should go towards the pay and pensions of alien rulers, who hate and despise them largely and who are often hated and despised in return. Not that I like the Hindus, I do not: in fact in many respects they are extremely unattractive and I know that it is the pick of Englishmen (bien entendu I.C.S., *not* military!) who come out here and often sacrifice life and health in doing their duty—still the feeling is there.

I think it is all nonsense talking about our mission and our destiny; the Hindus do not want to be converted and never will be; Hinduism, however, repellent to us, is to them a sufficient and attractive religion and suits them down to the ground; the more refined and intellectual of course form sects of their own and treat all this awful idolatry as a mere sop to the people; Hinduism is alive and flourishing and we ought either to convert them by force which the Mahomedans did (this is of course inconceivable nowadays) or leave them alone. The mere fact of its being a state religion with Bishops living in palaces is enough to prevent Protestantism being acceptable.

Of course I ought not to generalise at all being out here only such a short time but one always gets general impressions. As long as we can persuade ourselves and others that it is our destiny to keep order in India I suppose we shall stay there. Meanwhile I do not see how we can be surprised at discontent or mutiny, it seems to me only a natural consequence. Our position is like that of a father with an adopted child—he gives him education,

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food, means of communication with others and all the advantages of civilisation and yet he is surprised that the child when he grows up should show him little natural affection—add, that the father has meantime made successful speculation with the child's property and sticks to the profits!

As for the Hindus I find them a depressing people, really; they care neither for nature nor for art; their principal object in life seems to be successful procreation; they mutilate their own antiquities and disfigure their own persons; their principal object of worship is the organs of generation: and their conversation turns on nothing, as a man we have met said, but 'pice and rice'; it is difficult to find among them any ideal which should ever make them change at all. Of course from one point of view this is just as well, I mean if they are fairly well contented as they are, then much better that they should go on instead of becoming restless; but somehow this is an unnatural point of view. You will gather from all this that I have been out a lot in the sun to-day, so discount 25 p. c.! Of course when one comes into personal contact with the native he is almost always pleasant, genial, polite, and obliging. They are also I am told highly moral in domestic life and there is none of the contemplative phlegmatic traditional Hindu about him as far as I can see; he is childishly ingenuous and worships mechanical devices, gramophones, cameras, etc; the distressing thing is to see them admire a wooden ball twice life size and painted garishly, mechanically constructed so that its eyes, ears and tongue are made to waggle by turning a handle; the priests make no mystery, they do not pretend it is divine and any schoolboy making the thing work produces the same awe amongst the crowd. As far as appearances go I have never except perhaps in South Africa seen such numbers of plain and ugly people, they are often painfully so; the women almost always have their nose covered with jewellery and so are not allowed a chance; the men too in this part do not give themselves a chance, they shave their heads except the back whence the long hair they bind into a knot; they are usually cleanshaven and this exposes their mouths and teeth which are as a rule scarlet with betel nut and horrid to look at; I could count the good looking Hindus I have seen on the fingers of two hands and the refined faces on those of one. The extreme of unattractiveness is reached by the priests who add obesity to plainness. They are very keen about Sanskrit learning in the south and this is a good feature but somehow it strikes one as being rather an enthusiasm on paper. The great difficulty is to find anything in common between them and us in ordinary life, they belong to such an absolutely different world. They are almost extremely friendly and pleasant, that is, granted that they understand English; they are gentle in their actions and graceful in their movements; they gesticulate inordinately; they look fairly clean as a rule and their clothes, such as they are, usually washable; they are always shining themselves by inches in 'tanks' or under taps, but I have never seen one have a swim or use soap; they are very delicate constitutionally always suffering from cold or fever against which they take no precautions; whenever they take medicine they are apt to take triple or quadruple doses believing it is sure to do them 3 or 4 times as much good; they cover their foreheads with sectarian marks and this gives them a singularly barbaric look; they indulge without measure in spices and fragrant nuts and astringent leaves which they are always munching, and seem to eat little solid food; I have never seen a drunken native (except native Christians) although they consumed large quantities of toddy after their day's labour. I have never seen them ill-treat a child or an animal, which is more than can be said for a two months' stay in most European countries. Indian scenery so far as we have seen it is disappointing; if one were pessimistic one would say it consists of three things: barren mountains, parched plains, and unhealthy marshes: but it is not as bad as that. The trees wherever there are any are very fine, though the prickly and shadeless varieties are numerous; many of the best trees and flowers have been imported by the English; Indian flowers seem either to have no scent or else an overpowering one. The best thing in India is the antiquities and they are in better preservation in proportion as the modern Hindu takes less interest in them, rather a sad fact.

Prof. J. C. Bose's work in Science.

We should like to call the attention of Indian students to the character of the work done by Prof. J. C. Bose in science, as slightly indicated in the review of 'Comparative Electro-Physiology' which we give in this number. Prof. Bose, though now one of the world's highest authorities on his own subjects, was once nothing more than an Indian student. He has raised himself to his present height by his single-mindedness and concentration of every energy on his work. In this, he has undoubtedly owed much to that delicate manipulative dexterity which is not uncommon amongst Indian people. Still more is certainly the result of the Indian practice of mind-control which is the form taken by all our Hindu devotional exercises, and no doubt accumulates as a faculty from generation to generation. And a third point in which we recognise the value to Prof. Bose of his national inheritance, lies in his fixed tendency to work for unity, instead of diversity, in natural phenomena. It is a proud thought, too, that at no period in our history, would his scientific conclusions have led to any thing but admiration and affection from Prof. Bose's countrymen. Galileo on the rack, Giordano Bruno at the stake, represent an attitude towards science which Asia has never shared with Europe. India has always honoured the disinterested pursuit of knowledge, however startling might seem at the moment the conclusions announced. Hindu culture has always been loyal to demonstrated truth, always receptive of new ideas. It is surely no little thing that within two generations of English speech, our country should have shown her ability to

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produce a scientific force of the order represented by Dr. Bose. We have in him one who has not only inherited, but has also won, the right to the Hindu name. We hope for nothing so much as that amongst the students of the present day may be found many to conceive ambitions as high and to carry them out with will as unswerving, as must have been those of this leader of thought.

The reason why Dr. J. C. Bose's researches have only excited wonder among our countrymen, but have not been intelligently followed, is because the subject is abstruse, involving a knowledge of higher physics, as well as of the higher physiology not only of the organs and their functions but of the tissues and cells as well. This initial difficulty has prevented his books being largely read and understood by the public. All the same, his work has a great future, as it has made the higher speculative sciences and philosophy the subject of experimental demonstration, supplying a common basis of general molecular action, whereby all sciences are unified. It is eminently a work of the eastern mind acting according to western methods. The harmonious blending of two such things has been the cause of its peculiar excellence.

The Abusiveness of the Press.

The abusiveness of the press is very undesirable and is a serious matter. What an amount of abuse did not some papers contain, for example, about the Congress schism, or the election of Babu Rabindranath Tagore to the presidential chair of the Pabna Conference, or, in non-political matters, the marriage of Dr. Asutosh Mukherji's daughter! Of course, all this is due to the defective character and education of the editors of the journals concerned, and of many of their readers, too. But another cause is undoubtedly that the nation as a whole or a majority of it has not yet earnestly set its hands to any great and serious work. When we shall do such work, the abusiveness of the press will largely disappear and not assume serious proportions. In England abusiveness was a marked characteristic of Labour Politics for many years. People thought this class would never be formidable, because they could not combine. But no one thinks that now, for they have proved that they do know how to combine when a point is to be carried. So in our country, even outbreaks of the recriminative habit, undesirable as they are, do not promise any substantial advantage to the opponent of both combatants.

The Lucknow Industrial Conference.

The second United Provinces Industrial Conference, which met last month at Lucknow, could not unfortunately report any actual work done since the sitting of the first Conference. Mr. A. C. Chatterji, I. C. S., referred to this fact in his presidential address. One of his suggestions, namely, that a vernacular Journal of Trade and Industries should be started, though not acted upon by the Conference, is about to be carried out by certain public-spirited gentlemen whose names we are not authorized to publish. We print in this number six papers contributed to the Conference which have not yet been published. They are all full of information, and contain many practical suggestions.

The Lucknow Social Conference.

People proceed from talk to action, from opinion to conduct. For this reason we value the resolutions of the Lucknow Social Conference on such subjects as the marriageable age of boys and girls, *purdah*, and the fusion of sub-castes and castes. It is very hopeful that a large number of orthodox Hindus of the United Provinces should declare 14 and 20 as the minimum age at which girls and boys should be married, that they should recognise the injurious effects of *purdah* on women's physique and education and vote for its relaxation with a view to its ultimate abolition and that they should admit the desirability of the fusion of sub-castes and ultimately of castes by interdining and intermarriage. We hope the proceedings of this Conference will be printed in the vernacular and widely circulated all over Hindustan.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi's Nobility.

The following letter of Mr. Gandhi, who refused to prosecute his assailants, shows the greatness, nobility, and statesmanship of the man, and is worth preserving:—

"Those who have committed the act did not know what they were doing. They thought I was doing what was wrong. They have had their redress in the only manner they know. I, therefore, request that no steps be taken against them. Seeing that the assault was committed by a Mahomedan or Mahomedans, the Hindus might probably feel hurt. If so, they would put themselves in the wrong before the world and their Maker. Rather let the blood spilt to-day cement the two communities indissolubly—such is my heartfelt prayer. May God grant it."

The Heroism of Indian Women in the Transvaal.

We are apt to harbour the desponding thought that as we are degenerate descendants of our noble ancestors, we cannot do

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anything great. But the old fire is not extinct among us, as the following paragraphs taken from *Indian Opinion*, describing the heroism of Indian women in the Transvaal, show :—

No one who is at all acquainted with the intense family affection existing amongst Indians can be unaware of the supreme self-sacrifice of the Transvaal Indian women. Not one knew from one day to another when her husband would be torn from her side and consigned to the gaols of the Colony, when the father of her children would suddenly disappear, when her natural protector and the family bread-winner would be swiftly withdrawn, and she and her children left to starve, or obliged to rely upon the honour of the Indian community, that it would be true to the solemn pledge taken in September, 1906, and would maintain the women and children of those who should be incarcerated.

One of the men arrested at Pietersburg was in Pretoria when the Pretoria men were sentenced so barbarously. Terrified at the thought of heavy penalties, including hard labour, he hastily proceeded to Natal, where his wife lay upon a bed of sickness whence she might never again arise. Upon his arrival in Durban, however, she demanded of him the cause of his departure from the Transvaal, and when she heard the cause, peremptorily ordered him to return by the next train and submit to his punishment. He returned, surrendered to the police in Pietersburg, and was sentenced to three months' imprisonment with hard labour.

Another man, in Pretoria, who had disobeyed the magisterial order to leave the Colony, was to appear before the Court to receive sentence. His courage began to leave him, but his wife informed him that if he were a coward, she would don his clothes and herself receive punishment on his behalf. He went to gaol.

Do not these modern Indian heroines remind us of the medieval heroines of Rajputana ?

The Madrasi women of Pretoria informed their husbands, sons, and brothers, who had undertaken picket duty, that they need not be alarmed for them. If the men were arrested and sent to gaol, they themselves would at once take their places in the pickets' ranks and warn the people of the perils awaiting them.

At Germiston, on Tuesday week, a mass meeting of Indian women was held, to protest against the iniquities of the law. A resolution was passed calling upon the Government to respect Indian marital vows, which forbade the separation of husbands from wives and wives from husbands, and demanding the right to share their husbands' imprisonment. A similar meeting was being arranged for Friday week last in Johannesburg, when the happy culmination of events rendered unnecessary such a proceeding.

Numbers of such heroines exist in India to-day. Men of India! prove worthy of your mothers, sisters, wives and daughters.

"Midsummer Madness"?

In our last December number we printed an open letter addressed to Mr. W. T. Stead, Editor of *The Review of Reviews*, on his League of Help and his pamphlet "How to help." This letter he summarised and criticised in the January number of his *Review*. We quote one portion of his summary and comment.

"Mr. Chatterjee is obsessed by the memory of the partition of Bengal, and he is alarmed lest the British people will divide India herself into two viceroyalties and arrange for *the ultimate annexation of independent Siam*.....Surely this is midsummer madness."

By way of comment we print below a newspaper cutting and a Reuter's telegram.

A correspondent writes from Bangkok (Siam) under date the 22nd February :—

For some time past there has been a widespread rumour in Bangkok, and the London *Daily Mail* published a statement that negotiations are proceeding between Great Britain and Siam for the conclusion of a new treaty. The new treaty was to follow the lines of the Franco-Siamese treaty, concluded in 23rd March 1907, *i. e.*, Great Britain will receive certain portions of Siamese territory and will give up jurisdiction over Asiatic British subjects resident in Siam to the Siamese.

The late Mr. Strobel, (the General Adviser of Siam) contradicted the rumours and published a statement in the local papers that there was no foundation for such rumours. Mr. Strobel made a non-committal statement, which did not deny the fact that such a treaty was in contemplation but only denied the statement that negotiations were proceeding. It is well known in Bangkok that Mr. Strobel had moved the question to Mr. Paget, the British Minister here. Mr. Strobel died in January 15, and Mr. Westengard, the Acting General Adviser, there is every reason to think, is moving in the matter. And it is quite probable that a new treaty may be concluded between Siam and Great Britain very early unless something untoward happens. It is rumoured that Britain gives up jurisdiction over its Indian and other Asiatic subjects in Siam to the Siamese Government and receives in exchange Kedah, Kelantan and Tringanu in Siamese Malay Peninsula.

London, Mar. 4.

Reuter understands that treaty negotiations are going on with Bangkok whereby Britain concedes certain extra-territorial rights.

The *Times* says Siam cedes to Britain Kelantan and Tringono.

Christian Missionaries on Indian Aspirations.

Summarising and commenting on our article on "Conversion and Education of Indians" in our last number, the *Panjabee* points out that the Christian hierarchy are now "boldly coming forward to speak up in favour of New India," as evidenced by the following resolution passed by the "Synod of the Province of India and Ceylon," which met at Calcutta about the middle of January last :—

Seeing that the thoughts and aspirations which are at the present time occupying the minds of educated Indians bear most closely on the progress in

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this land of the Church of Christ, and more particularly affect that unity which it is a primary function of the Church to promote among peoples of different races and languages, the Synod desire to offer to the members of the Anglican Communion, English and Indian alike, the following considerations and counsels :—(1) Since it is in the Province of God that these great races, the Anglo-Indian and the Indian, have been brought into such close contact, we are sure that it is the purpose of Almighty God that each should minister freely to the other of that which it has itself received of His fulness. (2) It has been recognised by thoughtful observers that an inevitable outcome of this contact of East and West must be the introduction of a new life into this great land, and the change of many of the customs and conditions which have characterised it in the past. At the present time there are abundant and unmistakable signs on every side that such an upheaval is already in progress. That this is involving considerable difficulties and disturbances need be no cause of wonder or alarm. Periods of transition and growth are always marked by such symptoms. (3) What is of supreme importance is that the difficulties should be met in a Christian spirit. On the one hand, the English should recognise . . . . that it is they who are mainly responsible for the awakening in India. They should accept it gladly as the natural and necessary result of their own work. They should sympathise heartily with all legitimate aspirations after a national life . . . On the other hand, the Indian should recognise with no less frankness that it is . . . . from England that India has received the seeds of this new life, and that English Rule and Education have provided the conditions which have made its growth hitherto possible, and which for many years to come can alone enable it to develop and grow.

This is good so far as it goes. We would, however, point out that from the beginning of the British connection it has never been from the absence of pious professions on the part of Britons, lay or clerical, that India has suffered. British practice has always lagged far behind and very often belied British profession; and the position still remains unaltered. The Charter Act of 1813, on which our article was a comment, itself contains pious professions. It is when we got behind the scenes that we came across strange facts. Who knows, when a century hence Indian historians will examine the professions of present-day British statesmen, what strange facts they may light upon? As a fragment of contemporary history we may place it on record that last year some European missionaries opened shops in East Bengal for the sale of Liverpool salt and Manchester cloth, evidently to counteract the Swadeshi movement. Of course we say nothing regarding the motives of other missionaries.

It may be mentioned here incidentally that it is a wrong notion which some Indian Christians have that their interests and even their existence as a community is bound up with British rule in India. We would remind them that very large numbers of Christians have been living in such Native States as Travancore and Cochin from before the British and Musalman periods; and that at present Indian Christians receive practically the same treatment from Anglo-Indians, lay and clerical, as non-Christian Indians.

In the concluding portion of the resolution quoted above, it is taken for granted that the conditions favourable to the development and growth of the new life in India, could exist and can exist only under British rule. Possibly these missionaries believe in a pro-British God, with only one weapon in his armoury for the civilisation and salvation of India, *viz.*, British rule. For our part we believe that God can and does fulfil Himself in many ways. Our reading of British Indian history is that the British have not, generally speaking, consciously fostered the growth of this new life, that it has developed without their knowledge, mostly as the result of conditions brought into existence by the needs of the rulers themselves and often in spite of their efforts to check its growth, that in recent times deliberate efforts are being made to crush this new life, and that in future it must and will grow in spite of these efforts.

Touch with the Reality.

Blessed are they who get in touch with the reality, in religion, in science, in art, in politics.

We are now in painful but rousing contact with the basic truths of British rule.

Ruskin on British Free Trade.

Ruskin wrote in "Sesame and Lilies": "you would take every other nation's bread out of its mouth if you could." In a foot note to this he adds: "That was our real idea of 'Free Trade'—'All the trade to myself.' You find now that by 'competition' other people can manage to sell something as well as you—and now we call for Protection again—Wretches!"

The Decentralization Commission.

What the people of India are interested in is that Government should be responsible to them, that they should have control over affairs of State. It does not interest us much as to who is to boss the show, the Imperial, Provincial, or District authorities. But if the Government of India remain a despotism, irresponsible to the people, it is better that the Viceroy and his council should exercise

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control over the subordinate authorities, as they do at present, than that the latter should be free from all control in many matters. We are glad to find that our leading men, in their evidence before the Decentralisation Commission, are emphasising these views.

Frontier Raids.

The expedition against the Zakka Khels was over in a few days; but raids into British territory took place even after that tribe had been punished. What is the cause? *The Panjabee* reports a rumour prevalent in Peshawar "that the Government is not anxious to give protection to the Hindus against tribal raids because it is the Hindus who are believed by the authorities to have instigated the hillmen to make the raids, so as to bring on a war between the Pathans and the British Government that they may subsequently range the Amir against the latter!" But the trans-frontier men have attacked Musalmans, too, in British territory. However, it is not easy to understand why a mighty nation like the British does not or cannot crush the troublesome frontier tribes. It cannot be regard for human liberty; for Britishers deprive weaker people of their liberty whenever it serves their purpose to do so. It cannot be consideration for the feelings of the Amir; for these tribes are not his subjects. It cannot be weakness. Is it then as a training ground for the Indian army that the trans-frontier regions have been kept unconquered? Or is there any other reason?

The Calcutta University Jubilee.

The Jubilee of the Calcutta University naturally suggests the question of the results of the system of English education prevalent in our country. That it has been more deserving of the name of instruction or cram than education, that it has not produced original thinkers and workers, that the few such men we have had under British rule have developed their originality not by the help of, but rather in spite of, the 'education' they have received in India,—no one can gainsay. That it has been largely responsible for mental and moral Eurasianism, is also an undoubted fact. That denationalization and foreign vices have to some extent followed in its train, is also true. It is also admitted that the new education introduced by Macaulay and other Occidentalists could have been grafted on to the old culture and imparted through the medium of the vernaculars, thus averting many of the evil consequences of a foreign system. But its beneficial results, too, cannot be questioned. The greatest good that it has done us has been to bring us into contact (or, shall we say, collision) with a living race and a living literature, when we had become all but effete and our literature stagnant, unprogressive, conventional and a mere harping on old rusty strings, --thus calling forth the best that was in us. Our contact with an aggressive civilization has been a blessing in disguise, as it has roused us from our national sleeping sickness, and disturbed the stagnancy which is but another name for rottenness. We have been getting strong, coming into possession of our own, by wrestling with it. It is true education is higher and better than instruction and information, but instruction and information, too, are necessary; and if our universities have told us something of the knowledge which Western nations have garnered, whilst we were asleep, that is no mean work, and, for us, no small gain. It has been said that our universities have not deliberately helped in developing patriotism and strengthening national life and feeling. That is true; but it is also true that they had not until recently taken any steps to prevent such development. Contact with a free nation's thoughts and deeds was bound to bear fruit. And almost all our nationalists have been the alumni of Indian Universities. It is no small advantage to have in English a *lingua franca* for the whole of India, though it is true that Hindi could have more easily and naturally assumed that position. There is no doubt, from the Curzonian regime, English education has entered upon a new stage, the stage of repression of national life. Some people triumphantly ask, where are all the evil effects of the Curzonian Universities Act and the Simla Conference? Well, for one thing, education has received a check in Bengal, even according to official reports; and all over India teacher and taught have been placed in the relation of spies or detectives and would-be criminals, thus introducing a most fatal and degrading element of demoralisation into the sacred temples of learning. But even if no evil effects were now perceptible, he would be a simpleton who would expect occidental statecraft to *hastily* grasp a newly forged weapon to strike at "our enemies," and thus stand self-condemned in their eyes. British statecraft knows how to bide its time. Was not the partition of Bengal contemplated more than a decade before it was actually accomplished?

Well then, it is now for us to withstand the repressive efforts of British statecraft in the domain of the intellect, by positive work of our own to develop national life. It is for us

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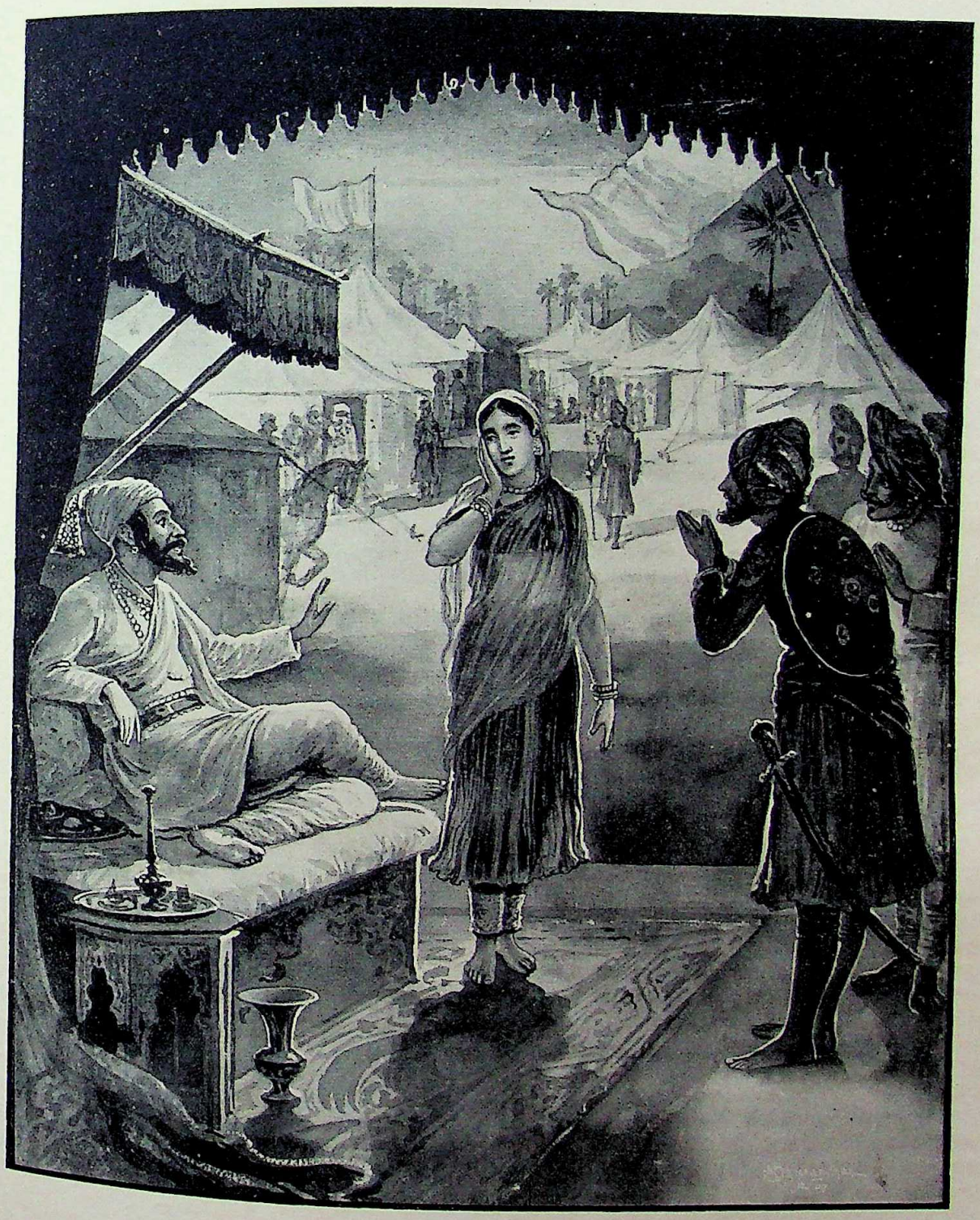

SHIVAJI LIBERATING A CAPTIVE MUSALMAN GIRL

"Then, the fort of Kalian was captured, * * * Abaji had captured a handsome girl (the daughter-in-law of Maulana Ahmad, the Governor of Kalian) in his raid, and presented her to Shivaji. Shivaji said. "If my mother had had your beauty how happy it would have been! I, too, should have looked handsome." He treated the girl as his own daughter, gave her clothes and other gifts, and sent her (in safety) to her home in Bijapur."—
Life of Shivaji by PROF. JADUNATH SARKAR, *Modern Review*, p. 362, Vol. I, 1907.

BY M. V. DHURANDHAR.

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to present to our children and youth and ignorant countrymen and countrywomen in general, modern knowledge through the medium of the vernaculars, for its readier assimilation and more extensive spread. It is for us to *educate* them, to draw out and train all their latent powers.

At the Jubilee celebrations, there was the usual cant of religious education. We deliberately use the word cant. When Anglo-Indian bureaucrats demand religious education for Indians, they mean that Indians should learn and respect some dead formulæ and be priest-ridden, caste-bound and very submissive to injustice. In fact they only think of religion as a very good substitute for the policeman, invented by crafty priests. But true religion liberates the man. Have not the Puritans and Non-conformists fought for freedom in all departments of human life? In India itself, were not the Sikh Gurus very religious men? Was not Shivaji a very religious Hindu? There are other things in Indian religions than mere dead formulæ, other-worldliness, and things of that sort. There is *Life* in them yet! Yes, *Life*, which bureaucrats are so afraid of.

There was also the exhortation to young men to eschew politics; as if that is at all possible or desirable for any *living* young man. Will anybody tell us where in the life of a nation politics begin and where they end? To tell young men not to take interest in politics is to tell them to make mummies of themselves. They are bound to reject all such advice.

Mrs. Besant's Educational Schemes.

Mrs. Annie Besant has formulated a scheme of a National University with a Royal Charter to which her Central Hindu College, the Calcutta College of the National Council of Education, the Fergusson College of Poona, &c., are to be affiliated. We are told that Mr. Morley and Lord Minto would be inclined to listen favourably to the prayer for a Royal Charter. And why not? Is it not a good thing, is it not a privilege, to be petitioned and prayed to? Is it not one of the enfuriating sorrows of the bureaucrat that Indian politicians are gradually giving up petitioning? How happy is he born and taught who to petitions listens not, but yet cannot give up the thought of receiving them!

Those who are for National Education do not want a Royal Charter. It means control by aliens. It is a delusion and a snare. He who grants a boon, can also deal a blow. If the Emperor of India or those who rule in his name were flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone, a Royal charter might not shackle our feet. But the facts being otherwise, a National University must do without royal favours.

Mrs. Besant has also formulated a scheme for sending young men abroad for education, like that of the Hon'ble Babu Jogendra Chandra Ghose. The difference lies in this that Mr. Ghose's association is entirely Indian, whereas Mrs. Besant's scheme is practically to be under alien control, and the young men sent to England are to be "taken care of" by "sympathetic" Anglo-Indians like Mr. Ross Scott, &c. We know what that means. The Secretary of State also has published rules for securing "good behaviour" on the part of Government of India scholars in England. We must avoid alien control; we have begun to dread even alien co-operation and help. From birth to the cremation ground, we must be controlled, taken care of, guided and helped by aliens! Pray, when shall we get leave to be men? We confess we should like to do even a little stumbling by ourselves. Alas! even the next world has its terrors for us. There may be "sympathetic" non-Indians there, to guide our tottering steps and prevent us from going astray! We are afraid we must in that case play the truant and not go to heaven after all.

Really it looks as if some sympathetic bureaucrat has hypnotized Mrs. Besant (of course, without her knowledge), to use her eloquence for taking the wind out of the sails of the National Education movement.

All the talk is of loyalty, of submission to authority, of obedience to the *pahrawalla*, as if these constituted the sum total of human virtues. These are on proper occasions good things in their way. But we remember to have read some history in our boyhood, where we found people praised for some other qualities also. Nobody exhorts our young men to cultivate these qualities. Perhaps because history is now antiquated nonsense, and those other qualities are deadly sins, and, what is worse, possibly seditious.

The Marriage of Mr. Justice Mukherji's Daughter.

In getting his widowed daughter re-married, Mr. Justice Asutosh Mukherji has shown rare moral courage. The act has been entirely worthy of his culture and his position in society, and is sure to produce good results. Love is the greatest motive power in life, and those who know Mr. Mukherji know what a tender heart he has and what an affectionate father he is. His fatherly affection has made him a social benefactor.

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Kashmir, a White Man's Land!

We quote a significant passage from the new edition of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*: "Economically again, the climatic conditions are important; for it is here that European colonisation is to succeed if it is to succeed anywhere in India. The English race has never yet taken root in India, but it seems possible that with more facilities for occupation, Kashmir might become a white man's country." *The Indian Empire*, Vol. I, p. 16, by Mr. T. H. Holdich.

There is a Sanskrit saying that the Earth is for the enjoyment of the heroic. The obvious moral is: Be heroes and hold your own.

Babu Bipin Chandra Pal.

Babu Bipin Chandra Pal rightly refused to give evidence in the *Bande Mataram* case and was sent to jail. He comes back from prison a mightier force in public life than ever. His first speech, in which there is a becoming reference to Babu Surendranath Banerji as his *guru*, shows that he has made good use of his enforced inactivity to retire into the sanctuary of the soul.

The Tinnevelly and Tuticorin Riots.

We have not the least sympathy with mob violence. We deplore the Tinnevelly and Tuticorin riots. Government may be depended upon to repress and suppress all violence. But repression is no remedy. Should there not be some enquiry to ascertain what it was that led the mild Hindu to resort to acts of violence? Usually it requires much goading to drive him to fury.

Famine Volunteers in Allahabad.

The young men who under the name of *Sevaks* or servants are collecting alms and administering relief to the famine-stricken people in Allahabad are doing a blessed work. The distress is so widespread all over the United Provinces, that in all districts bands of *Sevaks* recruited from the ranks of the young men of the place should set to work at once. Everywhere there is excellent material in our young men. We have only to find leaders to organise and maintain discipline among these bands of *Sevaks*, and any work, however laborious or difficult, can be done with their help. The cry is for self-sacrificing leaders.

The Government of Sir John Hewett has been making strenuous efforts to prevent deaths by starvation. But there is plenty of room and need for private effort also. Government has to administer relief through an army of subordinate officials, many of whom are dishonest and heartless. (They are our countrymen!) This makes Government relief in many places ineffectual.

The Bharata Dharma-Mahamandala and Hindu Loyalty.

Loyalty, in the sense of affection and devotion to the person of a rightful sovereign, is a spontaneous sentiment arising in the hearts of those who perceive their happiness enhanced by the exertions of their sovereign and who appreciate his good qualities as manifested in his dealings with them. One of the conditions favouring the growth of this sentiment is that the sovereign should live in the midst of, and frequently come in contact with, his subjects. The sentiment cannot be expected to be very lively when the sovereign is not only separated from his subjects by oceans and continents, but differs from them in race, creed and language. Loyalty, in the sense of allegiance to a lawfully constituted government, is also a spontaneous growth. It grows in the minds of those who are conscious that they are indebted to their government not only for the security of their lives and property, but for the numerous blessings which a government may confer upon its subjects by organising their intelligence and exertions for the achievement of tasks which cannot be accomplished by individuals or small corporate bodies. It naturally accrues to a sovereign or government as a reward of beneficent administration, but like all rewards, it must be *earned*. Where it is really deserved it is ungrudgingly offered. But genuine loyalty does not seek expression in verbal professions. When loyalty is broad-based upon the prosperity and contentment of the people there is no occasion for its display except when the government is threatened by external danger. On such occasions the loyalty of the people is displayed in deeds, not in words. Demonstrations of loyalty in mere words savour of artificiality. They are often "made to order" when the government of a people is carried on more in the interests of the rulers than of the ruled and there are consequently signs of discontent and unrest and the rulers find it necessary to make the world believe that they are discharging their duties faithfully and efficiently. There have of late been several verbal demonstrations of loyalty in India and those made by Hindus have been marked by one common feature, *viz.*, that they have all referred to Hindu scriptures or sacred law as enjoining loyalty to the sovereign. Those who were concerned in these demonstrations would have done a really

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From the original painting by NANDA LAL BOSE. SATI *By the courtesy of the artist.*

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THE INDIAN PRESS, ALLAHABAD.

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friendly service to their rulers if they had also referred to the duties and obligations imposed by the sacred law of the Hindus upon the sovereign to whom loyalty is due. That law enjoins upon the King, among other things, the duty of seeing that no one in his kingdom suffers from hunger, disease, cold and heat.* Those who have not taken the trouble to study both sides of the question have no right to dabble with sacred texts. Other loyal memorialists may set up the excuse of ignorance, but the body which goes by the high-sounding name of Bhárata-Dharma-Mahámandala and poses as the representative of all orthodox Hindus, might be expected to know, and acquit itself, better. The members of the deputation which waited upon the Viceroy with the loyal address from the Mahámandala should have asked themselves the questions whether the Hindu scriptures or texts of Hindu sacred law enjoin loyalty as an absolute duty or make it conditional on good government, *i. e.*, government for the benefit of the governed. If they had referred the question to learned men they would most probably have been referred to verses 111 and 112† of the 7th Chapter of the Code of Manu which have been translated by Sir William Jones as follows :—

"111. That king, who through weakness of intellect, rashly oppresses his people, will, together with his family, be deprived of his kingdom and life :"

"112. As, by the loss of bodily sustenance the lives of animated beings are destroyed, thus, by the distress of kingdoms, are destroyed even the lives of kings."

Whatever the ideal may be, we know that in practice Hindu society is not governed in all matters by shastric rules. But as the loyalists base their loyalty on shastric texts, another question which, for the sake of stating the whole truth, or even as a matter of antiquarian interest, the deputation should have considered is whether the scriptures or laws of the Hindus enjoined loyalty to an alien absentee sovereign or birds-of-passage rulers. In answer to this question a Hindu theologian would probably have referred them to verse 61, Chapter IV of Manu, which prohibits residence in the territory of a Sudra King. Whether this text may legitimately be taken *á fortiori* to prohibit residence in the dominions of an alien sovereign, we leave it to Hindu exegetists to decide. If no law relating to residence in the territory of an alien ruler was expressly laid down, it is probably because the authors of the Hindu sacred laws never dreamed of alien absentee sovereignty as a possible contingency.

* नचास्य विषये क्षुधा रोगेण हिमातपाभ्यां वावसीदेत कश्चित्।—आपस्तम्ब धर्म्मसूत्र।

† मोहाद्राजा स्वराष्ट्रं यः षर्कयत्यनवेक्षया।
सोऽचिराद्भ्रश्यते राज्याज्जीविताच्च सबान्धवः॥
शरीर कर्षणात्प्राणाः क्षीयन्ते प्राणिनां यथा।
तथा राज्ञामपिप्राणाः क्षीयन्ते राष्ट्रकर्षणात्॥

Mr. Saint Nihal Sing.

In printing a portrait of Mr. Saint Nihal Sing, the able Panjabi journalist who has made the United States his home, the *Swastika*, an American magazine, calls him "India's Benjamin Franklin," and adds :—

Sing is a unique figure among prominent personalities of to-day, inasmuch as he looks upon India and her problems with the eyes of an ex-patriot. He has become an American citizen, and he is as unsparing of the evident faults and foibles of the Orient as he is just and discriminating in setting forth the many misrepresentations which the Orient has suffered at the hands of those who could not know, as can the Oriental-born, the inner life and motives of her people.

Mr. Sing's recent article in *Harper's Weekly* on "The Spectre of Revolt in India" has centred public attention upon the youthful Hindu, and everywhere he is being pointed to as the able representative of his native country's cause in America. *The World's Events* magazine says : "Mr. Sing has been endeavoring to perform in this country the same service for his people at home that Benjamin Franklin did in France and England, prior to and during the Revolution. He is trying to educate the people generally to an appreciation of the peculiar situation in which the East Indies find themselves, and also to arouse such public sympathy that when the time comes for an East India uprising, the people there will not lack popular support in countries other than England."

Whether or not, this is Mr. Sing's secret mission, it is certain that he is succeeding in attracting the eyes of reading and thinking America to the situation in the "Sun of the British Empire."

We suppose it is wild guesses like those of the *Word's Events* as to the motives of Mr. Sing and other Indians in America, which gave rise to the silly canard that Indians were sending arms to India to help in a rising which was contemplated here.

Sati, by Nundo Lall Bose.

Had the painter of this picture been a European, we should unquestionably have had the subject presented to us as a fine-looking woman, drawn to her full height, and facing the spectators in a mingling of beauty and triumph. Nothing could be more significant of the distinctive character of Indian feeling, however, than the way in which Mr. Nundo Lall Bose has here set himself to approach the idea. We see before us a woman, beautiful indeed, and adorned like a bride, with her whole mind set on the moment of triumph, yet without the slightest consciousness of her

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own glory. The form is pure *sattva*, without one particle of *rajas*, as the Indian thinker might express it. The spire-like flames leap up. She kneels throned on a summit of fire. Yet there is no fear. No farewell sob is mingled with her praying. Her eyes see nothing—neither the flames beneath, nor the loved ones she is leaving—nothing at all, save the sacred form of him whom she is about to rejoin. Her mind is quiet, flooded with peace. The moment is one of union. She knows nothing of separation.

In this perfect fearlessness, this absence of any self-consciousness, what a witness we find to the Indian Conception of the Glory of Woman! What other lands have done in the name of the great causes,—for faith, for freedom, for the right of knowledge,—was here done, a thousand times more commonly, out of the sweet tenderness of the home. Well may the women who have done this thing be worshipped by their descendants for all time. And certain is it that in the race that has borne them, their courage and high fealty can never die, but remain hidden, not again to be used in this form truly, but to find new utterance and fresh expression in the world-shaking crises of future ages. From the cloistered wifehood of the old Indian home to the martyr death of the Great Saint—was it not in truth a path of glory, on which each footprint should receive our salutation?

N.

"Shivaji liberating a captive Musalman girl."

This is a beautifully expressive picture of one of the minor incidents in Shivaji's life, showing the magnanimity and purity of his character. The captive maiden is naturally frightened and sad, and inclined to weep. Shivaji reassures her and signs to her not to be afraid or weep.

"The Sage Narada."

The picture which Mr. Surendranath Ganguli has painted, of the divine sage Narada, will be highly appreciated by all *bhaktas*. Narada is known to Hindus as a great *bhakta*. He is here pictured as moving through the clouds, singing hymns to the accompaniment of his *Viná*, in the ecstasy of Love and Reverence. His rapt looks,—his half shut eyes,—the whole expression of his face, indicate his absorption in divine beauty and the intensity of his communion.

The Second United Provinces Conference.

The organizers of the Second United Provinces Conference must be congratulated on the unqualified success that attended it. The Conference was held under peculiar circumstances. The break-up of the parent institution, the Indian National Congress, at Surat in Christmas week, naturally produced a doubt in the minds of many about the feasibility of holding the Provincial Conferences as usual until the future constitution of the Congress was settled by the meeting of the Convention Committee in Easter. But the task was successfully attempted both at Pabna and Lucknow. There is not very much similarity between the two Conferences, but they were both brought to a successful termination without a hitch. The difficulty was even less at Lucknow than at Pabna, as there is no strong body of extremist opinion in these Provinces. These Provinces still remain a stronghold of the old party in our politics, and consequently the proceedings of the Conference at Lucknow could not wear a different complexion from what they did.

The eminently practical character of the resolutions passed by the Conference are its strongest recommendation. The principal topics of great present importance were discussed at considerable length and with decided ability and knowledge, and conclusions were arrived at in regard to them which are entitled to the attentive consideration of even those who may not be able to see eye to eye with the promoters of the Conference. The reform proposals of the Government, which after all are the most important subject now before the public, were the subject of prolonged and the most careful scrutiny, and the resolution as finally passed by the Conference was the result of several days of anxious deliberation. The subjects of Decentralisation, Public Health, Famine, Education and Justice were similarly discussed with a sense of responsibility. It may not please the Government to give effect to the views of the Conference on all or any of these subjects. They will, however, not fail to receive the assent of knowing and impartial men who have a statesmanlike grasp of the present situation in the country. The speaking was on a high level, as was the case at the Conference at Allahabad last year and does not suffer by comparison with the speaking at the National Congress. The speech made by Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar in moving the resolution on the reform proposals stands apart by itself. It is one of

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the finest public utterances of recent years. It is what Lord Rosebery said of Bright's speeches—'a masterpiece of sustained argument.' There was in it much polished humour and sarcasm; it was in the most elegant literary form, as Pandit Bishan Narayan's speeches as well as writings always are. The performances of other speakers suffer by comparison with Pandit Bishan Narayan's, but it is the barest justice to acknowledge that several of them were marked by quite unusual ability, knowledge and earnestness.

It was in the fitness of things that the Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was President of the Conference. No one with a regard for facts and with a reputation to lose for fair-mindedness will deny that there was and is no worthier public man in these Provinces. One of the most prominent and unselfish Congress workers ever since the birth of the Congress, Mr. Malaviya has made a name for himself as a speaker and debater, a member of the Legislative Council and the University Senate, and last but not least, as an active member of the Allahabad Municipality for many years. The MacDonnell Hindu Boarding House at Allahabad and the project of a University to be established at Benares are tangible evidence of his zeal for the promotion of education. One has to know Mr. Malaviya to realise the genuineness and depth of his love of the Motherland and the religious faith of his ancestors. There are many men who do not share his opinions on matters religious, but there are, I should think, few who are not impressed by the intensely spiritual foundation of his character, which is the best guarantee of the unselfishness of a man's work. Indeed to know Mr. Malaviya is to love him and to respect him. Mr Malaviya's Presidential Address was an able, eloquent and comprehensive review of the present situation. It was an extempore oration, and while it thereby gained in the feeling and impressiveness with which it was delivered, it had the inevitable demerit of not being compact and terse. Mr. Malaviya went to the root of the matter in discussing the causes of Indian discontent as well as in pointing out the remedy, and it is to be hoped that the Secretary of State and the Governor-General will read it and give it the attention it richly merits.

The resolution on the reform proposals is a lengthy one of sixteen clauses in which the entire ground covered by the Government of India's letter was traversed. The Conference resolved that these proposals did not mark any real advance in the direction of giving the people of India an adequate share in the administration of the country; that the Government were not justified in their unfriendly attitude towards the educated classes and that their theory of creating a counterpoise to their influence was absolutely unwarranted and unjust; that the association of Ruling Chiefs with Councils of British India would be wrong in principle and attended with several disadvantages in practice; that the real need of the country was not mere consultative bodies with no defined powers, functions or responsibilities such as the proposed Advisory Councils would be, but the admission of Indians into the Executive Councils and the enlargement of the functions of the Legislative Councils; that territorial representation was not unsuited to India and that it had not failed as alleged by Government and that it should not be abandoned in favour of representation by race, caste and creed; that in the event of the Government deciding to allow separate representation to different classes, this should be done not by the creation of special constituencies based on religion, caste, &c., but by fixing a definite number of members of each community who should be returned by the general electorate; that there should be no standing official majority in the Legislative Councils; and so on. The resolution on Decentralisation was equally clear and equally comprehensive; and so were the rest. Altogether it was public work of the highest importance and the highest usefulness that was done by the Conference, and every true well-wisher of the country must rejoice at the success of the Conference.

C. Y. C.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

ENGLISH.

Comparative Electro-Physiology. By Prof. J. C. Bose. Published by Longmans, Green & Co., London. Price 15 s. 1907.

We have here published by Messrs. Longmans & Co. a work which fitly crowns the line of research that our great countryman has, during the last six or seven years, made his own. Five years ago, in his "*Response in Living and Non-Living*," Prof. Bose announced his startling discovery of the 'irritability' and responsiveness of inorganic matter, thus demonstrating the unity of all matter, living and inanimate. He followed this up, in April 1906, by the publication of his work known as "*Plant Response*,"—in which he showed that many of the most difficult and obscure phenomena of plant-life were to be explained by this fact of responsiveness. And finally, less than two years later—November, 1907—he gives us the monumental volume of 758 pages that lies before us, in which, under the bold title of "*Comparative Electro-Physiology*," he carries his research up to psychology itself and replaces the metallic wires which were his earliest subjects of experiment, by specimens of animal nerves themselves

The marvellous industry thus indicated is only equalled by the constantly-widening area of investigation and the ever-deepening grandeur of the generalisation. In two respects we are reminded at each step, as we pass through regions botanical, physiological, medical and psychological, that the author of the work began as a physicist, and as such carried his characteristic standards into other realms of science. First of these is his extraordinary experimental delicacy and accuracy. Prof. Bose in his last book—'Plant Response'—described instruments by which it was possible to measure the rate of suction in plants (Shoshungraph), their rate of growth (Crescograph), the amount of a contraction (Kunchangraph), and to determine their critical point of death (Morograph). In his present work, he gives us an optical Kunchangraph,—that is to say, a contraction-recorder in which a direct record is made by photography, instead of by a writing-point; a Conductivity-Balance, by which the different rates of conduction, in different parts of a single fibre, may be compared; and, finally, a sensimeter, or instrument for the measurement and testing of sensation. All these represent a degree of instrumental complexity and precision hitherto characteristic of physical laboratories only. But there is another and more significant matter in which this particular worker shows his antecedents. Having first started on his research by bridging the gulf between metals and animal substances, it is not easy for him to accept the current assumptions of specialists in smaller fields, as to rigid specific differences, between various types of living structures, such as muscle and nerve, or plant and animal. Rigid specific difference must at bottom be indicative of diversity of origin. Unity of origin on the other hand, must sooner or later be demonstrable by community of characteristics. By the direction in which he pushes his enquiries on such matters, an investigator will betray his own prepossession. Says Dr. Bose, in the course of his interesting preface :—

"It was my original intention to confine this investigation to the Electro-Physiology of Plants. But finding that in the results so obtained I possessed a key to that of the animal also, I proceeded to apply the same methods of enquiry, and to use the same experimental devices, in the one case as in the other. I have thus been able to trace out the gradual differentiation of various responsive peculiarities, characteristic of given tissues, from their simplest types in the plant to their most complex in the animal .....It must be remembered that in this work the attempt has been to explain responsive phenomena in general on the consideration of that fundamental molecular reaction which occurs even in inorganic matter. My mode of investigation has thus been determined by the necessary progression from simple to complex, and by my conviction as to the continuity which existed between them." pp. viii to ix.

We see from this that a community of characteristics inconceivable to most physiologists as between plant and animal appeared to this investigator as only to be expected. Thus instead of finding a given phenomenon to be inexplicable because unlike anything else in nature, he is constantly able to show that it is only one of a class of reactions occurring in plant and animals alike. As an example of this, the death-throe of the animal has its correspondence in the death-spasm of the plant, and under the simpler conditions of the latter, its electrical concomitants can be observed and recorded. The complex circumstances of animal digestion become much easier to follow, when traced out, in all their essential simplicity, in the 'open stomachs' of the Pitcher plant (*Nepenthe*) and the little *Drosera* or fly-catcher. The throbbing of the animal heart is seen to have its vegetal analogue in the up-and-down movements of the leaflets of our own *Bon Charral* ('forest churl') or telegraph plant. And finally, even so recondite and mysterious a structure as the electrical organ of certain fishes, by which a shock is given to its enemy, is proved to be paralleled by the leaves of trees, which also discharge their minute electric currents in definite directions, and differ from the electrical plates of the fish-organ, mainly in the fact that they are not piled closely one on top of another, but are borne in mutual detachment, at the ends of stems.

Throughout all this, the central conception is that of the living organism as a machine, receiving each 'stimulus' that falls upon it, whether of light, warmth or food and manifesting 'response,' in various ways. 'Stimulus and Response,' on the one side, and matter on the other, appear to make up Professor Bose's

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universe. All action, he conceives of as 'response,' all impinging force as 'stimulus.' Isolate the organism, starve it of stimulating energy, and it will very soon, he says in effect, cease to be a living entity at all. Thus the phenomena of life consist of responses given, by a living responder, to stimulus, and the plant or the animal is as dependent as any other machine, on the supply from without of that energy which it is first to make its own, and then to exhibit in activity. Movement is response to stimulus taken in from without, and stored up for a longer or shorter time. Other phenomena of life, such as growth and digestion are similarly analysable. And the failure to respond is death, which may occur either from inanition or from fatigue

But these considerations, interesting as they are, do not exhaust Professor Bose's area of research. He boldly proceeds to tackle the question of the response of nerves. Why should it be believed by physiologists that muscles alone respond to stimulus by contraction, while nerves can only transmit an invisible "neural" change? To one who sees continuity in natural phenomena, this absolute distinction appears improbable, and must necessarily be submitted to the test. The result is to ascertain that, contrary to all received opinion, nerve *does* contract in response to stimulus, like muscle, though not to the same extent! To Professor Bose, then, belongs the honour of having been first to prove that the response of the animal nerve is not different in kind from that of other fibrous structures, animal and vegetal. So far is this demonstration carried, that plants themselves are proved to possess nerves, which, in the case of ferns, it is particularly easy to dissect out from their place in the stem. It is shown, further, that the wave of responsive contraction under stimulus, in the nerve, as elsewhere, is accompanied or preceded by a wave of expansion, or stimulus-reception.

It is at this point that Professor Bose makes one of his most important and startling observations. The nervous system, as we all, in a general way, believe, is the seat of psychological phenomena. But it has never been thought possible to make any distinction between the physical changes conducted by it, which could be correlated with corresponding differences of psychological conditions. This impossibility, however, Professor Bose does not admit: he proceeds to identify the wave of more or less passive expansion, travelling along the nerve, with the tendency to pleasure, and the wave of active contraction, with the tendency to pain. As these waves generally travel together, that of contraction, being much the larger, is summated with that of expansion, and masks it. The fact, therefore, stands that all pain contains an element of pleasure, and that pleasure itself is not final, but, if carried too far, will become pain.

Another generalisation of immense interest, which this book contains, is that which shows that active contraction is not always the result of stimulus. There are two conditions. One of extreme inanition of energy, and the other of extreme fatigue, under which the stimulated substance shows only a passive expansion or relaxation. The first of these occurs after excessive rest, the second after prolonged response. Between the two lies the condition of steady and normal responsiveness. This whole sequence of conditions, from the sub-normality due to inaction through normal activity to the sub-normality due to fatigue, is known as THE MOLECULAR CYCLE. In a sense, this law of the Molecular Cycle might be said to be the subject of the whole treatise, for it is shown to be true of all substances and of all forms of response. The metal which has been too long unstimulated will at first reply to stimulus by passively absorbing it, giving what is known as positive response. It will then become normally excitable; and finally, if excitation be too long continued it will again become unable to exhibit the normal response of negativity, and will show only the abnormal or positive response due to fatigue. In the impressive words of the author:—

> "The two halves of the cycle are thus strangely alike, one being, as it were, a reflection of the other. The cycle begins with sub-tonicity, due to a deficit of absorbed stimulus, and ends with the abnormality caused by excess of stimulation. The starting point of the one may be supposed to meet the end of the other in a common fatality. The tissue comes to the same death by inanition on the one hand, through lack of stimulation and by fatigue on the other, through over-stimulation. But though the one half thus mimicks the other, there is, as it were, a polar difference between the two, by reason of the difference in their past histories. To revive the dying tissue in the beginning of the cycle, stimulation is necessary; to revive it afresh at the termination of the cycle, a period of rest is essential."

Sensation is thus seen to be one form of response, pleasure and pain representing a quantitative difference of effective stimulations. Memory, however, differs from ordinary sensation in the fact that the stimulus which evokes the response, instead of being external and objective is merely psychic and subjective. Everything that has once responded to a given stimulus would appear to retain an organic 'memory,' a latent image of that stimulus. Although the responding molecules do undergo recovery, this is not so absolute as to wipe out all traces of their having responded: it does not make them the same as others which have never responded at all, to that particular stimulus. There remains, from every response, a certain residual effect of response. This is memory. The diffuse impulse of will, acting on the sensory surface which contains this latent impression, can re-awaken it, and by a deliberate effort, the man 'remembers' or recovers the image which had appeared to have passed out of his mind.

Such are a few of the points dealt with in this extraordinarily comprehensive investigation. Of the experiments regarding the parallelism between the effects of various electrotonic currents and of the will, we have left overselves no room to speak. The conductivity of the nerve, as the physical concomitant of the faculty of self-control, must likewise be passed over. Neither can we here do more than refer to the power which Professor Bose has conferred on all physiologists of testing the effect of drugs on nerves by means of his exquisite Conductivity-Balance. It has only been possible, indeed, to give brief indications of some of the more noticeable points in a vast mass of results, all of which have their individual value.

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In congratulating our distinguished countryman on the quality, as well as the volume, of his investigations, we may perhaps be pardoned if we pause for a moment to congratulate ourselves also. Verily not least amongst scientific offerings is this of an Indian physicist, son of our own Motherland!

———

Cradle-Tales of Hinduism by the Sister Nivedita, (Longmans, 1907) Special Indian Edition, Re. 1 4 as., pp. xv+343.

"Give me the making of the ballads of a nation, and I care not who has the making of the laws," said Fletcher of Saltoun. In India it is not ballads but the tales of the epics that have built up the character of millions of Hindus for thousands of years. Even the Buddhist *Jatakas*, some of the oldest tales in the world, paint a society in which fiction was the medium of moral teaching. A presentation of India's cradle-tales is, therefore, a distinct addition to the world's literature, and its value is enhanced when the work is marked by Sister Nivedita's keen sympathy for all that was great and good in India and by her delicate power of interpretation.

The style is extremely simple but none the less effective. Here she brings herself down to the level of children, talks to them in their little language as their grandmother might do in the winter evening, only in a foreign tongue and with a singular elevation of tone. The simplicity and purity of her prose and the varied interest of her stories make this work an admirable prize-book for Indian boys; no better volume can be given by an Indian father to a son whom he wishes to learn good English in a pleasant manner. A wise teacher might set his class to render the stories back into the vernacular and note the difference of *idiom*.

But the book is not meant for Indians only. Young folks in England will read it with a freshness of interest due to the newness of the stories to them. It is as good as any volume of Fairy Tales put into a child's hands at Christmas. (There is nothing in it that the strictest Puritan can object to.)

But it is no mere fairy tale. In every chapter the writer draws the moral, sometimes indirectly but none the less impressively,—and shows the deep purpose of the old sages who conceived the tale.

In the first section, the Snake Cycle, as also in some later tales, we are haunted by the brooding presence of Fate, as in the Scandinavian mythology; every one must "dree his weird."

Then comes the story of Siva; here alone in the volume the philosopher gets the better of the story-teller. The Cycle of Indian Wifehood forms the finest portion of the book; in the tale of Savitri the author is at her best, and the other three tales are second to it only

Passing by the Ramayana, Krishna, and Mahabharata Cycles, we come to the Great Kings. *Prithi Rai* is a noble story nobly told. Not less noble is the tale of Bhishma, a king by birthright, greater than a king by his renunciation. (Prithi Rai's enemy was Shihab ud-din *Muhammad of Ghor* and not Mahmud of Ghazni).

The collection is of varied interest; each type of the nation—king, minister, priest, devotee, wife, mother, child,—comes on the stage and leaves a distinct image on the memory. There are some pretty idyls, in "the Judgment-seat of Vikramaditya" and the tale of Krishna,—which has been freed from the alloy added by modern strolling musicians. The writer's noble conception of the city and its place in national life, familiar to readers of this *Review*, comes out prominently in several descriptive passages. Truth, Purity, Duty,—these are the lessons taught in unfaltering accents in this volume.

One cannot close it without comparing it with the works of another writer in the same field, Mr. Bain, the author of *The Digit of the Moon*, *In the Great God's Hair*, &c. Mr. Bain is undoubtedly a careful student of Sanskrit literature; indeed many passages of his works read like transcripts from the *Kathasarit-sagara*. But he is an inventor, not a faithful narrator; he has no serious purpose; he makes no attempt to reach the inner meaning of Indian sacred lore; on the contrary we detect in him an occasional curl of the lip betraying a polished sneer or at best an irreverent sense of amusement. In sympathy, interpretative power, and moral sublimity Sister Nivedita towers high above him.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

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The General History of the Mogol Empire from the Memoirs of W. Manouchi, (Bangabasi Office, Calcutta) Rs. 5, pp. iv+x+366.

We cannot congratulate the *Bangabasi* Office on their edition of Manouchi. In print and get-up it is distinctly inferior to the volumes which formed the first set of their useful reprints. The first 120 pages have been fully leaded out, but thereafter the solid printing creeps upwards from the bottom of the page in the most whimsical manner, producing an unpleasant impression on the eyes. The sheets have not been hot-pressed. Misprints abound; the old *f* and *s* have not been always distinguished. The price, Rs. 5, is monstrously high, as the present writer bought the edition of 1826 for 7 *s.* 6 *d.* only.

The publishers have not been well advised in reprinting Manouchi, or rather the garbled, pirated and incorrect translation of Manouchi issued by Father Catrou. Manouchi's original MS. has been discovered by Mr. W. Irvine in two pieces at Berlin and Venice, and recently translated out of the original and annotated with all his unrivalled knowledge of this period of Indian history,—a knowledge based upon the most extensive study of the contemporary Persian sources and historical materials in the chief European languages. Irvine's will be the standard edition of Manouchi for all time, and no scholar can afford to neglect it. To the general reader its price, 48 (4 vols), may be prohibitive. But it is doubtful

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whether an uncorrected and unannotated reprint of the archaic translation of 1709, like the volume under review, can attract the general reader. What, for instance, can an average educated man make of *Chadala* (really equivalent to *Shah Daula*), *Chorrom* (=Khurram), *Merinza* (=Mihr-un-nisa), *Super Chata* (=Sipihr Shikoh), *Mirza Mula* (=Mir Jumla), *Caiva* (=Khajwah), *Sultan Chacu* (=Sultan Sulaiman Shikoh), or *Dalil Cham* (=Dilir Khan)? Shah Jahan was deposed in 1658 and not in 1656. *Bad baster* (p. 344) should be *Bad-raftar*; *Nadar* (p 334) should be *Mahaldar* (or *Nazir*.)

Among European travellers in India Manouchi occupies a low position Roe was an ambassador, Bernier was an accomplished doctor, Tavernier was a respectable jeweller; but Manouchi was a quack and charlatan. He seems to have moved about in very low society and picked up his stories from the bazar or the slums of Agra occupied by Feringees and Armenians. This greatly discounts the historical value of his memoirs.

Indeed, the importance of the European travellers in Mughal India has been overrated by modern writers The student who has worked through the Persian histories of the reign of Aurangzib,- and there are many such works, written from different points of view,— is forced to admit the untrustworthiness and even absurdity of much of the testimony of these foreigners. Nor is this surprising, for Europeans in India occupied an altogether different position in those days; they had no access to the official papers, news-letters and reports from the provinces, despatches of the generals, and revenue returns; nor were they privileged to mix with the makers of Indian history,— the *wazirs*, diplomats, and commanders. Most of them were adventurers, and their only informants were their servants. Thus they came to record the bazar gossip, often gossip of a most unsavoury kind. The utter untrustworthiness of such popular reports is amusingly illustrated by the account of Warren Hastings's resignation given in the *Seir-ul-Mutaqerin*. Even at the present day, are we to believe all that is whispered by *khansamans* and *babarchis* of the life led by their masters "under the deodars"? If not, why should we believe Bernier or Manouchi's *chronique scandaleuse* of the Court of Delhi?

The enduring portion of their works consists in the reports of what they actually *saw*,—their descriptions of court ceremonies and processions, of the manners of the people, and above all in their shrewd analysis of character and criticism of the Mughal system of Government from a foreign point of view. We also concede that the pages of these European travellers reflect the popular beliefs of the time and afford materials to the historian of *society*. Here, as in the case of the Greek myths, "the curtain is the picture."

Several Indian publishers have taken to reprinting rare works on Indian history. We draw their attention to the following books which are now extremely scarce and likely to repay the cost of printing again: G. Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, Wilkes's *Mysore*, Bolt's *Indian Affairs*, Turnour's *Mahawanso*, Creighton's *Bhurtpore*, Osborn's *Camp and Court of Ranjit Singh*, Pogson's *Boondelahs*, Franklin's *George Thomas* and *Shah Alam*, Caraccioli's *Life of Clive*, and H. Lawrence's *Adventurer in the Panjab*

JADUNATH SARKAR.

In the Service of the Motherland, or a Leaf from Sikh History, by Sewaram Singh Thapar, Rawalpindi, 1908), pp. 2+67, price 8 annas.

This little book contains five legends of the sufferings and heroic deeds of the Sikhs when the hand of Muslim persecution lay heavy on the infant sect. It is not a history, still less a critical history. The author's enthusiasm, however, breathes fire into his style and atones for his defective idiom. But the subject matter is after all extremely meagre, while the rhetorical padding and accumulation of details are disproportionately large.

Sikhism was a wonderful spiritual and moral force, comparable only to Islam in the days of its pristine purity. It was *not* political. It aimed at salvation and not (at least primarily) at "the service of the Motherland" nor at "freedom of thought," as our author asserts. All may, however, join in the noble exhortation, he quotes from Nanak, "First accept Death and leave off desire for Life, be the humblest (servant) of all (humanity), and *then* come to me."

The author would do well to bring out a selection from the ethical teachings of the Gurus, on the model of Dr. Suhrawardi's *Sayings of Muhammad*

JADUNATH SARKAR.

Tales of Komati Wit and Wisdom (Nateson & Co)

These twenty-five short stories of Komati Wit and Wisdom will not, we are afraid, appeal to modern taste. The "wit" is of the most primitive order and the "wisdom" is seldom found to wear a benignant smile. We are accustomed to read more concentrated "tit-bits" and finelier finished epitomes of humour. This little book will not save us from boredom!

H. L. C.

Swami Vivekananda—a sketch (Nateson & Co.)

This is a small unpretentious pamphlet taking us through almost all the important aspects of the great Swami's life and character. The extracts from the speeches have been well made and are to the point. This is not the occasion to write a dissertation on Swami Vivekananda's contributions to religion and philosophy. One thing that the writer of the sketch makes very clear might be referred to in passing and that is Vivekananda's firm attitude against "Mystery-mongering"—"mediumistic mummeries" and all that ghastly paraphernalia which go under the name of spiritualistic science.

To many he already appears in the light of a transfigured teacher of mankind—to others his example will be a source of inspiration when fighting against godless materialism and irreverent greed.

H. L. C.

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The Surat Congress and Conferences. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, 12 annas.

This book is a collection of the Presidential and Inaugural Addresses delivered at the Congress, the Social, Industrial, Theistic, Temperance and the All-India Swadeshi Conferences. The publication includes among others the full text of the undelivered address of the Hon. Dr. Rash Behari Ghose and the speeches of Mr. Tribuvandas Malvi, Mr. Lal Shankar Umiashankar, Mr. Manubhai Mehta, Babu Norendra Nath Sen, Mr. Lala Lajpat Rai, Prof. T. K. Gajjar, Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Desai and Babu Satyendra Nath Tagore. The appendix contains an account of the Split in the Congress—the full text of the official account, the Extremists' version and the Hon. Mr. Gokhale's refutation of the Extremists' explanation. Another appendix contains an account of the proceedings of the Convention, the All-India Conference and the Extremists' Meeting. The book also contains the Presidential Address of Sir Adamji Peerbhoy to the All-India Moslem League held at Karachi.

Speeches of the Hon. Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, with a biographical sketch and a portrait. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, 12 annas.

This book includes all the utterances of Dr. Ghose in the Viceregal Council, his protest against the retrograde policy of Lord Curzon's Indian administration, and the splendid address of welcome which he delivered as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Indian National Congress at Calcutta. The speeches he delivered in the Supreme Legislative Council evidence not only his great legal acumen but also his thorough grasp of the Indian problem, political, social and economic. His criticisms of the Indian Financial Statements for 1894-95, and 1906-07, his emphatic protest against the exclusion of Cotton Fabrics from the operation of the Indian Tariff Bill of 1894, his vigorous condemnation of the Indian Emigration Act (1882), Amendment Bill of 1893 and his unqualified disapproval of the recent Seditious Meetings Bill are reproduced here in full. Dr. Rash Behari Ghose's name will long be remembered in connection with two useful private bills of his, which were accepted by the Government and became law. One of them is an amendment of the law relating to Partition in Hindu and Mahomadan families and the other, a useful help to judgment-debtors to buy back their properties from auction purchasers within a reasonable time. Dr. Ghose's speeches at the time of the introduction and passing of these two most valuable additions to the civil law of the land are also printed in full. At the desire of Dr. Ghose all his Viceregal Council speeches have been reprinted from the *Gazette of India*. To enable the reader to get a clear idea of the man and his work, this volume of Dr. Ghose's Speeches has been prefaced with a lengthy account of his life and career.

Cartoon's from the Hindi Punch (for 1907.) Edited by Barjorjee Nowrosjee. Hindi Punch Office, Bombay.

This is the eighth annual publication of this delightful volume. It is full of wit and wisdom like the earlier volumes.

PERIODICALS.

The International: A Review of the World's progress. T. Fisher Unwin, London W. C., 1, Adelphi Terrace. 1s. net, monthly.

It is the object of this Review to mirror the entire panorama of human evolution in all its many aspects. The numerous independent movements of culture all over the world, hitherto quite out of touch with each other, are here presented side by side in an organ exclusively devoted to their common interests. A permanent staff of about 200 correspondents, scattered all over the globe, give short monthly reports of the most important events and developments in the intellectual evolution of their respective countries. Each number consists of three sections: 1. Articles by prominent personalities suggesting practical reforms. 2. A general survey of the leading sociological facts, developments, and tendencies, by the Editor. 3. Short reports and occasionally longer articles from various correspondents dealing with all matters connected with human progress; social evolution, economic reform, labour movements, ethical and moral movements, scientific and technical progress, and all new departures in the literary, artistic, and religious worlds.

This Review is published in three editions, German, French and English. We think it necessary for all educated men who understand any one of these languages to read this weighty review in order to keep their information of the world's progress up-to-date. The Editor is Professor Dr. Rodolphe Broda, who travelled a few years ago in India. He is very friendly to Indian aspirations and wishes all intellectual Indians to keep him informed on all Indian matters falling within the scope of his Review. He has written to the Editor of the *Modern Review* that he would welcome articles on such Indian subjects as the following, for example:

(1) New religious tendencies in India:
  (a) The Brahmo Samaj Movement.
  (b) The Arya Samaj Movement.
  (c) Theosophy.
  (d) The Neo-Vedantic Movement of Swami Vivekananda.

(2) The Nationalistic Movement in India, both in its political and economic shapes (Swadeshi Movement).

(3) The Intellectual, Artistic and Scientific awakening of the Indian Nation.

All articles accepted by Dr. Broda will, of course, be adequately paid for. His address is 59, Rue Claude Bernard, Paris, France.

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Research and Review (Journal of the Indian Research Society). 32, Creek Row, Calcutta. Edited by Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur, C. I. E., and Mr. S. Khuda Baksh, M. A., B. C. L., Barrister-at-Law. Rs. 7 per annum.

This quarterly should prove a highly valuable addition to the periodical literature of India. The first number contains some weighty and interesting contributions Mr. A. C. Sen writes on "The Hero Gods of the Rig Veda," Mr. Sarat Chandra Das on "The place of woman in the Buddhist Church," Mr. Khuda Buksh on "The Islamic conception of sovereignty," and Prof. H. A. Salmone on "Rise and Fall of the Arab Dominion." There are also a few selected articles. We hope to find in succeeding numbers original scientific papers by Dr. P. C. Ray and his pupils, and other Indian scientific investigators.

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The Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine. 166, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta. Re. 1 for students.

Those who wish to love India by knowing her,—her peoples, her village life, her real history, &c.—should read this magazine. It is also in some sense the organ of the National Education movement and of the Bengal National Council of Education. The February number contains instructive and interesting accounts of the Biological Laboratory of the Bengal National College, and of the Exhibition held in that College, Swadeshi Notes, a character sketch of the saintly Queen Ahalya Bai, &c.

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The Purity Servant. Bombay. Rs. 2-8 yearly.

The Purity Servant was started by Babu Abinash Chandra Majumdar of Lahore and was conducted by him with ability and great self-sacrifice for years. It did much good work in the Panjab. We hope it will have as useful a career in its new home and in the hands of its new editor. We have only recently witnessed the indecent and filthy *holi* celebrations, making it painfully evident how much most parts of India require a bold, persistent, single-minded and self-sacrificing Servant of Purity. The contents of the *Purity Servant* are elevating and interesting.

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Patna College Magazine. Published thrice a year by its Manager, at the Patna College, Moradpur, P. O. Price one rupee.

We have received Nos. 2 and 3 of this delightful magazine and are not glad that the first number somehow missed its way to our office. All its contents, grave and gay, are readable; and some are quite enjoyable. If there is any *esprit de corps* among old and new Patna College boys, the magazine should shortly become a monthly. All lovers of the gentle game of football should read the "Football Captain's appeal on the day of election."

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The Bala-Bharata or Young India. Mount Road, adras. Rs. 1-8 yearly.

It is styled a monthly organ of national regeneration. There are many instructive and inspiring things crowded within its pages. A sturdy optimism fitly characterises its tone.

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GUJARATI.

Kavi Dayaram no Akshar Deha: or an inquiry into the inner meaning of the utterances from the heart of the last of the great poets of old Gujarat; published by Ramanujaram Govardhanram Tripathi: Sold by N. M. Tripathi & Co., Bombay: Thick boards, pp. 111. Price Rs. 1-4-0. (1908).

This is a posthumous work of the well-known Gujarati scholar, the late Mr. Govardhanram M. Tripathi, published by his son. It was written for being read before the Gujarati Sahitya Sabha at Ahmedabad on the anniversary day of the last of the classical poets of old Gujarat, and is now in book form presented, with a photograph of the writer, to the subscribers of *the Samalochak* as a memorial. It is printed in the Devanagari character, adopting thereby the principle for which the "*Eka Lipi Vistar Parishad*" of Calcutta is organised. It is preceded by a short and very readable introduction of reminiscences in connection with the essay by Mr C. N. Pandya. The work itself bears the stamp of the originality usual with all Mr. Tripathi's writings and the close and scholarly way in which he has tried to cut through the veil of eroticism which covers a major part of Dayaram's poems, to the philosophy of religion lying behind, has scarcely before been equalled by any other writer in the line. Dayaram's life was as open to exception as Byron's was but true to his instinct, which always separated the tares from the wheat, Tripathi has tried, as the very name of the book implies, to keep in the background, rather ignore altogether, the *Sthula Deha* (physical or bodily or biographical, aspect of the poet) from his poetry, and penetrate to what he calls his *Akshar Deha* (literary body), and find out from his poems the inner meaning lying hidden away. Dayaram's poetry has not been inaptly compared to the Sufistic poetry of Persian mystics, like Sa'adi and Hafiz, and Tripathi has shewn by an analysis of the various poems, religious and otherwise, *i.e.*, those which openly run riot in *erotics*, that they fulfil, not only the tests, which our own Shastras lay down of *Navadha Bhakti*, the nine stages of devotion, but also in the tenth stage, merge into what the Shastras call *Parabhakti* or *Paramabhakti*, the poet calls *Tanmayata*, and the Sufis term *Wasl* or union with the Beloved or *Ma'ashuk*, *i.e.*, God. Dayaram was above all a Vaishnav of Vaishnavas, and the loves of Gopi and Krishna, sung by him and the various episodes in the amours of Radha and the Lord of Vrindavan, when referred to the principles which lie at the root of the Vallabhacharya tenet are not only explainable by the light

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of such standard works of the *Sampradayis* as the *Shudhdhadwaita sidhdhanta* but they could bear no other meaning than that they described the different stages of a devotee's progress towards Him whom he worshipped. In spite of the metaphysically amorous language, Dayaram's poems breathed and meant to preach the purest of religious and devotional philosophy; this, he has succeeded in showing. As he says, this is but a fragment of the work. It is only pioneer work, but we are afraid it would rest where it is. The mental equipment necessary to follow up this task, is not found in many, and at present, we see no one on the horizon, who could carry it on That this little work has made a substantial addition to Gujarati literature, no one would doubt, and we cannot part with it, without lamenting that the author did not survive to give the benefit of his pen to Gujarat for a longer time, and recommending to every one interested in our language to closely study it before condemning the jovial poet as a light and flippant soul.

K. M. J.

MARATHI.

* *Vachanapáthamálá (Selections from Maráthi Prose Writers) Pt. 1, cloth bound; pp. 300. Price Re. 1. Edited by Messrs. Limaye and Kinare of the Poona New English School.*

The series of which the present volume is the first aims at cultivating a taste for reading and at developing the mind in all its phases, by placing before Matriculation or School Final candidates choice pieces from 43 standard writers of the day. It wants to point out to young readers how their vernacular has facilities to represent every shade of meaning, be it literal, technical or figurative. It does not, however, attempt to extend its range over the whole Maráthi prose literature. This is nothing but fair.

But, what is most tiresome, is the monotony of the subject. Nearly three-fourths of the book is devoted to History. Now, there is no question as to the wisdom of perusing History. But, at the same time, it is worth remembering that too much of a thing is not good. The sweetness of the rose is only best enjoyed when there is a keenly felt want, but not when it is in abundance.

Now, the relief from this monotony is to be sought by turning to such other high subjects as Theology, Astronomy, Sociology and Physiography. Of course, there are one or two extracts from light literature. But, the majority of them are serious. This is a too heavy counterpoise against the natural buoyancy of youth. If equipoised, the result would be far more satisfactory. Dr. Anandi Bái's correspondence with her husband, translated and published in her well-known biography; Saguná Bái's letters to her daughter and those of Govind Ráo to his son, brought out by the *Karamanuka* of Poona; the humorous articles in the *Hindi Punch* of Tháná; the Shakespear Comedies so happily rendered into Marathi by the late Professor Kelkar of the Fergusson College, Poona, all this would have produced the desired effect, by 'adding joy to duty.'

However, as a first attempt of its kind, the book under review amply repays perusal, there being nothing to find fault with the selections themselves. The learned editors, therefore, deserve the thanks of the students of Marathi for their labours.

JAGANNATH RAOJI TULLU.

Kávyadohan (Maráthi) or selections from Modern Maráthi Poets (pp 420, Price Re. 1. as. 4, exclusive of postage). Edited by Messrs. Limaye and Kinare of the Poona New English School.

Based on the model of 'the Golden Treasury' and 'Words from the Poets,' this handy volume is the third of its kind, the first two being *Kávyamadhurya* and *Arvachin Kavita*. It surpasses both of them in compass. It publishes choice pieces, religious and moral, social and fanciful, from the works of nearly seventy poets. In accuracy of language, simplicity of style, picturesqueness of description, sweetness of music, flight of imagination, and depth of pathos, they are not, in any way, inferior to those in the *Navanita* (or selections from the Ancient Maráthi Poets). The present selections are, thus, happy and well worth perusal by young and old alike. Being cheaply priced, they are also within the reach of the poorest libraries and students of Maráthi literature.

However, it would not be out of place to make certain suggestions. First of all the contents should give the names of the poets against their poems, that the reader may, at a glance, have a clear idea of their authorship. Secondly, the poetesses should be properly represented. Even the late lamented and distinguished Dr. Anandi Bái Joshi, M. D. (Philadelphia) is not allowed to take her rank in the galaxy of modern bards; though it is admitted on all hands that her claim rests only on a couple of poems appended to her life by Mrs. Káshí Bái Kánitker. But, has not the one little pathetic piece, 'Burial of Sir John Moore' given immortality to Wolfe? Thirdly, sweet poems touching politics, such as *Ripon Viyoga*, *Vishnu Shastri Nidhana*, &c., should be introduced. Are Government representatives like Lord Ripon and public leaders like Vishnu Shastri unknown to History? Fourthly and lastly, the selections should be arranged according to the nature of the subject concerned, or they should be published in a serial form, as is the case with the English poems selected and edited by Professor Jennings, M. A. (Muir Central College, Allahabad); that the hard work of standardising them may be satisfactorily done by competent hands.

On the whole, it may be safely reiterated that, *Kavyadohan* is a valuable addition to Maráthi literature, affording a living proof that the land of Mahárashtra is not dead to what is most stirring and ennobling.

JAGANNATH RAOJI TULLU.

* To be had of *the Chitrashala* Steam Press, Poona.

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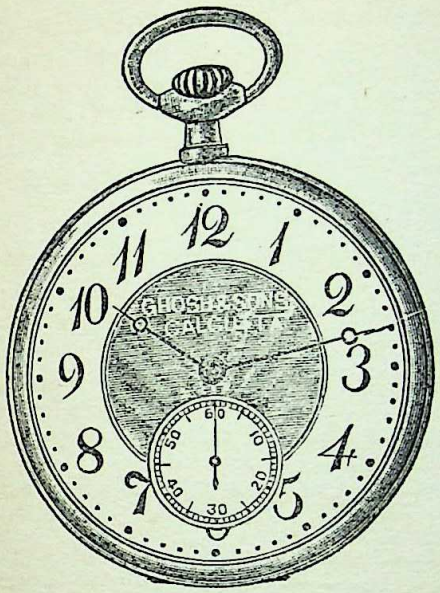

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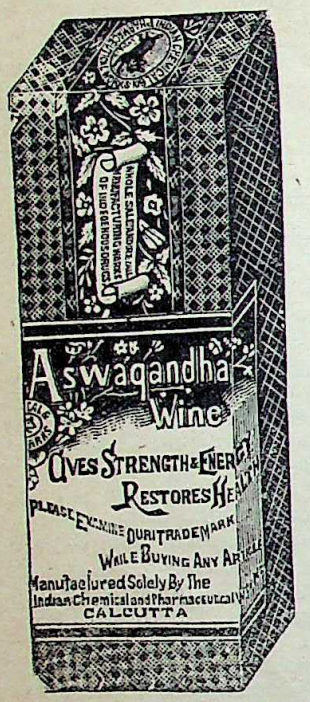

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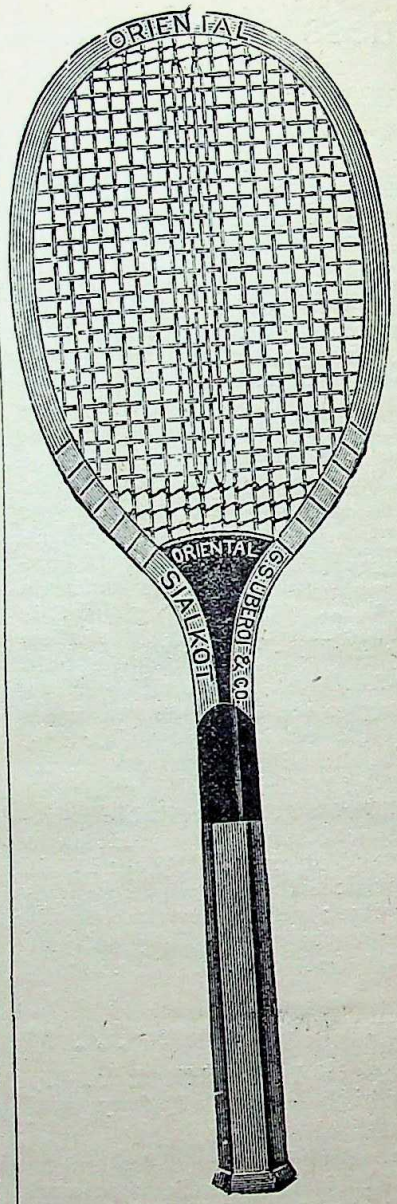

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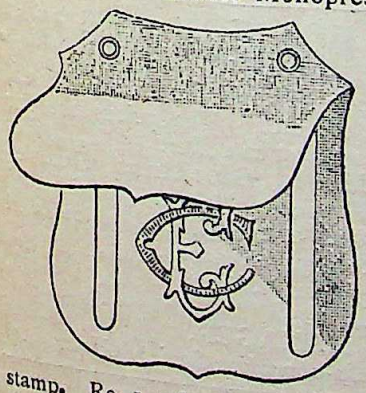

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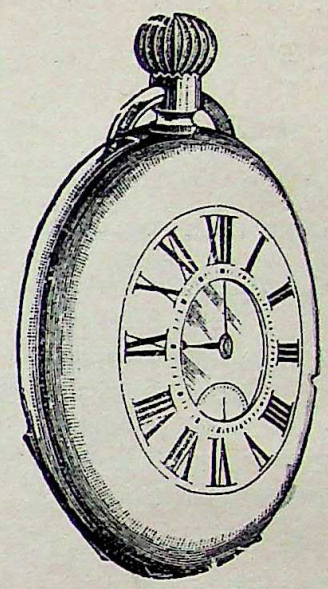

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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AUTOMATISM IN PLANT AND ANIMAL

BY DR. J. C. BOSE.

ONE of the most characteristic signs of the presence of life is the power to give a reply of one kind or another, to stimulus. Each one of us lives in the midst of an environment which is constantly impinging upon him, in the form of stimuli, or blows. The ray of light, falling upon the retina, is really striking a blow, giving it a shock. This constitutes a stimulus. In this way, we may receive many shocks. We are struck by air-waves, for instance, and perceive sound. Or we may receive a physical blow, small or great.

As long as we are alive, in one way or another we *respond* to these stimuli. Stimulus, falling on matter, causes a molecular upset, and this upset is exhibited in various ways, according to the instrument of expression. Let us look for a moment at the diverse effects which may be produced by the same electrical current, acting on different instruments. Acting on one form of recorder, it produces movement. On another, say an electrical bell, it causes sound. On still another, a flash of light results. In like fashion, stimulus acting on living tissues, may cause mechanical movement, as when a drop of scalding water falls on the hand, and by a twitch of the muscle we draw the hand away. The same thing is seen, again, in the *Mimosa*, or sensitive plant, when the excited leaf suddenly falls down. Or, similarly, under the excitation of touch, the open *Drosera* leaf closes on the fly, its prey. Instead of this mechanical movement, again, we may have an electrical movement, in response to stimulus, and a suitable instrument, the galvanometer, shows an electrical twitch, each time the living tissue is excited. And lastly, amongst forms of response, we have sensation itself. Sight is the characteristic response of the eye, hearing of the ear, and so on. Thus, in sensation, different parts of the brain act as the responding organs. For purposes of investigation, we might, in the laboratory, take a retina with its attached optical nerve, and put it in connection with the galvanometer instead of with the brain. It will then be found that each time a flash of light falls on the retina, the galvanometer responds by a twitch, just as the brain formerly responded by a passing sensation.

If we watch a *Mimosa* leaf after the application of a stimulus, we see that it first responds by a fall, and afterwards exhibits recovery. That is to say, it gradually rises to the position it originally held. Similarly a muscle which has contracted under stimulus, recovers from the contraction. This response and recovery may be recorded by means of a writing lever, and the result will be an up-curve followed by a down-curve, which may, as a whole, be called a pulse of response. Taking a number of such records, we find that a single moderate stimulus induces a single such response and recovery.

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These response-records, further, constitute a measure of the livingness of the tissue. If the tissue be subjected to poison, and stimulus then applied, the pulses of response grow feebler and feebler, till, at death, they disappear. It would here seem as if there were some growing obstruction to the free occurrence of that molecular upset which constitutes excitation. Death is, in fact, the supervening of molecular rigidity, in place of molecular mobility. At death, then, it is as if the molecular machinery became suddenly interlocked. In a certain curve of life-and-death, which I succeeded in obtaining, the plant was placed in a bath with rising temperature, and the record it first gave was of a growing expansion, suggestive of that feeling of relaxation which comes to us in a hot bath. The bath continued to rise uniformly in temperature, but, at a certain point, corresponding to the death temperature, the molecular interlocking of death took place abruptly, and this death-spasm was shown by a sudden reversal of the curve. When this happens, the plant is found to have lost its responsiveness. It is, in fact, dead. Thus responsiveness is life, and cessation of responsiveness, death. We have here a glimpse, then, into the mechanical condition essential to life. As a machine converts energy from one form into another, so we find the machinery of the living organism transforming antecedent stimulus into subsequent response.

The phenomenon of life is associated, however, with many characteristics apparently more mysterious than this, in as much as we observe in them the occurrence of effects seemingly without a cause. I refer to what are known as automatic or spontaneous movements. For instance, it would seem that the heart beats of its own accord. A sudden contraction is followed by expansion, and this rhythm is maintained, continuously and spontaneously, throughout the duration of life. In the animal body, then, the heart furnishes us with a perfect example of an automatically-responding rhythmic tissue.

But such rhythmic tissues are not found only in the animal. They occur also in the plant, as witness the oscillating leaflets of the telegraph plant, or *Desmodium Gigrans (Ban Charral* in Bengali). We have here leaves, of which each consists of one large terminal, and two smaller lateral leaflets. Of these the two lateral leaflets are in a state of constant vibration, moving up and down. The mechanics of the movement consist of a sudden contraction, by which the leaflet is made to fall, followed by a slow expansion, bringing about recovery. I was fortunate enough to be able to make a continuous record of these pulsatory movements during 12 hours, and it was found that during that period there were nearly 200 pulsations.

We have here, then, a vegetable example of a rhythmic tissue, whose spontaneity of action is strongly suggestive of the animal heart. Is this merely a superficial resemblance, or is it something deeper? If it extends to identity, then we must be able to prove the fact, by showing that under parallel conditions, parallel changes are seen in both forms of pulsation, and that the action of a given agent will have the same effect on the two. With regard to the beating of the heart, it is known that the prolonged application of an anæsthetic like ether will arrest it. Will the same drug have the same effect on the pulsation of *Desmodium*? On making the experiment, the records obtained are almost indistinguishable. We find in both that after a certain number of spasmodic flutterings, the pulsation suddenly comes to a stop. Poisoning by carbonic acid, similarly, affects both in the same way.

Another remarkable effect is that obtained by rise of temperature. We all know that on suddenly entering a heated room, the heart begins to beat faster, but at the same time the extent or amplitude of each single beat is less. Comparing two records of the heart-beat of a frog, under warmth and cold respectively, we find that while at the higher temperature the heart in a given time exhibits five pulsations, at the lower it gives little more than two. On the other hand, the height of pulsation at the lower temperature is very much greater than at the higher. Precisely the same thing occurs in the pulsation of *Desmodium*.

Such parallelisms, extending as they do into detail, are striking enough. The most extraordinary thing, however, is the identity of the effects seen, when we observe the antagonistic action of given drugs on the two kinds of pulsation. Poisonous acids, for

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example, arrest the pulsation of the heart. But this particular arrest always takes place during expansion. Now alkaline poisons also arrest the beating of the heart but in an antagonistic manner, that is to say, during contraction. That the actions of these two poisons are antagonistic, is further seen in the fact that when the heart-beat is arrested by one, it can be revived under the application of the other. Here is a curious instance of one poison acting as the antidote of another.

In *Desmodium* pulsation likewise, it is wonderful to see that exactly the same thing takes place. Poisonous acids arrest the pulsation, but always when the leaflet is in its expanded, or highest erect position. Alkaline poisons, on the other hand, arrest the pulsation, in the contracted or depressed position of the leaflet. And finally, the arrest induced by either of these can be counteracted by the other.

These experiments conclusively prove the identical reactions of rhythmic tissues in plant and animal. But the question still remains, what is the cause of these automatic movements ?

We saw at the outset that living tissues might be divided into two classes, one in which a single stimulus evokes a single response, and another in which response. appears to take place without antecedent application of stimulus. To the latter of these belong rhythmic tissues in general. I shall now, show, however, that there is no hard and fast line of demarcation between these classes, and in order to demonstrate this fact, we shall take a plant which is intermediate between the two types, namely, *Biophytum semitrosum*. This is a weed which grows commonly about Calcutta. Its leaflets are arranged on the leafstalk in two long rows, and show excitation by twitching or rippling movements. Ordinarily speaking, the leaves lie open, with the leaflets stationary, and excitatory movements take place only under definite stimulation. Each responding leaflet, then, when excited by an electric shock, a shock of heat, a ray of light, or a mechanical blow, responds by a fall, followed by recovery or erection. Under moderate stimulation, a single stimulus induces a single response, as in the leaf of *Mimosa*, or an excited muscle. Let the stimulus, however, be excessively strong, and we find that a single twitching of the leaflets is not sufficient to express the whole of the leaf's responsive energy. Instead of this, the leaflets continue to pulsate for a longer or a shorter time according as the impinging stimulus was more or less strong. The response thus echoes, as it were, or reverberates. We have here an analogy to the swing of a pendulum, or the vibrations af a tuning-fork. When the pendulum is very gently struck, it swings once, or a few times only. But when the intensity of the stimulus—or the energy of the blow is very great the pulsation persists. The tuning-fork similarly, when gently struck, vibrates and emits sound for a short time, but when strongly excited gives a more lasting or persistent note.

It is thus seen that *this echoing or multiple response is an after-effect of superfluity of energy absorbed.* Reverting to the case of *Biophytum*, we find that if we apply a strong stimulus of any description, it gives rise to multiple responses. This is true of a strong electrical shock, a heat-shock, the stimulus of strong light, and the stimulating action of chemical substances equally. If now we watch the *Biophytum* growing normally in the open, we find it ordinarily quiescent. But if the day should be particularly warm, the sunlight bright, and the specimen itself vigorous and well-fed, then we shall find, under the cumulative action of all these excesses of stimulus, that the leaflets are in a constant state of rhythmic vibration which passes like ripples along the length of the leaf. It is no definite individual blow that causes these movements, but the superfluity of energy which has been absorbed from the environmental stimuli as a whole, and is stored up in the plant, till it bubbles over in this rhythmic expression, to appear as seemingly spontaneous movements. It was our own lack of knowledge and want of sufficiently penetrative analysis, that gave rise to the assumption that these movements were self-caused.

It must thus be excess of energy which converts an ordinarily responding into an automatically responding plant. But if this is so, then it should follow that an automatically responding plant, conversely, should be convertible, through lack of energy, into an ordinarily-responding plant. This also I have been able to demonstrate.

For this purpose, we must return to *Des-*

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modium, the telegraph-plant, whose pulsation goes on perpetually, like that of the heart. If it be true that this automatism is due to the plant's store of superfluous energy, then depletion of this store ought to bring it to an end. The pulsating leaflet should then come to a state of standstill. I took a plant of *Desmodium* and deliberately starved it, cutting off its supply of food and light. Its autonomous movements, as I had expected, were thus arrested. Curiously enough, in this state of standstill, it was further found to have been converted into an ordinarily-responding plant, for a single stimulus now evoked from it a single response, while a stronger stimulus induced multiple responses. On now again placing the plant under favorable conditions of light, warmth, and food, it was found that in a short time the autonomous pulsation was duly resumed.

We have thus seen that excess of energy finds expression in multiple response, and, I believe that this fact casts a flood of light on various activities at present deemed irrational. One notices the same phenomenon in any healthy baby, after it has been fed. From a state of quiescence before feeding, it will afterwards throw out its limbs again and again in a rhythmic manner, expressive of overflowing energy. This is also seen in children of a larger growth, when an intensely pleasureable stimulation will cause them to 'dance for joy,' a form *par excellence* of rhythmic activity. One has often, again, been struck by the long series of zigzag flourishes characteristic of certain signatures. This multiple rhythmic response is not improbably the expression of an overflowing self-esteem or egotism!

We have thus seen that a strong or a long-continued stimulus gives rise to multiple response, and that autonomous activities, so called, are merely an extension of this. Now are there no other autonomous activities in life, besides such conspicuous movements as those of the *Desmodium* leaflets, or the animal heart?

Let us confine ourselves for a moment to the plant and consider the process by which it derives nourishment from the soil. This depends, as we know, on a stream of fluid charged with food materials, which passess constantly through it, from below to above, a phenomenon known as the ascent of sap, and regarded up to the present as one of the enigmas of Botany. Various explanations have been offered, but all to be pronounced unsatisfactory. It might be thought, for example, that evaporation from the leaves produced a vaccum, on account of which the liquid is forced up from below, by atmospheric pressure. But this could hardly be true, since the ascent of sap will take place in trees a hundred feet high, while only a 34 feet column of liquid can be lifted by barometric pressure.

Once possessed, however, of the fact that plant tissues respond to stimulus, we are able to envisage this problem in a much simpler fashion. Fine rootlets in contact with the soil, are stimulated by friction and the presence of chemical substances. The cells thus undergo a sudden contraction, forcing their liquid contents into others higher up. By the impact of this water, however, the cells above are excited and contract in turn, with the result that the fluid is forced higher still. When this wave of contraction has passed on, the terminal cells in contact with the soil recover. During this expansion they suck up fresh fluid from the soil, are once more excited and the wave of contraction is initiated again. Thus by a chain of minute pumps, as it were, placed one above another, the liquid food is forced upwards through the whole height of the plant. There is no more difficulty in understanding this process in the plant, though maintained in opposition to the attracting power of gravity, than in understanding the peristaltic action in the animal body. We may thus regard the channels of the ascent of sap in the plant as a sort of diffuse heart.

That the ascent of sap is really a phenomenon initiated by excitation, is proved when we find that any circumstance or condition which depresses or augments excitation, will also retard or accelerate the rise of water in the plant. For instance, if chloroform be applied to the root, the cells become numb, and the water-movement ceases. Similarly an application of ice-cold water will arrest the ascent, which may, moreover, be renewed with greater vigour than before on the application of warm water.

It is thus seen that the constant supply of food to the plant by which it is kept alive, is maintained by the autonomous rhythmic activity of certain tissues; while autonomous

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rhythmic activity, as we have seen, is the result of the presence in the tissue of a supefluity of energy absorbed from its environment. Now to prove that this is so, we have only to keep the plant for a length of time with its roots in water, in a cold-room, in the dark. Sooner or later, under these conditions, suction will come to an end. But if now we apply a strong shock to the root of the plant, this suctional activity will at once renew itself just as the motile activity was found to be renewed in *Desmodium* leaflets, in a state of standstill.

But the mystery of growth is even greater than that of the Ascent of Sap. And by means of suitable apparatus it can be shown that this also is a phenomenon of multiple activity. If we take a growing plant and attach a recording-lever to its free end, the growth-elongation will be described by this recording-lever, as a series of pulsations. Starve the plant, or apply cold to it, and the growth-record will come to a stop. If now, in this condition of growth-standstill, we give it the stimulus of food or warmth, there is an immediate renewal of growth-pulsation, as in the cases of the multiple mechanical and suctional response.

But this phenomenon of multiple response is not merely characteristic of the grosser responsive movements of living matter: it is equally true even in the subtler realm of sensation.

Let us think for a moment of the effect of a strong stimulus of light on the retina. We may, for example, stare a moment or two at a bright light, and then close the eyes. We now find that even after the cessation of stimulus, the after-effect of the light persists, as a series of strong visual impressions. This means that the intense stimulus of light has evoked in the retina multiple responsive sensations.

The same is true in like manner of all forms of mental stimulation. Such, when very intense, is always apt to repeat itself and become persistent. And it is in vain that we seek to escape from its recurrence. We are dogged by our own thoughts, and even in our dreams they return to us. Like other forms of living matter, further, nervous tissue is tuned to added responsiveness by the very stimulus that impinges upon it. The nerve unstimulated lies passive and inert. The nerve already subjected to stimulus has been energised by it, and its sensibility enormously exalted. Thus every moment of our present is coloured by the store of our latent memories. Stimulation by thought actually increases our power of thought. It is by the accumulation of such stimulus and our own directive activity, that nervous matter ultimately becomes automatic or autonomous, a phase which is seen in many steps, from the birth of thought to inspiration.

Thus we have traced out the continuity of response, from simple, through multiple to autonomous, in plant and animal alike. A moderate stimulus evokes a simple response, whether this be mechanical, or electrical, or even by sensation or thought. Strong stimulus, on the other hand, gives rise to multiple responses, in all their various forms. Excess of absorbed energy, derived from the sum of various environmental stimuli, bubbles over, as it were, and shows itself in rhythmic autonomous response. This phenomenon we see variously manifested, now in the beating of the heart, again in the pulsation of *Desmodium* leaflets, elsewhere in the ascent of sap, or pulsating growth, and even in echoing sensation and persistent thought.

Thus we see that in one sense the living organism is simply a machine. That is to say, all its parts have to be maintained in a state of mobility. Molecular rigidity, or the arrest of this machine, means death. This view may appear to some of us as extremely materialistic. But in order to keep the machine at work, in all those wonderful and complex ways of which it is capable, from mechanical movement, through throbbing sensation, to spontaneous thought, something more than mere mechanical perfection is necessary. We have seen that the most perfect type of organism when isolated soon ceases its activity. In order, then, to maintain it in spontaneity, or livingness, the inpouring of energy is necessary from without. Every living organism, in order to maintain its life, must stand in constant free communion with all the forces of the universe about it.

Is this in truth materialism? Or is it spirituality? May it not be that we dispute these terms, because each of us is viewing a single fact from a different stand point?

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THE YELLOW GOD

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By H. Rider Haggard,
Author of "King Solomon's Mines," "She," "The Brethren," "Benita," &c.

CHAPTER VII.

Jeeki Explains.

"Proceed, Jeeki," said Alan, removing the whiskey bottle, "proceed and explain."

"Major, thus: The Asiki tribe care nothing about all that gold, it no good to them. Dead people who live long long ago, no one knows when, dig it up and store it there and make the great fetish which they call Bonsa to keep away enemy who want to steal. Also old custom when any one in country round find big nugget, or pretty stone, like ladies wear on bosom, to bring it as offering to Bonsa, so that there now great plenty of all this stuff. But no one use it for anything except to set on walls of house of Asika, or to make basin, stool, table, and pot to cook with. Once an Arab come there and I see the priests give him weight in gold for iron hoe, though afterwards they murder him, not for the gold, but lest he go away and tell their secret."

"One might trade with them then, Jeeki?" He shook his white head doubtfully.

"Yes, perhaps, if you find anything they want buy and can carry it there, but I think there only one thing they want and you got that, Major."

"I, Jeeki! What have I got?"

The negro leant forward and tapped his master on the knee, saying in a portentous whisper:

"You got Little Bonsa, which more holy than anything, even than Big Bonsa, her husband, I mean greater, more powerful devil. That Little Bonsa sit in front room Asika's house, and when she want see things, she put it in big basin of gold, but I no tell you what it float in. Also once or twice every year they take out Little Bonsa; Asika wear it on head as mask, and whoever they meet they kill as offering to Little Bonsa, that spirit come back to world to be priest of Bonsa. I tell you, Major, that Yellow God see thousand of people die."

"Indeed," said Alan. "A pleasing fetish truly. I should think that the Asiki must be glad it is gone."

"No, not glad, very sorry. No luck for them when Little Bonsa go away, but plenty luck for those who got her. That why firm Aylward and Haswell make so much money when you join them and bring her to office. She drop green in eye of public so they no smell rat. That why you so lucky, not die of blackwater fever when you should; get safe out of den of thieves in City with good name; win love of sweet maiden, Miss Barbara. Little Bonsa do all those things for you, and by and by do plenty more, as Little Bonsa bring my old master, your holy uncle, safe out of that country because all the Asiki run away when they see him wear her on head, for they think she come sacrifice them after she eat up my life."

"I don't wonder that they ran," said Alan, laughing, for the vision of a missionary with Little Bonsa on his head caught his fancy. "But come to the point, you old heathen. What do you mean that I should do?"

"Jeeki not heathen, Major, but plenty other things true in this world, besides Christian religion. I no want you do anything, but I say this--you go back to Asiki wearing Little Bonsa on head and dressed like reverend uncle whom you very like, for he just your age then thirty years ago, and they give you all the Gold you want, if you give them back Little Bonsa, whom they love and worship for ever and ever, for Little Bonsa very very old."

Alan sat up in his chair and stared at Jeeki, while Jeeki nodded his head at him. "There is something in it," he said slowly, speaking more to himself than to the negro, "and perhaps that is why I would not sell the fetish, for as you say, there are plenty of true things in the world besides those which we believe. But, Jeeki, how should I find the way?"

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"No trouble, Major, Little Bonsa find way, want to get back home, very hungry by now, much need sacrifice. Think it good thing kill pig to Little Bonsa—or even lamb. She know you do your best, since human being not to be come at in Christian land, and say 'thank you for life of pig.'"

"Stop that rubbish," said Alan. "I want a guide; if I go, will you come with me?"

At this suggestion the negro looked exceedingly uncomfortable.

"Not like to, not like to at all," he said, rolling his eyes. "Asiki-land very funny place for native-born. But," he added sadly, "if you go I must, for I servant of Little Bonsa, and if I stay behind, she angry and kill me because I not attend her where she walk. But perhaps if I go and take her to Gold House again she pleased and let me off. Also I able help you there. Yes, if you and Little Bonsa go, I go too."

After this announcement Jeeki rose and walked down the room, carrying the cold mutton in his hand. Then he returned, replaced it on the table, and, standing in front of Alan, said earnesty:

"Major, I tell you all truth, just this once. Jeeki think he *got* go with you to Asiki-land. Jeeki have plenty bad dream lately. Little Bonsa come in middle of the night and sit on his stomach and scratch his face with her gold leg, and say, 'Jeeki, Jeeki, you son of Bonsa, you get up quick and take me back Bonsa-Town, for I darned tired of City fog and finished all I come here to do. Now I want jolly good old sacrifice and got plenty business attend to there at home, things you not understand just yet. You take me back sharp, or I make you sit up, Jeeki, my boy,'" and he paused.

"Indeed," said Alan, "and did she tell you anything else in her midnight visitations?"

"Yes, Major. She say, 'You take that white master of yours along also, for I want come back Asiki-land on his head, and some one wish see him there, old pal what he forget but what not forget him. You tell him Little Bonsa got score she wants settle with that party and wish use him square account. You tell him, too, that she pay him well for trip; he lose nothing if he play her game, 'cause she got no score against him. But if he not go, that 'nother matter, than he look out, for Little Bonsa very nasty customer if she riled, as his late partners find out one day.'"

"Oh, shut up, Jeeki. What's the use of wasting time telling me your nightmares?"

"Very well, Major, just as you like, Major. But I got other reason why I willing go. Jeeki want see his ma."

"Your ma? I never heard you had a 'Ma.' Besides, she must be dead long ago."

"No, Major, 'cause she turn up in dream too, very much alive, swear at me 'cause I took her blanket. Also she tough old woman, take lot kill her."

"Perhaps you have a pa, too," suggested Alan.

"Think not, Major, my ma always say she forget him. What she mean, she not like talk about him, he such a swell. Why Jeeki so strong so clever, and with such beautiful face? No doubt 'cause he son of very great man. All this true reason why he want go with you, Major. Still, p'r'aps poor old Jeeki make mistake, p'r'aps he dream 'cause he eat too much supper, p'r'aps his ma dead, after all. If so, p'r'aps better stay at home—not know."

"No," answered Alan, "not know. What between Little Bonsa and one thing and another my head is swimming—like Little Bonsa in the water."

"Big Bonsa swim in water," interrupted Jeeki. "Little Bonsa swim in gold tub."

"Well Big Bonsa, or Little Bonsa, I don't care which. I'm going to bed, and you had better clear away these things and do the same. But, Jeeki, if you say a word of our talk to anyone, I shall be very angry. Do you understand?"

"Yes, Major. I understand. I understand that if I tell secrets of Little Bonsa to anyone except you with whom she live in strange land away from home, Little Bonsa come at me like one lion, and cut my throat. No fear Jeeki split on Little Bonsa, no fear at all," and still shaking his head solemnly for the second time, he seized the cold mutton and vanished from the room.

"A farrago of superstitious nonsense," thought Alan to himself when he had gone. "But still, there may be something to be made out of it. Evidently there is lots of gold in this Asiki country, if only one can persuade the people to deal."

Then, weary of Jeeki and his tribal gods, Alan lit his pipe and sat awhile thinking of Barbara and all the events of that tumultuous day. Notwithstanding his rebuff at the

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hands of Mr. Haswell and the difficulties and dangers which threatened, he felt even then that it had been a happy and a fortunate day. For had he not discovered that Barbara loved him with all her heart and soul as he loved Barbara? And as this was so, he did not care a Little Bonsa about anything else, The future must look to itself, sufficient to the day was the abiding joy thereof.

So he went to bed, and for a while to sleep, but he did not sleep very long, for presently he fell to dreaming, something about Big Bonsa and Little Bonsa, which sat, or rather floated on either side of his couch and held an interminable conversation over him, while Jeeki and Sir Robert Aylward, perched respectively at its head and its foot, like the symbols of the good and evil genii on a Mahommedan tomb, acted as a kind of insane chorus. He struck his repeater, it was only one o'clock, so he tried to go to sleep again, but failed utterly. Never had he been more painfully awake.

For an hour or more Alan persevered, then at last in despair jumped out of bed wondering what he could do to occupy his mind. Suddenly he remembered the diary of his uncle, the Rev. Mr. Austin, which he had inherited with the Yellow God and a few other possessions, but never examined. These had been put away in a box in the library about fifteen years before, just at the time he entered the army, and there, doubtless, they remained. Well, as he could not sleep, why should he not examine them now, and thus get through some of this weary night?

He lit a candle and went down to the library, an ancient and beautiful apartment with black oak panelling between the bookcases set there in the time of Elizabeth. In this panelling there were cupboards, and in one of the cupboards was the box he sought made of teak wood. On its lid was painted, "The Reverend Henry Austin. Passenger to Accra," showing that it had once been his uncle's cabin box. The key hung from the handle, and having lit more candles, Alan drew it out and unlocked it, to be greeted by a smell of musty documents done up in great bundles. One by one he placed them on the floor. It was a dreary occupation alone there in that great, silent room at the dead of night, one indeed with which he was soon satisfied, for somehow it reminded him of rifling coffins in a vault. Before him so carefully put away lay the records of a good if not distinguished life, and until this moment he had never found the energy even to look through them.

At length he came to the end of the bundles and saw that beneath lay a number of manuscript books packed closely with their backs upwards, marked "Journal," and with the year and sometimes the place of the author's residence. As he glanced at them in dismay, for they were many, his eye caught the title of one inscribed—as were several others—"West Africa," and written in brackets beneath: "This vol. contains all that is left of the notes of my escape with Jeeki from the Asiki Devil-worshippers."

Alan drew it out, and having refilled and closed the box, bore it off to his room, where he proceeded to read it in bed. As a matter of fact he found that there was not very much to read, for the reason that most of the closely-written volume had been so damaged by water that the pencilled writing had run and become utterly illegible. The centre pages, however, not having been soaked, could still be deciphered, at any rate in part; also there was a large manuscript map, executed in ink, apparently at a later date, on the back of which was written:

"I purpose, D.V., to re-write at some convenient time all the history of my visit to the unknown Asiki people, as my original notes were practically destroyed when the canoe overset in the Rapids and most of our few possessions were lost, except this book and the gold fetish mask which is called Little Bonsa, or Small Swimming Head. This I think I can do with the aid of Jeeki from memory, but as the matter has only a personal and no religious interest, seeing that I was not able even to preach the word among those benighted and blood-thirsty savages in whose country, as I verily believe, the Devil has one of his principal habitations, it must stand over till a convenient season, such as the time of old age or sickness. —H.A."

"P.S.—I ought to add with gratitude that even out of this hell fire I was enabled to snatch one brand from the burning, namely, the negro lad Jeeki, to whose extraordinary resource and faithfulness I owe my escape. After a long hesitation I have been able to baptise him, although I fear that the taint

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of heathenism still clings to him. Thus not six months ago I caught him sacrificing a white cock to the image, Little Bonsa, in gratitude, as to my horror he explained, for my having been appointed an Honorary Canon of the Cathedral! I have told him to take that ugly mask which has been so often soaked in human blood, and melt it down over the kitchen stove, after picking out the gems in the eyes, that the proceeds may be given to the poor. Note: I had better see to this myself, as where Little Bonsa is concerned, Jeeki is not to be trusted. He says (with some excuse) that it has magic, and that if he melts it down, he will melt down too, and so shall I. How dark and ridiculous are the superstitions of the heathen! Perhaps, however, instead of destroying the thing, which is certainly unique, I might sell it to a museum and thus spare the feelings of that weak vessel, Jeeki, who otherwise would very likely take it into his head to waste away and die, as these Africans do when their nerves are affected by terror of their fetish."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DIARY.

Alan studied this route map carefully, and found that it started from Old Calabar in the Bight of Biafra on the west coast of Africa, whence it ran up to the Great Qua River, which it followed for a long way. Then it struck across country, marked "dense forest," northwards, and came to a river called Katsena, along the banks of which the route went eastwards. Thence it turned northward again through swamps, and ended in mountains called Shaku, and in the middle of these mountains was written "Asiki people live here on Raaba River."

The map was roughly drawn to scale, and Alan, who was an engineer accustomed to such things, easily calculated that the distance of this Raaba River from Old Calabar was about 350 miles as the crow flies, though probably the actual route to be travelled was nearer 500.

Having mastered the map, he opened the water-soaked diary. Turning page after page, only here and there could he make out a sentence, such as "so I defied that beautiful and terrific woman. I, a Christian minister, the husband of a heathen priestess! Perish the thought. Sooner would I be sacrificed to Bonsa!"

Then came more illegible pages, and again a paragraph that could be read: "They gave me the 'Bean' in a gold cup, and knowing its deadly nature I prepared myself for death. But happily for me my stomach, always delicate, rejected it at once, though I felt queer for days afterwards. Whereon they clapped their hands and said I was evidently innocent and a great medicine man."

And again, further on, "never did I see so much gold, whether in dust, nuggets, or worked articles. I imagine it must be worth millions, but at that time gold was the last thing with which I wished to trouble myself."

After this entry many pages were utterly effaced.

The last legible passage ran as follows:—"So, guided by the lad Jeeki and wearing the gold mask, Little Bonsa, on my head, I ran through them all, holding him by the hand as though I were dragging him away. A strange spectacle I must have been with my old black clergyman's coat buttoned about me, my naked legs, and the gold mask, as, pretending to be a devil such as they worship, I rushed through them in the moonlight, blowing the whistle in the mask, and bellowing like a bull. ..... Such was the beginning of my dreadful six months' journey to the coast. Setting aside the mercy of Providence that preserved me for its own purposes, I could never have lived to reach it, had it not been for Little Bonsa, since, curiously enough, I found this fetish known and dreaded for hundreds of miles, and that by people who had never seen it; yes, even by the wild cannibals. Whenever it was produced, food, bearers, canoes, or whatever else I might want, were forthcoming as though by magic. Great is the fame of Big and Little Bonsa in all that part of West Africa, although, strange as it may seem, the outlying tribes seldom mention them by name. If they must speak of either of these images, which are supposed to be man and wife, they call it 'The-Yellow-God-who-lives-yonder.'"

Not another word of all this strange history could Alan decipher, so with aching eyes he shut up the stained and tattered volume, and at last, just as day was breaking, fell asleep.

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At eleven o'clock on that same morning, for he had slept late, Alan rose from his breakfast, and went to smoke his pipe at the open door of the beautiful old hall in Yarleys that was clad with brown Elizabethan oak, for which any dealer would have given hundreds of pounds. It was a charming morning, one of those that come to us sometimes in an English April, when the air is soft as that of Italy, the smell of the earth rises like that of incense, and little clouds float idly across a sky of tender blue. Standing thus he looked out upon the park, where the elms already showed a tinge of green and the ash buds were coal black. Only the walnuts and the great oaks, some of them pollards of a thousand years of age, remained stark and stern in their winter dress.

Alan was in a reflective mood, and involuntarily began to wonder how many of his forefathers had stood in that same spot upon such April mornings and looked out upon those identical trees wakening in the breath of Spring. Only the trees and the landscape knew, those trees which had seen everyone of them borne to baptism, to bridal, and to burial. The men and women themselves were forgotten. Their portraits, each in the garb of his or her generation, hung here and there upon the walls of the ancient house which once they had owned or inhabited; but who remembered anything of them to-day? In many cases their names even were lost, for believing that they, so important in their time, could never sink into oblivion, they had not thought it necessary to record them upon their pictures.

And now the thing was coming to an end. Unless in this way or in that he could save it, what remained of the old place, for the outlying lands had long since been sold, must go to the hammer and become the property of some pushing and successful person who desired to found a family, and perhaps in days to be would claim these very pictures that hung upon the walls as those of his own ancestors, declaring that he had bought in the estate because he was a relative of the ancient and ruined family.

Well, it was the way of the world, and perhaps it must be so; but the thought of it made Alan Vernon sad. If he could have continued that business it might have been otherwise. By this hour his late partners, Sir Robert Aylward and Mr. Champers-Has well, were doubtless sitting in their granite office in the City, probably in consultation with Lord Specton, who had taken his place upon the board of the great company which was being subscribed that day. No doubt, applications for shares were pouring in by the early post and by telegram, and from time to time Mr. Jeffreys respectfully reporting their number and amount; while Sir Robert looked unconcerned, and Mr. Haswell rubbed his hands and whistled cheerfully. Almost he could envy them, these men who were realising great fortunes amidst the bustle and excitement of that fierce financial life, whilst he stood penniless and stared at the trees and the ewes which wandered among them with their lambs; he who, after all his work, was but a failure. With a sigh he turned away to fetch his cap and go out walking—there was a tenant whom he must see, a shifty, new-fangled kind of man, who was always clamouring for fresh buildings and reductions in his rent. How was he to pay for more buildings? He must put him off or let him go.

Just then a sharp sound caught his ear, that of an electric bell. It came from the telephone, which since he had been a member of a City firm he had caused to be put into Yarleys at considerable expense in order that he might be able to communicate with the office in London. Were they calling him up from force of habit? he wondered. He went to the instrument, which was fixed in a little room he used as a study, and took down the receiver.

"Who is it?" he asked. "I am Yarleys. Alan Vernon."

"And I am Barbara," came the answer. How are you, dear? Did you sleep well?"

"No, very badly."

"Nerves—Alan, you have got nerves. Now, although I had a worse day than you did, I went to bed at nine, and, protected by a perfect conscience, I slumbered till nine this morning, exactly twelve hours. Isn't it clever of me to think of this telephone, which is more than you would ever have done. My uncle has departed to London vowing that no letter from you shall enter this house, but he forgot that there is a telephone in every room, and, in fact, at this moment I am speaking round by his office within a yard or two of his head. However, he can't hear, so that doesn't matter. My blessing be on the

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man who invented telephones, which hitherto I have always thought an awful nuisance. Are you feeling cheerful, Alan ?"

"Very much the reverse," he answered, "never was more gloomy in my life, not even when I thought I had to die within six hours of blackwater fever. Also I have lots that I want to talk about, and I can't do it at the end of this confounded wire that your uncle may be tapping."

"I thought it might be so," answered Barbara, "so I just rang you up to wish you good morning, and to say that I am coming over in the motor to lunch, with my maid Snell as chaperone. All right, don't remonstrate, I *am coming* over to lunch—I can't hear you—never mind what people will say. I am coming over to lunch at one o'clock ; mind you are in. Good-bye, I don't want much to eat, but have something for Snell and the chauffeur. Good-bye."

Then the wire went dead, nor could all Alan's "Hello's" and "Are you there's ?" extract another syllable.

Having ordered the best luncheon that his old housekeeper could provide, Alan went off for his walk in much better spirits, which were further improved by his success in persuading the tenant to do without the new building for another year. In a year, he reflected, anything might happen. Then he returned by the wood, where a number of newfelled oaks lay ready for barking. This was not a cheerful sight ; it seemed so cruel to kill the great trees just as they were pushing their buds for another summer of life. But he consoled himself by recalling that they had been too crowded, and that the timber was really needed on the estate. As he reached the house again, carrying a bunch of white violets, which he had plucked in a sheltered place, for Barbara, he perceived a motor travelling at much more than the legal speed up the walnut avenue, which was the pride of the place, and in it that young lady herself and her maid, Snell, a middle-aged woman, with whom, as it chanced, he was on very good terms, as once, at some trouble to himself, he had been able to do her a kindness.

The motor pulled up at the front door, and out of it sprang Barbara, laughing pleasantly and looking fresh and charming as the Spring itself.

"There will be a row over this, dear," said Alan, shaking his head doubtfully when at last they were alone together in the hall.

"Of course there'll be a row," she answered. "I mean that there should be a row, I mean to have a row every day, if necessary, until they leave me alone to follow my own road, and if they won't, as I said, to go to the Court of Chancery for protection. Oh ! by the way, I have brought you a copy of 'The Judge.' There's a most awful article in it about that Sahara flotation, and among other things it announces that you have left the firm, and congratulates you upon having done so."

"They'll think I have put it in," groaned Alan, as he glanced at the head lines, which were almost libellous in their vigour, and the summaries of the financial careers of Sir Robert Aylward and Mr. Champers-Haswell.

"It will make them hate me more than ever, and I say, Barbara, we can't live in an atmosphere of perpetual warfare for the next two years."

"I can, if need be," answered that determined young woman. "But I admit that it would be trying for you, if you stay here."

"That's just the point, Barbara. I must not stay here, I must go away, the further the better, until you are your own mistress."

"Where to, Alan ?"

"To West Africa, I think."

"To West Africa ?" repeated Barbara, her voice trembling a little. "After that treasure, Alan ?"

"Yes, Barbara. But first come and have your lunch, then we will talk. I have got lots to tell and show you."

So they lunched, speaking of indifferent things, for the servant was there waiting on them. Just as they were finishing their meal Jeeki entered the room carrying a box, and a large envelope addressed to his master, which he said had been sent down by special messenger from the office in London.

"What's in the box ?" asked Alan, looking somewhat nervously at the envelope, which was addressed in a writing that he knew.

"Don't know for certain, Major," answered Jeeki, "but think Little Bonsa, think I smell her through wood. Little Bonsa always have sweet smell."

"Well, look and see," replied Alan, while he broke the seal of the envelope and drew out its contents. They proved to be sundry documents sent by the firm's lawyers, among

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which were a notice of the formal dissolution of partnership to be approved by him before it appeared in the "Gazette," a second notice calling in a mortgage for fifteen thousand and odd pounds on Yarleys, which, as a matter of business had been taken over by the firm while he was a partner ; a cash account showing a small balance against him, and finally a receipt for him to sign acknowledging the return of the gold image that was his property.

"You see," said Alan with a sigh, pushing over the papers to Barbara, who read them carefully one by one.

"I see," she answered presently. "It is war to the knife. Alan, I hate the idea of it, but perhaps you had better go away. While you are here they will harass the life out of you."

Meanwhile, with the aid of a big jack knife and the dining-room poker, Jeeki had prized off the lid of the box. Chancing to look round Barbara saw him on his knees muttering something in a strange tongue, and bowing his white head until it touched an object that lay within the box.

"What are you doing, Jeeki ?" she asked.

"Make bow to Little Bonsa, Miss Barbara, tell her how glad I am see her come back from town. She like feel welcome. Now you come bow, too, Little Bonsa take that as compliment."

"I won't bow, but I will look, Jeeki, for although I have heard so much about it I have never really examined this Yellow God."

"Very good, you come look, Miss," and Jeeki propped up the case upon the end of the dining room table. As from its height and position she could not see its contents very well whilst standing above it, Barbara knelt down to get a better view of it.

"My goodness !" she exclaimed ; "what a terrible face, beautiful, too, in its way."

Hardly had the words left her lips when for some reason unexplained that probably had to do with the shifting of the centre of gravity, Little Bonsa appeared to glide or fall out of her box with a startling suddenness, and project herself straight at Barbara, who, with a faint scream, fearing lest the precious thing should be injured, caught it in her arms and for a moment hugged it to her breast.

"Saved !" she exclaimed, recovering herself and placing it on the table, whereon Jeeki, to their astonishment, began to execute a kind of war dance.

"Oh ! yes," he said, "saved, very much saved. All saved, most magnificent omen. Lady kneel to Little Bonsa and Little Bonsa nip out of box, make bow and jump in lady's arms. That splendid, first-class luck, for Miss and everybody. When Little Bonsa do that need fear nothing no more. All come right as rain."

"Nonsense," said Barbara, laughing. Then from a cautious distance she continued her examination of the fetish.

"See," said Jeeki, pointing to the misshapen little gold legs which were yet so designed that it could be stood up upon them, "when anyone wear Little Bonsa, tie her on head behind by these legs ; look, here same old leather string. Now I put her on, for she like to be worn again," and with a quick movement he clapped the mask on to his face, manipulating the greasy black leather thongs and made them fast. Thus adorned the great negro looked no less than terrific.

"I see you, Miss," he said, turning the fixed eyes of opal-like stone, blood-shot with little rubies, upon Barbara, "I see you, though you no see me, for these eyes made very cunning. But listen, you hear me," and suddenly from the mask, produced by some contrivance set within it, there proceeded an awful, howling sound that made her shiver.

"Take that thing off, Jeeki," said Alan, We don't want any banshees here."

"Banshees ? Not know him. He poor English fetish, perhaps," said Jeeki, as he removed the mask. "This real African god, howl banshee and all that sort into middle of next week. This Little Bonsa and no mistake, ten thousand years old and more, eat up lives, so many that no one can count them, and go on eating for ever, yes unto the third and fourth generation, as Ten Commandments lay it down for benefit of Christian man, like me. Look at her again, Miss Barbara."

Barbara took the hateful, ancient thing in her hands and studied it. No one could doubt its antiquity, for the gold plate of which it was made was literally worn away wherever it had touched the foreheads of the high priests or priestesses who donned it upon festive occasions or days of sacrifice, showing that hundreds and hundreds of them must have used it thus in succession. So was the vocal apparatus within the mouth, and so were the little toad-like feet upon which it

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was stood up. Also the substance of the gold itself was here and there pitted as though with acids or salts, though what those salts were she did not inquire. And yet, so consummate was the art with which it had originally been fashioned, that the battered, beautiful face of Little Bonsa still peered at them with the same devilish smile that it had worn when it left the hands of its maker, perhaps before Mahomed preached his holy war, or even earlier.

"What is all that writing on the back of it?" asked Barbara, pointing to the long lines of rune-like characters which were inscribed within the mask.

"Not know, Miss, they dead tongue cut in the beginning when black men could write. But Asiki priests remember everyone of them, and that why no one can copy Little Bonsa, for they look inside and see if letters all right. They say they names of those who died for Little Bonsa, and when they all done, Little Bonsa begin again, for Little Bonsa never die."

"Well" said Barbara, "take Little Bonsa away, for however lucky she may be, she makes me feel sick."

"Where I put her, Major?" asked Jeeki of Alan. "In box in library where she used to live, or in plate-safe with spoons? Or under your bed, where she always keep eye on you."

"Oh! put her with the spoons," said Alan angrily, and Jeeki departed with his treasure.

"I think, dear," remarked Barbara as the door closed behind him, "that if I come to lunch here any more, I shall bring my own christening present with me, for I can't eat off silver that has been shut up with that thing. Now let us get to business—show me the diary and the map."

"Dearest Alan," wrote Barbara from the Court two days later, "I have been thinking everything over, and since you are so set upon it, I suppose that you had better go. To me the whole adventure seems perfectly mad, but at the same time I believe in our luck, or rather in the Providence which watches over us, and I don't believe that you, or I either, will come to any harm. If you stop here, you will only eat your heart out, and communication between us must become increasingly difficult. My uncle is furious with you, and since he discovered that we were talking over the telephone, to his own great inconvenience he has had the wires cut outside the house. That horrid letter of his to you, saying that you had 'compromised' me in pursuance of 'a mercenary scheme' is all part and parcel of the same thing. How are you to stop here and submit to such insults? I went to see my friend the lawyer, and he tells me that of course we can marry if we like, but in that case my father's will, which he has consulted at Somerset House, is absolutely definite, and if I do so in opposition to my uncle's wishes, I must lose everything except £200 a year. Now I am no money grabber, but I will not give my uncle the satisfaction of robbing me of my fortune, which may be useful to both of us bye-and-bye. The lawyer says also that he does not think that the Court of Chancery would interfere, having no power to do so, so far as the will is concerned, and not being able to make a ward of a person like myself, who is over age, and has the protection of the common law of the country. So it seems to me that the only thing to do is to be patient, and wait until time unties the knot.

"Meanwhile, if you can make some money in Africa, so much the better. So go, Alan, go as soon as you like, for I do not wish to prolong this agony, or to see you exposed daily to all you have to bear. Whenever you return you will find me waiting for you, and if you do not return, still I shall wait, as you in like circumstances will wait for me. But I think you will return."

Then followed much that need not be written, and at the end a postscript, which ran:—

"I am glad to hear that you have succeeded in shifting the mortgage on Yarleys, although the interest is so high. Write to me whenever you get a chance, to the care of the lawyer, for then the letters will reach me, but never to this house, or they may be stopped. I will do the same to the address you give. Good-bye, dearest Alan, my true and only lover. I wonder where and when we shall meet again. God be with us both and enable us to bear our trial.

P. P. S.—I hear that the Sahara flotation was really a success, notwithstanding the 'Judge' attacks. Sir Robert and my uncle have made millions. I wonder how long they will keep them!"

A week after he received this letter Alan was on the seas, heading for the shores of Western Africa.

(To be Continued.)

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INDIAN STUDENTS IN AMERICA

WHAT are the emotions of an Indian student on his first arrival in America? Transition from the Orient to the American Continent at first occasions a violent strain on the Indian newcomer. Later, when mellowed by time, it forms an important epoch in his career. All through life it continues to constitute a never-to-be-forgotten memory, thrilling and exciting at times, interesting always.

The first feeling of the newly arrived Indian Student is that of awe at the vastness of the change in his environs. Life on one side of the Pacific is characterized by tranquility and staid calmness. On the other it is a constant flurry and bustle. On one shore of the Ocean spirituality and beatification are the ideals. On the other material gain and quick results sway the people.

When an Indian young man first sets his feet in the United States of America, his slow gait, limp, listless ways, lifeless, inert talk and tranquil looks attract the attention of the people amongst whom he is thrown. To an average American, every one who hails from Hindostan is a "Hindoo"—and no matter how clever he may be, he is taken for a *nirvanic* and unanimated character.

On his arrival the newcomer from Hindostan, is greeted with an avalanche of "slang," utterly unintelligible even to a person well-versed in the English language. Few Americans have street manners. They display rank impudence, rudely staring at faces and clothes but slightly different from their own. A person wearing a turban or a Turkish cap cannot appear even in metropolitan American cities without attracting crowds about him.

Another class of Americans extends patronage to the newly arrived "Hindoo." To this type of people the Indian is the representative of a nation living in the dark and dismal regions of "heathendom." The patronage bestowed upon the "East"-Indian, as he is styled in America in contradistinction to "American"-Indians—is not unoften mingled with "pity." In many instances it is actuated by a religious feeling which has for its motive the rescuing of the benighted from the realms of darkness and damnation. Not unfrequently it is offered in an ungraceful manner, perhaps with some superior airs. Thus, probably exhibited with the best of intentions and the most Christian spirit, the interest shown by American friends assumes in the eyes of the Indian protege the character of insult.

The din and noise, the turmoil and constant hurry of American cities jar upon the nerves of the freshly-arrived Indian. The harsh tones and nasal twang of the glib and fast-talking Yankee grate upon his ear. The "business lunches," as the noonday meal eaten in liquor shops—termed "saloons"—are called, appear barbaric to him. The quick-lunch counters, by which term is meant the eating houses which make a specialty of serving meals, generally at all hours of the day and night, and where people sit down to the table without divesting themselves of their hats and engage in hurriedly gulping down hot and cold drinks, vegetables and meats, eggs and fish, appear to him positively vulgar.

In many instances the newcomer meets with little assistance from his countrymen already settled in the United States and familiar with the ways and life of Americans. Some of them even seem to indulge in fun at his expense. Some exhibit jealousy and vent their spleen on him. Others try to take mean advantage of his ignorance.

Even when the newly arrived Indian student finds himself in the hands of faithful friends and helpful comrades and is fortunate enough to enlist the co-operation of some of his countrymen in or near the town in which he lives, for a time at least, he continues to feel like an exotic in the Arctic regions—a stranger in a strange land.

His trials increase in proportion as he lacks adjustibility and virility—the will, decision of character and capability to become accustomed to new surroundings and conditions. His difficulties multiply thick

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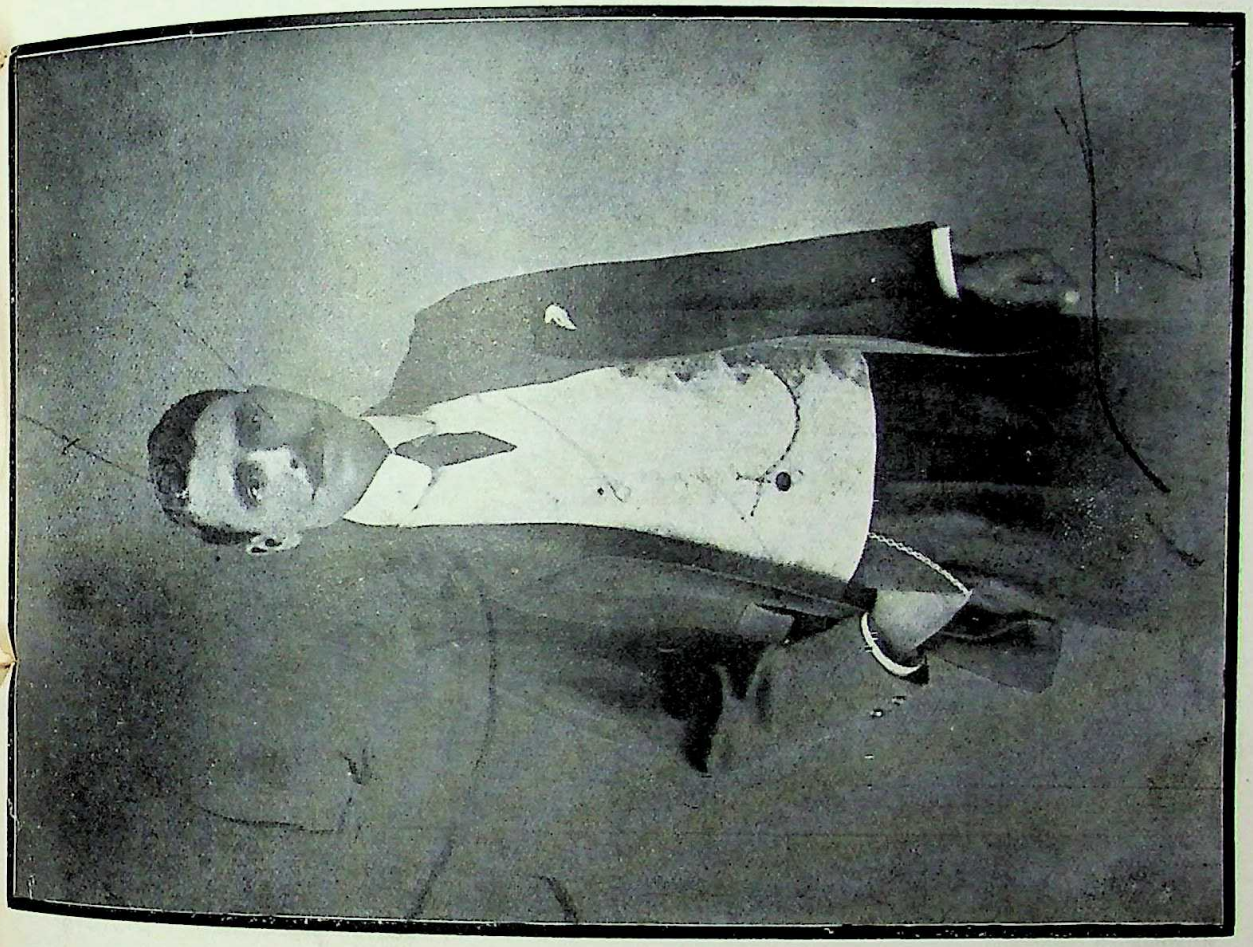
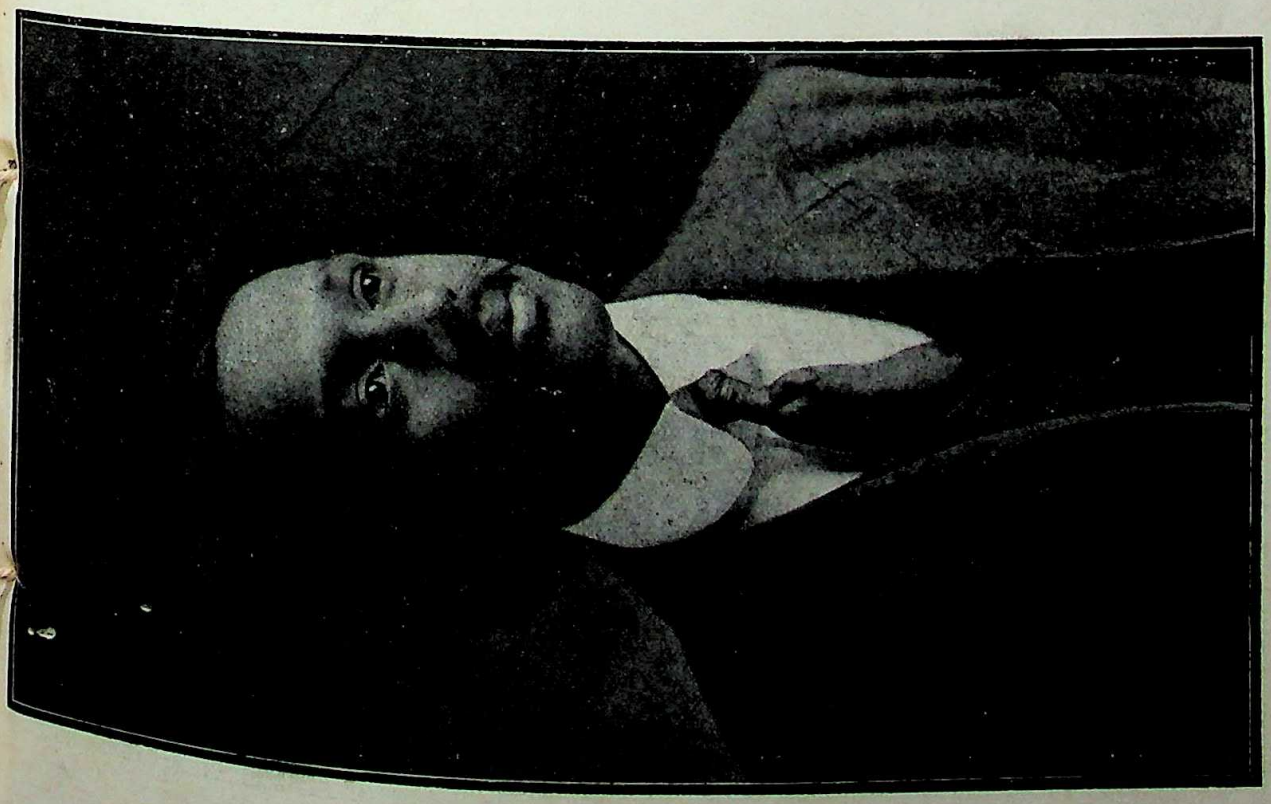


SAYYID MOHAMAD JAFFER, AT PRESENT A MEDICAL STUDENT WHO INTENDS TO OPEN UP TRADE BETWEEN THE DECCAN AND THE UNITED STATES.



DR. JATINDRA MOHAN BOSE, WHO DREAMS OF DRAWING INDIA NEARER TO THE UNITED STATES THROUGH COMMERCE.

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Mrs. Lucy Euphemia Adams, whom every Indian in Chicago calls "Mother".

Nat C. Baynes, M.D.S., D.D.S., from Madras, who met with innumerable difficulties in America on account of his colour and wavy hair.

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and fast if through religious scruples or other reasons he is unwilling to partake of meat. In America meats are much cheaper than vegetables and, for reasons of economy as well as habit, form the principal feature of the diet. Even in large cities vegetarian restaurants are scarce, and wherever they exist few of them seem to know how to do anything else but boil the vegetables. There are comparatively few landladies who permit young men to cook their meals on the kitchen range. As the phrase goes, they refuse to have a man "messing around the kitchen." All these trials heap upon the head of a vegetarian.

If he is unsophisticated—uninitiated in the mysteries of what seems to him to be an erratic etiquette and eccentric code of manners, morals and ethics, he virtually finds himself an "Alice-in-Wonderland." Many woeful experiences—indescribable pain, heartache, agony and disappointment, darken the early days of his sojourn on this continent.

Even those who arrive in America with a knowledge of etiquette gleaned from books of manners and good behaviour or from America-returned friends, encounter many disappointments and reverses. They find their information either entirely inadequate or out of date.

If the newcomer has a letter of introduction from some missionary friend, not infrequently he is disappointed to find that unfortunately he has presumed on it more than after-events warrant him in doing. In India people are prone to go out of their way to help a stranger. They do this in a sweet, unostentatious manner, effacing self, making it easy for the recipient to accept the proffered aid without feeling humiliated or even indebted to them. In America, soon after landing, the Indian learns to his cost it is different. He quickly discovers that he is expected to take care of himself. If any aid is vouchsafed him, usually it is offered in such a way that he finds he cannot accept it without lowering himself in his own estimation—without injuring his self-respect.

The case of a worthy student may be cited. He reached Chicago, Illinois, with the determination to do the best he could to educate himself. With the greatest difficulty he eventually succeeded in securing the invitation of an association to address them on the present "unrest" in Hindostan. His resources were slender. Naturally he thanked his stars, as he expected to make money out of his lecture. The Secretary as well as the Chairwoman of the organization being reticent in regard to his compensation, on the evening of his lecture the speaker casually dropped a gentle hint to the Treasurer that he expected to be paid for his time and effort. Throughout the evening he hoped for the best. Towards the close of the proceedings, to his dismay he saw the hat being passed around. The collection was handed over to him, not as a recompense for the fine talk he gave his hearers, but as "he was indigent and had appealed for monetary assistance."

Such instances are by no means rare.

Indian students meet many obstacles in America if through religious or other motives they are unwilling to divest theselves of their turbans or long hair and affect the dress and outward mode of life of an ordinary American. Students hailing from hot parts of India are likely to suffer from climatic change. Winters in Middle-Western and Eastern North America are severe. The thermometer is apt to register in midwinter several degrees below zero.

Were the causes of heartaches limited to the above category of trials, the Indian student in America would not be so badly off; but color prejudice stirs the American conscience and sways the American behaviour; and woe betide the Indian student who, in addition to his swarthy face, has curly, intensely black hair. He is sure to be mistaken for a Negro and treated contemptuously, in many cases insultingly. Many Hindostanis, on account of this prejudice, find it hard to secure entree to the lodging houses, restaurants, cafes and society in general. Some of them have met experiences of such a nature that a hundred heart-rending tales could be written about them.

The case of Dr. Nat C. Baynes, who obtained the diploma from the Chicago Dental College, may be cited. He relates that he met considerable difficulty in renting rooms for himself in Chicago. Dr. Baynes is thin and tall, with a brownish-black face, black eyes and wavy, coal-black hair. He applied to more than two dozen landladies who had "furnished rooms to rent" signs displayed in the windows. Wherever he went,

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without exception, he received the same stereotyped reply that the party in question had forgotten to remove the card—she had no rooms to let. Dr. Baynes states that, though a Christian, he met with no better success at the Chicago Young Men's Christian Association. He had reason to believe that there were vacant rooms in the Association building which were rented for residential purposes. He was perfectly willing to pay the price demanded and abide by their rules; but he was given to understand that he could not be accommodated.

From the above concrete example it is easy to form an opinion of the trials that beset Indians in the United States owing to the racial question. Americans have only nominally freed the Negroes. As a matter of fact, the latter are still looked down upon and treated as if they were convicts or animals. This prejudice is more rigorous in the Southern States than in the North; but there is hardly a State in the Union entirely free from its taint. The average American is too lazy or too busy to analyze the features of the Indian student. He off-hand attributes his sallow complexion to his originally coming from Africa, and accordingly metes out to him the same treatment that he would accord to an Afro-American. The Indian students in America have to combat the scourge of these prejudices and thus they do not have a sinecure time.

Most of the Indian students are attracted to the United States in order to obtain practical training. Some arrive with the intention of prosecuting professional education, chiefly medical, surgical, and dental. Commercial training and scientific salesmanship appeal to a few. Engineering and agricultural studies attract a number. One or two have shown an inclination to join the American army and train themselves as expert soldiers.

In order to attain their individual ambitions, the students pursue different courses. As a preliminary, the large majority obtains admittance to a technological institute or the medical, technical or agricultural department of some prominent university. Some pursue their studies in the educational institutions until the diploma is secured. Others merely gather a rudimentary knowledge and then quit their *Alma-mater*.

In either instance, the student is anxious to test his theoretical knowledge and become more intimate with the practical workings of the profession or trade he is learning. With this end in view, he seeks to enter laboratories, workshops, factories and mills.

In the institutions where the latest discoveries of science are employed in producing commercial products, the Indian student endeavors to start at the bottom and, through indomitable courage, and perseverance, mount to the very top.

A young man from the Punjab, who is mastering scientific agriculture, found it to his interest to abandon his studies at the Agricultural University and do practical work on a farm where electricity and steam exclusively were employed in plowing, harrowing, planting, cultivating and harvesting, and the land was manured with productive fertilizers and watered by means of scientific irrigation.

This is true of every industrial science. The aim, in each case, without exception, is to learn the methods that will yield the best results with the least amount of labor and time and the minimum of expense.

The constant aim of the American is to install machinery in place of human agency and thereby reduce the expense of manufacture. He is anxious to substitute steam for manual labor and electricity instead of steam. He is after "results."

This spirit is reflected everywhere. The American is primarily a commercial man. All his institutions are tinctured with commercialism. The schools, colleges and universities, all are intensely practical—in other words, they initiate their pupils into the mysteries of production with the least investment of capital. The same spirit is predominant in the factory and farm-house. Only, there it is more pronounced. Thus it is that Indian students learn a lesson whose value it is impossible to exaggerate. Europeans who have resided in India make it a point to talk about the unpracticality of the people of Hindostan. Residence in a practical country and training in schools and workshops where commercial cheapness is the ruling sentiment, tend toward eradicating the unpractical vein in the Indian. Their influence is toward making him practical. He acquires more than a hazy conception, a mere theoretical general knowledge of the

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MAY WRIGHT SEWALL,
President, Indo-American National Association.

MR. AND MRS. FORSSELL.
Artists and Theosophists. Intensely interested in India and Indians.

SHANKAR RAO,
A Deccan Maratha Artist, Soldier

A GROUP OF ARTISTS IN A METROPOLITAN FIRM OF ADVERTISERS: AS MANY NATIONALITIES AS MEN.
Reading from left, the second person in the second row standing is an Indian Artist who is holding his own in a foreign land.

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A GROUP OF INDIAN STUDENTS IN CHICAGO. READING FROM LEFT TO RIGHT BOTTOM ROW UP—
1st row. Ghosh—*Cook* (Bengal). S. M. Jaffar—*Medicine* (Deccan). Y. M. Bose, *M.D.* (Bengal). B. D. Pande—*Agric.* (U.P.).
V. N. Banerji—*Homeopathy* (Bengal). S. H. Naidu—*Chemistry* (Nagpur).
2nd row. D. S. Rao—*Artist* (Deccan). K. C. Chatterjee—*Tanning* (Bengal). N. R. Chariappah—*Dentist* (Madras).
N. M. Chaudhury—*Homeopathy* (Bengal). Jamini Ghosh—*Appl. Chem.* (Bengal).

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way a thing ought to be produced. He learns the shortest cut to execution.

The Japanese have conclusively proved that American methods, when modified, can be applied in Oriental countries to advantage. What Japan has achieved in this direction, India will be able to do, provided the Indian student learning American methods in America creditably acquits himself.

The value of sojourning on the American continent for the purpose of securing agricultural or industrial training lies in the fact that here the student secures a practical education. It must not, however, be supposed that in his quest, the Indian student in America, finds himself on a smooth road to fortune. He encounters innumerable difficulties, hard to surmount. Finding a mere course in the university or technical school not sufficient for his purposes, when he repairs to the workshop to supplement the knowledge gained in school by actual work, he discovers the American manufacturer is jealous of imparting to the Indian his foreign trade secrets. He does not have a very considerable foreign trade with India at the present time. The Yankee, however, is ambitious. He expects eventually to have the commercial supremacy of the world. Since he has heard of the boycott of English goods in India he is all the more eager to keep his trade secrets to himself and endeavors to get a foot-hold in the Indian market. Hence the jealousy.

The average Indian student who arrives in the United States is grossly misinformed regarding the state of affairs in this country. He finds to his dismay that he cannot avail himself of the high and manual training schools which are free throughout the United States as he is advanced far beyond the grades taught in them. Most of the American universities charge fees which only in exceptional circumstances are remitted. He also finds that to pay his expenses by doing outside work while at school, requires unusual grit and physical stamina.

The lot of the American "pay-the-way" student is by no means enviable. He has to content himself with a meagre quantity of food which invariably is of the most inferior quality. He is forced to subject himself to a very rigorous discipline and make many sacrifices in order to accomplish the longed-for result. A conservative estimate of the cost of a College course for four years would be Rs. 4,000, or Rs. 1,000 per year, to include tuition, board and room rent during the college terms, and books and incidental expenses. In order to earn this sum he is obliged to work hard during the months the college is closed for the summer vacation. His earnings go towards paying fees, and buying books and school supplies. The money for board and room rent he earns by laboring in his out-of-college hours. He works in private houses minding furnaces, building and tending fires, sweeping and cleaning rooms, washing windows, doing laundry work, waiting at table and doing general housework of all descriptions. Or, he may choose to obtain a situation at the boarding club where he washes dishes, waits at table or helps in the kitchen. Or, he takes care of a horse or cow, chops wood, picks fruit and berries or sells newspapers. Some American students have even paid their way while at college by doing barber work.

A "pay-the-way" student known to the writer who, to-day, is wedging his way into journalistic circles, had the following two menus at different periods of his college life and thus managed to curtail expenses and considerably lighten his burden. He earned every cent of the money he spent during the three years he was at the University. The cost given is per week :—

NUMBER ONE.

Graham bread	$·15
Fruits, (Bananas, prunes, apples, raisins, pears, peaches, oranges, grapes, etc)	·30
Nuts (peanuts, chestnuts, hickorynuts, walnuts, pecans)	·25
	·70

NUMBER TWO.

Milk	$·15
Breakfast foods	·15
Graham bread	·15
Fruits	·45
Eggs	·40
	1·30

The indomitable young man mentions that he never ate breakfast. At noon he partook of a few slices of bread, a banana or two, a stinted handful of peanuts or some dried fruit ; in the evening he ate raw eggs. Sometimes he would use the milk and breakfast food for his noonmeal, and nuts, fruits and eggs for his supper. He subsisted entirely on this diet and weighed 160 pounds all the time he was at college.

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The case of another student may be mentioned, who successfully paid his way through Yale University. During his college life he lived exclusively on bread and beans. In order to provide variety, he was in the habit of using different inexpensive sauces with the beans, and thus was able to maintain a steady diet of one sort of food without becoming nauseated by it. From the above it will be seen that the student who desires to pay his expenses while at college is necessitated to stint himself greatly in order to succeed. Furthermore, despite the employment bureau which almost every leading educational institution in America maintains in order to help such young men to obtain positions, and college Young Men's Christian Associations, which also assist in this direction, the Indian student is apt to find difficulty in securing work. Especially is this so if the student is not willing to forego his caste prejudices and do any kind of work that presents itself to him. Two or three Sikh students endeavoured to pay their way in three or four different cities. As they were unwilling to divest themselves of their turbans and long hair, they were unable to succeed in securing work and had to abandon the project.

The number of Indian students who depend upon their own unaided efforts to pay their way while going through college is far from large. As a rule those who work in mills, factories and laboratories earn enough to pay their expenses. The rest depend upon stipends from home or are in receipt of scholarships from charitably inclined individuals or Associations.

Indian students in America have friends everywhere in the country. Many men and women in New York, Boston, Columbus, Chicago, Seattle, Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles are interested in their welfare. They endeavour to bring sunshine into their lives and make their stay in America as pleasant as possible. Mrs. Lucy E. Adams, a Chicago woman, is very much in love with the people of India. Every Indian student in and about Chicago looks upon her as "Mother." Mrs. Adams truly deserves this appellation, as there are very few mothers whose solicitude for their children outshines that of hers for her "Indian boys." Mrs. and Mr. E. G. Forssell almost always have one or two Indian students in their home in Chicago. At least a score of Indian young men have had the privilege of stopping with the Forssells until they were able to take care of themselves. Similarly, there are other Americans who constantly are helping Indian students to get admittance to American universities, technical institutions, laboratories, factories and work shops.

American friends of Indians in New York have formed themselves into a society to help Indian students in America. May Wright Seawell, one of the most prominent figures in American educational and club circles and a firm friend of India and Indians, is at the helm of its affairs. Myron H. Phelps, a leading lawyer of the Empire City, also is deeply interested in the movement.

Between all these friends, good care is taken of the Indian student sojourning in America—so much so that, in a short time, he ceases to consider himself an exile from home. As soon as he takes root in some American city and forms a nucleus of friends, he forgets the petty annoyances that sometimes creep into his life through the impudence of ill-bred and color-prejudiced Americans. America becomes a home to him, and as long as he remains in the country he passes his days in comfort and happiness. When the time for departure arrives he bids goodbye to the Western World with tears in his eyes and a sharp twinge at his heart.

SAINT NIHAL SING.

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ART OF THE EAST AND OF THE WEST

IT is impossible to understand Indian Art, without understanding the whole culture and historical tradition of which it is the direct expression. It is useless to treat art as an isolated phenomenon apart from the life of the people who made it. Neither can Indian art and culture be really comprehended without sympathy; and sympathy for Indian culture is a rare thing. The orthodox Christian, the Materialist, and the Imperialist are all, in so far as they are what I have called them, constitutionally unable to sympathise with the ideals of Indian civilization. Add to this the strong temperamental difference between Oriental and European, and it is easy to understand that lovers of Indian art have been few.

I give a typical example of the ordinary attitude, a quotation from Mr. Maskell's book on Ivories.

"There is a sameness, a repetition, and overloading, a crowding and elaboration of detail, which become wearisome before we have gone very far. We are spoken to of things, and in a language of which we are ignorant. We regard them with a listless kind of attention. In a word we are not interested. We feel that the artist has ever been bound and enslaved by the traditions of Hindoo mythology. We are met at every turn by the interminable processions of monstrous gods and goddesses, these Buddhas and Krishnas, Vishnus and Ramas, these hideous deities with animal's heads and innumerable arms, these dancing women with expressionless faces and strange garments. In his figures the Hindoo artist seems absolutely incapable—it may be reluctant—to reproduce the human form; he ignores anatomy, he appears to have no idea of giving any expression to the features. There is no distinction between the work of one man and another. Is the name of a single artist familiar? The reproduction of type is literal: one divinity resembles another, and we can only distinguish them by their attributes, or by the more or less hideous occupations in which they may be supposed to be engaged."

I quote this ignorant and childish rhodomontade only because it is so typical. Perhaps the easiest way to show its true value, would be to ask you to imagine similar words spoken by an Oriental, who should substitute the word 'Christian' for the word 'Hindoo'. 'Enslaved by the traditions of Christian mythology, interminable processions of crucifixes and Madonnas'...would not this be an idle criticism of Mediæval European art? The one true word of Mr. Maskell's is his confession of his ignorance. The one thing strange is, that he does not, nor do his like, hesitate to criticise and to condemn, often in violent language, what they do not understand at all, and in saner moments would hardly pretend to understand.

I take another instance. Professor Nelson Fraser, an English teacher in India, and a student of Indian art and religious ideas, tells us that one day he had a young lady visitor from England, something of an artist, and she was examining his treasures gathered from East and West and of all periods. "She flitted lightly over the Hindu brasses and settled down on a case of Greek coins. I remonstrated against this," he says, "and pointed out that she might see the Greek coins any day at the British Museum, whereas she might never see the Bronzes again at all. 'I don't care for grotesques,' she answered, 'I don't understand these things.'"

And so we come to one serious difficulty; the Indian ideal of beauty is not the Greek to which the Western artist is accustomed; nor does it appear to us that art, to be great, need necessarily be beautiful at all. There is a higher quality in art than that of beauty. There is something in great ideal art which transcends the limited conceptions of beauty and ugliness, and makes a criticism founded on such a basis seem but idle words. In art, as in life, we pray for deliverance from the bondage of the pairs of opposites, the 'Delusion of the Pairs.'

And even when the representation of physical human beauty is the immediate aim, we find that the ideal of the human form is different in East and West. The robust muscularity and activity of the Greek athletic statue, or of Michæl Angelo, is repugnant to the lover of the repose, and the smooth and slender refinement, of the bodies and limbs of Orientals. It is the same with the features and the colour. For example, the perfect colour in our eyes, which we call

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fair, is a light golden brown, and not at all the snow-white paleness of the European ideal. But the real division lies deeper still. The absence of mystery, the altogether limited ideal of Greek art, its satisfaction with the expression of merely physical beauty, conceived as an end in itself; * the dead mechanical perfection of its decorative details; the intellectual rather than imaginative aims;—all these things make it possible for us to look upon the great classic art which has so profoundly influenced the aims of later Western art, as having striven for, and perhaps attained, a goal to which we do not ourselves aspire.† The Venus of Milo, for example, is only a very beautiful figure, a combination of perfections, intellectually selected and skilfully combined. It is limited by the idea of beauty, and that physical beauty. This is perhaps an indication of the point at which the Eastern and the Western view of art part company. The Western artist sees nature with his eyes and judges of art by intellectual and aesthetic standards. The Indian seeks truth in his inner consciousness, and judges of its expression by metaphysical and imaginative standards. We are told, for example, that Zeuxis, when commissioned to paint a figure of Helen for the people of Croton, stipulated to be allowed to use as models five of the most beautiful virgins of the city. The Indian artist, on the other hand, would have demanded opportunity for meditation and mental concentration, in order that he might visualise the idea of Helen in his inner consciousness, aiming rather at discovery than creation, desiring rather to draw back the veil from the face of Superwoman, than to combine visible perfections by a process of intellectual selection. The result would be a work suggesting, more or less perfectly in accordance with his keenness of inner vision, and technical capacity for its material embodiment, the real Helen as she lived in the national consciousness, a Helen more real than she who in the flesh brought death and sorrow to the Greek and Trojan heroes.

The Greek, indeed, was above the 'æsthetic nihilism', (to borrow a phrase from Professor Gardner,) which sees the aim of art in the faithful reproduction of nature; but he made an intellectual selection from natural forms, instead of seeking the highest truth where alone it is to found, in one's inner consciousness. It is true that Greek art was to an extent religious; but it failed in the greatest qualities because the religion expressed in it was in no sense transcendental, and this is the explanation of the humanism, almost the bourgeois character I might say, of the Greek gods.‡ The great cat-gods of Egypt, the sublime Buddhas of Java, the four-handed gods of India, even the great Chinese dragon, seem to me to be greater imaginative art, more to belong to the divine in man, than the Hermes of Praxiteles or the Venus of Milo. ‖ The ideal of the last is limited, and the very fact and possibility of its attainment show it. Once the spell of this limited ideal is broken, you can never again be satisficd by it, but seek in art for that which has often been suggested, but never can, and never will be perfectly expressed— the portrayal not merely of perfect men, but of perfect and entire divinity; you seek for an art which, however imperfectly, seeks to represent neither particular things, nor merely physical or human grandeur, but which aims at an intimation of the universe, and that universe conceived not as an empirical phenomenon, but as noumenon within yourself.

And if it is thus possible for us to feel unsatisfied with even the refined, and in a large degree idealistic, art of Greece, you will understand how much less the naturalism of modern European art appeals to us—the pictures of Poynter, the portraits of Sargent, the landscapes on the exhibition walls, the jewellery of Lalique, or to go farther back, the wood-carving of Grinling Gibbons or the naturalistic borders of the later mediæval manuscripts. All these are pictorial, reminiscent or anecdotal in their character. But when we come back to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with the glorious work of the imagers at Chartres, the sweet ivory Madonnas, the crisp and prickly borders of of the manuscripts, and the Gothic rose be-

* "Greek work, as known to us" says Prof. Gardner, "is restrained on the emotional side; nor has it any touch of mysticism."

† I may say that in these remarks, I refer to Pheidian and later art only, not to such beautiful archaic art as the Antenor of the Acropolis.

‡ There are, for instance, many Apollos, of which it is said that there are equally good grounds for regarding them as representations or even portraits of athletes (Walters, 'The Art of the Greeks,' p. 73).

‖ I do not mean, of course, that Greek art could be spared from the world, or that it is not one of the great achievements of humanity; only that it was in certain respects definitely limited, and does not necessarily stand on a pinnacle by itself as the greatest of all art the world has seen.

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queathed to later times as the symbol of the idealism of the Middle Ages, then at last we find an art that expresses or endeavours to express something of that which we too desire to say. I have repeatedly been struck by the 'Gothicness' and, in Ruskin's sense, the 'Christianity' of Oriental art. From this point of view, indeed, I should like to classify Gothic, Egyptian, Indian, and Chinese art as Christian, and Greek, Roman, Renaissance and modern European as pagan, or to use more general terms, as religious and materialistic respectively. To speak again of the present day, I do not say that there is no art in the West which, from our point of view, is great. There *has* been such art, but it has come only from men fighting desperately against the spirit of the age, living in another world of theirs and ours. Of these, Burne-Jones and William Morris are the greatest; the former in that his work possesses something of that impersonality and aloofness which we seek for, and because he uses form less for its own sake, than as a manifestation of something more changeless and eternal, because too, he was made wise by love to paint, not the beauty of the passing hour or the transient emotion, but the changeless might and glory of the Gods and heroes; and Morris was great, because he proved again that all art is one, the distinction between art and craft illusory, and that this single art is not merely a trivial pastime, but essential to humanity and civilization. Another of the great names is is that of Puvis de Chavannes.

It appears to me that in the immediate future we may, both in England and in India, have less and less art. English art appears to me to flourish at present mainly as an exotic, a luxury for those who can afford it; it appeals to a special class, and is not a spontaneous expression of the national life as a whole. Its appeal, like that of most of the later Japanese art which finds acceptance in the West, is trivial, not fundamental; it must be pretty and pleasing; its aim is primarily æsthetic, where it should be prophetic. This divergence between art and life, and art and religion appears to me to be increasing. It is a sign of the times. I cannot think it possible for great art to flourish again in England, or in India either, till we have all once more civilized ourselves and learnt to believe in something more real and more eternal than the external face of nature. Till then great art can only be an individual and isolated thing, instead of the spontaneous and inevitable fruit of an abundant life. The signs of the awakening of this life in England and India respectively are the movements called Socialism, and Nationalism. But their ideal at present is one of a very material prosperity, and not till the pressure of the economic factor is, at any rate, partially relieved, will serenity and beauty be restored to life itself, and make possible again great national art. That is why we must expect less and less of art in the near future, but not without hope of change beyond change.

A. K. COOMARASWAMY.

THE KHASIS

THE Khasis are an aboriginal hill tribe residing in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District of Assam. The Khasi Hills forms the Western portion of the District and the Khasis inhabit the Khasi Hills proper. Their total population was at the census of 1901,—202,250 souls; the females preponderating over the males, being 1,118 females to every thousand Khasis; it may possibly be due to the greater risks of life encountered by the men and to the habits of intemperance which are confined to the male sex.

The colour of the Khasi skin is usually brown varying from dark to a light yellowish brown, according to locality. The people of Cherrapunji village are especially fair. The nose in the Khasi is somewhat depressed, the nostrils being often large and prominent. The forehead is broad and the space between the eyes is often considerable. The eyes are of medium size, in colour black or brown. The eyelids are somewhat obliquely set. The jaws are square and protruding, mouth large, with rather thick lips. Their hair is black, straight,

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worn long and according to the old style, being caught up in a knot at the back. Some males cut the hair short with the exception of a single lock at the back, which is called the grandmother's lock. The forepart of the head is often shaven. It is quite the exception to see a beard, although the moustache is not infrequently worn. One clan pull out the hairs of the moustache with the exception of a few hairs on either side of the upper lip. The Khasis are generally short in stature with bodies well nourished and the males are extremely muscular. The trunk is long in proportion to the rest of the body, and broad at the waist; the calves are very highly developed. The women when young are comely, of a buxom type, and, like the men, with highly developed calves,—the latter always being considered a beauty. The children are frequently remarkably pretty. Khasis carry very heavy burdens, it being the custom for the cooly of the country to carry a maund or even more occasionally on his back, the load being fixed by means of a cane band which is worn across the forehead; women carry almost as heavy loads as the men. The Khasis are cheerful in disposition and are light-hearted by nature, and a little jocose. The women are specially cheerful, and bandy jokes with passers by with quite an absence of reserve. The Khasis are an industrious and good-tempered people but are occasionally prone to sudden outbursts of anger accompanied by violence. They are fond of music and can rapidly learn any tune taught to them. Khasis are devoted to their offspring, and the women make excellent nurses. They are fond of nature. A Khasi loves a day out in the woods. If he does not go out shooting or fishing, he is content to sit still and contemplate nature. He has a separate name for each of the commoner birds and flowers; he also has names for many butterflies and moths. These are traits which are not found usually in the people of India. The men make excellent stonemasons and carpenters. They are inveterate chewers of *pan* leaf and *supari*, both men, women and children, the stains from which they care not to remove, and these greatly disfigure their countenances. Distances in the interior are often measured by the number of betel nuts *(supari)* that are usually chewed in a journey. They are not usually addicted to the use of opium or other intoxicating drugs, but they are hard drinkers, and consume large quantities of spirit distilled from rice or millet. Rice beer is also manufactured; this is used not only as a beverage, but also for ceremonial purposes. The Khasis are much addicted to gambling. The inhabitants of the far interior are, as a rule, simple and straightforward people, and are truthful and honest, but those who have intercourse with the plains are not up to the mark.

Although the Khasis have inhabited their present abode for at any rate a considerable period, they generally believe that they originally came from elsewhere. Some connect them with the Burmese, to whose King the Khasis used to pay an yearly tribute up to a comparatively recent date. They have no written character of their own, and, therefore, they have no histories. Some think they were the original inhabitants of the Ganges Valley in Bengal and were driven away by the Aryans. In support of the latter view it is urged that the Ho and Mundas of the Chutia Nagpur have much in common with these hill tribes.

The dress of the Khasis may be divided into two divisions, ancient and modern. The Khasi males of the interior wear the sleeveless coat, which is a garment leaving the neck and arms bare, with a fringe at the bottom, and with a row of tassels across the chest; it is fastened in front by frogs. They wear a cap with ear-flaps. The elderly men, or other men when smartness is desired, wear a white turban fairly large and well-tied on the head. A small cloth is worn round the waist and between the legs, one end of which hangs down in front like a small apron. The Khasi females wear next to the skin a piece of cloth wound round the body and fastened at the loins with a kind of cloth-belt, and which hangs down from the waist to the knee. They wear another long piece of cloth which hangs loosely from the shoulders down to a little above the ankles and is not caught in at the waist (in fact Khasi women have no waist); it is kept in position by knotting it over both the shoulders. Over this again another garment is worn; this is thrown over the shoulders like a cloak, the two ends being knotted in front; it hangs loosely down the back and sides to the ankles. It is frequently of some gay colour. In cold weather the women

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wear gaiters or stockings without feet or *putties* wound round the legs. The Khasi women are excessively clothed, but their dress cannot be described as becoming or graceful, although they show taste as regards the blending of colours in their different garments. The European mode of tailor cut dressing is gradually gaining favour with them. But their dress is generally dingy with dirt, and their persons are equally innocent of ablution.

The Khasis as a people are fond of jewellery. The women are specially partial to gold and coral bead necklaces. Men also wear necklaces on gala occasions. These are prepared locally as well as by foreign goldsmiths. An article of jewellery peculiar to the Khasis is the silver or gold crown. This crown is worn by the young women at dances. There are long tassels of silver hanging from the crown down the back. Earrings are worn both by men and women. Another favourite ornament is the silver collar which hangs down over the neck in front. Silver chains are also worn by men as well as by women. The men wear them round the waist like belts and the women hang them round their necks, the chains being allowed to descend as low as the waist. Bracelets are worn by women. Some of their clans wear cornelian or glass bead necklaces and brass earrings, the lobes of the years of the females being frequently greatly distended by their weight. A man who has given a great feast can wear silver armlets above the elbows, and these armlets are taken off as a sign of mourning.

The weapons of the Khasis are swords, spears, bows and arrows, and a circular shield. The weapons are forged in the local smithies. The Khasis are good archers. The distance a Khasi arrow will carry, shot from the ordinary bow by a man of medium strength, is 150 to 180 yards. Before the advent of the British into the hills the Khasis are said to have been acquainted with the art of manufacturing gunpowder. The Jaintia Rajas possessed canon.

The greater proportion of the population subsists by cultivation. Cattle breeding is one of the chief occupations of the Khasis. They are industrious cultivators and possess good agricultural implements and good knowledge of manures. Water is let in at will into the fields by means of skilfully contrived irrigation channels, sometimes a mile or more in length. The cultivation of oranges and potatoes is extensive. The orange of the Khasi hills is famous for its excellence. Rice, maize, millet, *kachu* (arum) and other roots are the principal crops next in importance to orange and potato. The minor crops are:—pineaples, turmeric, ginger, pumpkins and gourds, the egg plant, chillies, sesamum, and a little sugar-cane. They also rear *pan* creepers and betel-nut trees. They cultivate lac and *arhar dal* (pulse). They collect wild honey driving the bees from the hives by smoke. The Khasis possess very few agricultural sayings and proverbs, *e.g.*,—Plant trees or sow seeds not when the moon is waxing, but when it is on the wane; A red sky in the west in the evening is the sign of fine weather to-morrow.

Before proceeding on a hunting expedition the hunters break eggs in order to ascertain whether they will be successful or not; offerings are also made to certain deities. The hunters then start with a number of dogs trained to the chase. The man who draws the first blood and the second man who scores a hit get larger shares of the flesh than the others. They are indefatigable in the chase which lasts occasionally for more than one day. The Khasis make use of an ingenious spring gun, the gun being laid alongside a deer path in the jungle. A string stretched across the path, when touched, releases a bolt and spring, which latter impels a bamboo arrow with great force across the path. They also make pitfalls covered with fragile platforms and traps for killing animals. There are several means of snaring birds, the commonest being a cage into which birds can enter but not come out again, a spring bow and a piece of bamboo smeared with the gum of the jack tree and tied to some fruit tree, upon which the birds light and are caught by the bird lime.

The national method of fishing is to poison the streams, though rod and line is not quite unknown to the Khasis. They do not fish with nets or with bamboo work traps. When poisons are used some fish are not affected by them and others are only stupefied for the time being and afterwards recover.

The Khasis ordinarily take two meals a day, but those who have to work hard in the

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open take a midday meal as well, consisting of cold boiled rice wrapped in a leaf, cakes and a root which is eaten raw. They partake of nearly all kinds of flesh and dried fish. The Khasis abstain from the flesh of the dog and, owing to Hindu influence, from beef. The dog is a sacred animal among them, and, therefore, the Khasis do not eat its flesh. They do not use milk, butter or *ghee* as articles of food. Before fowls or animals are killed for food, prayers must be said, and rice sprinkled on the body of the animal. They eat rats and monkeys, green frogs and hairy caterpillars. Flour made from the sago palm tree is one of their staple foods. Although the Khasis are such varied feeders, there are some clans amongst them which have objections to some particular kinds of food and will not allow such to be brought to their houses.

The houses of the Khasis are cleaner than might be supposed, taking into consideration the dirtiness of the clothes and persons of those who inhabit them. These are as a rule substantial thatched cottages with plank or stone walls and raised on a plinth some 2 to 3 ft. from the ground. The only window is a small opening on one side of the house, which admits but a dim light into the smoke-begrimed interior. The beams are so low that it is impossible for a person of ordinary stature to stand erect within. The fire is always burning on an earthen and stone hearth in the centre. The firewood is placed to dry on a swinging frame above the hearth. In the porch are stacked fuel and odds and ends. The pigs and calves are generally kept in little houses just outside the main building. The Khasi house is oval-shaped, and is divided into three rooms, a porch, a centre room, and a retiring room. In front of the Khasi house is a little space fenced in on two sides, but open towards the Village Street. When a new house is completed, they perform a ceremony, when they tie three pieces of dried fish to the ridge pole of the house and then jump up and try to pull them down again; or they kill a pig, cut a piece of the flesh with the skin attached, and fix it to the ridge pole, and then endeavour to dislodge it. The Khasis plaster their house walls with red earth and cowdung, no doubt as a preventive of fire, arson in these hills being a common form of revenge. The houses of one of the Khasi clans are peculiar, the thatched roof is hog-backed and the eaves come down almost to the ground. In some villages there are also separate bachelors' quarters. There is no such custom amongst the Khasi Uplanders. They use a notched pole in order to ascend their raised houses. Amongst the Khasis, when a daughter leaves her mother's house and builds a house in the mothers compound, it is considered taboo for the daughter's house to be built on the right hand side of the mother's house; it should be built either on the left hand or at the back of the mother's house.

Unlike the Nagas and Kukis, the Khasis do not build their villages on the extreme summits of hills, but a little below the tops, generally in small depressions, in order to obtain some protection from the strong winds and storms which prevail in these hills at certain times of the year. Khasis build their houses fairly close together. They seldom change the sites of their villages, to which they are very much attached, where as a rule the family tombs are standing and the memorial stones. In many villages stone cromlechs and memorial stones are to be seen which from their appearance show that the villages have been there for many generations. There are sacred groves of trees pertaining to each village. Between two rows of houses some space is left which serves as a street.

The influence of civilization shows many changes in the Khasi houses and household furniture. Christian missionaries are trying to reclaim the hill tribes. Old furniture are: stools to sit upon, and iron and earthenware. The rich have brass utensils; the ordinary cultivator uses waterpots made from a gourd hollowed out and drinks from a bamboo cylinder; plates, or more properly speaking dishes, are of several kinds in the houses of the rich; brass spoons of different sizes are used for stirring the contents of the different cooking utensils, also wooden spoons. In the sleeping rooms of the well-to-do there are wooden beds with mattresses and sheets and pillows, cloths being hung upon racks. Mats are made of plaited bamboo or cane or reeds. They use rain-shields of different shapes and sizes as a protection from rain and sun. They can make baskets of different shapes and sizes.

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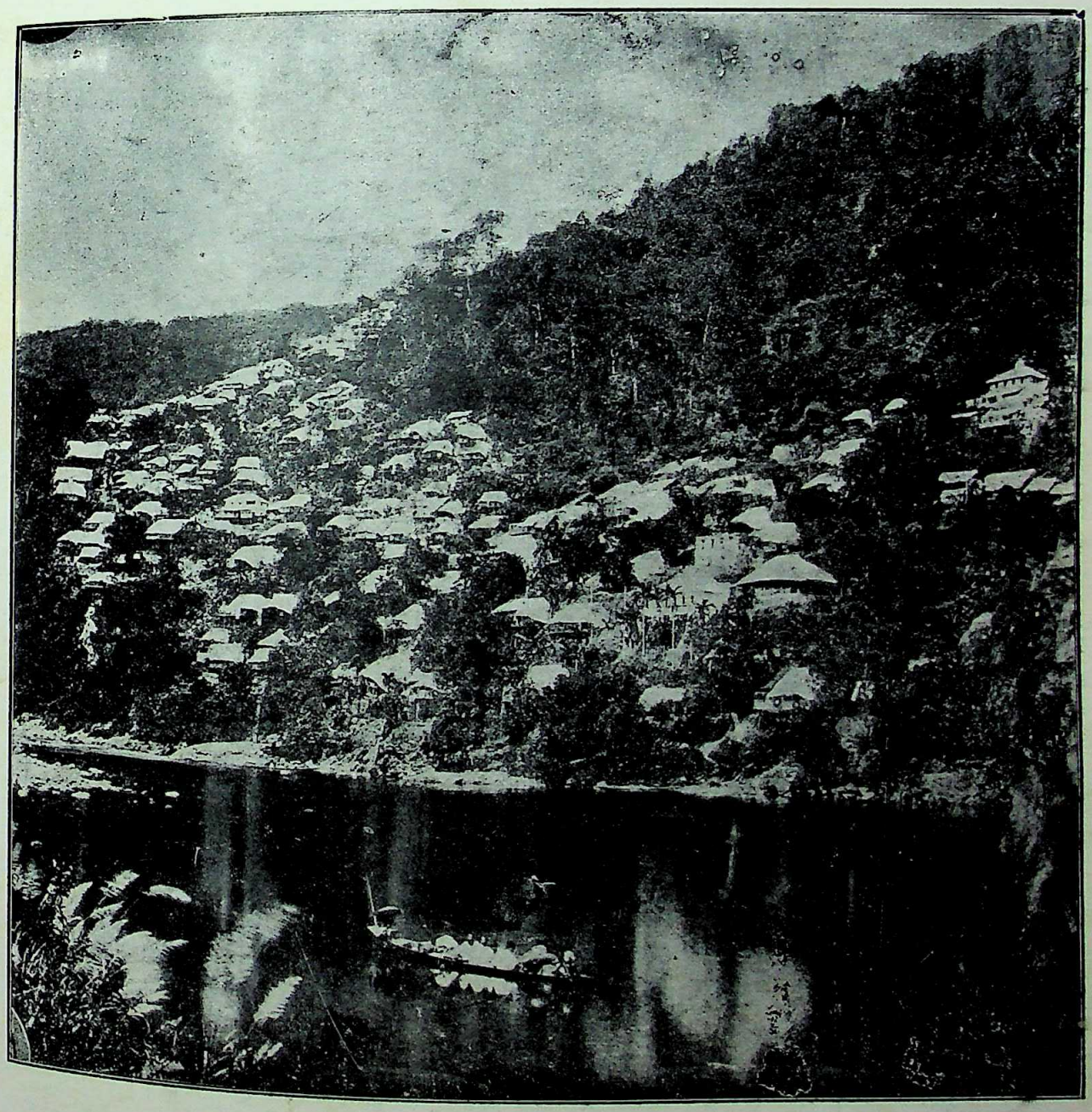

THE SHELLAPOONJEE VILLAGE ON THE HILLSIDE.

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KHASI FRUIT SELLERS.

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They use the sieve and winnowing fan. They make net bags from pineapple fibres in which they store *cowries* and betel-nuts. *Pan* and tobacco leaves are kept in a bamboo tube, lime in a metal box. There is also a pair of squeezers used for breaking up betel-nut. In the houses of the well-to-do is to be seen the *hookka*. In wooden troughs hollowed out of trunks of trees, the Khasis feed their cattle and pigs. Some of the clans use plantain leaves as plates; the leaves are thrown away after each meal, fresh leaves being gathered for each meal. One clan use quilts made out of the bark of a tree.

The Khasis have not many musical instruments: there are several kinds of drums; a guitar with muga silk strings which is played with a little wooden key held in the hand; another instrument much like the last described one but played with a bow like the violin; there is another kind of guitar with one string played with the finger; they have also wooden flutes and bell-metal cymbals, and a kind of harp made out of reeds and bamboo.

The Khasis have many games, but their principal game is archery. This may be said to be the national game, and is a very popular form of recreation amongst them, the sport being indulged in from about the beginning of January to the end of May each year. The men of one village challenge those of another. There are umpires on both sides. They shoot at targets, which are generally small bundles of grass, fastened on a small pole. The distances from the point where the marksmen stand to the targets are some 40 to 50 yards. Each side has its own targets. Some conditions are declared by the umpires before shooting is commenced. Every time there is a hit there are loud cheers, the competitors leaping high into the air, the umpires muttering their incantations all the time. At the end of each turn the number of hits is counted by both sides. The side with the greatest number of hits wins the match, and returns home dancing and shouting. The young women admirers of both sides assemble, and dispense refreshments to the competitors, taking a keen interest in the proceedings withal. Frequently large wagers are laid on either side. Another of their recreations is that a very tall, thick bamboo is planted in the ground and well oiled; a silver ornament or a few rupees placed at the top reward the successful climber. The following are some other Khasi games:—Wrestling; tug-of war with a piece of stick, the two combatants placing their feet one against the other; butting at one another and trying to upset one another; long jump; high jump; blind-man's buff; flying kites; pitching cowries into a hole in the ground; a game like marbles played with round pebbles, and peg-top spinning.

The inhabitants of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills may be said to be divided into the following sections:—Khasi, Synteng or Pnar, War, Bhoi, and Lynngam. The above tribes and their sub-tribes are not strictly endogamous, nor are they strictly exogamous, but they are more endogamous than exogamous. Many of the clans trace their descent from ancestresses. This tribal ancestress or 'grandmother of the root' as she is generally called, is generally reverenced, in fact, she may almost be said to be deified. It is almost invariably the case that the grandmother, her daughters and the daughter's children, live together under one roof, the grandmother during her lifetime being the head of the house. The original unit of the Khasis is the family and not the tribe and the Khasi clan grows out of the Khasi family. A Khasi, therefore, can commit no greater sin than to marry within the tribe. By the voluntary association of villages or groups of villages the Khasi State has been constituted. The head of the Khasi State is the Siem or chief. A Khasi State is a limited monarchy, the Siem's powers being much circumscribed. According to custom, he can perform no act of any importance without first consulting and obtaining the approval of his *durbar*, upon which the State *mantris* (ministers) sit. This *durbar* is an executive council over which the Siem presides and also possesses judicial powers. The form of summons to appear before this *durbar* is a knotted piece of string or cane, the number of knots denoting the degrees of urgency of the summons. In the Khasi Hills there is no land revenue, nor are there any imposts levied upon the cultivator's produce. All that the Siem usually receives from his people in the way of direct revenue is the State subscription, and even this is a voluntary contribution. The contribution varies according to the means of the villagers. The toll on

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market produce is the chief source of income, for the Khasis are great traders. Judicial fines are divided between the chief and the members of the *durbar*. Heirship to the Siemship lies through the female side. The rule of general succession is that sons of the eldest uterine sister inherit in order of priority of birth. In cases of succession to real property the inheritance goes to the youngest daughter of the deceased's mother and after her to her youngest daughter. In successions to the Siemships in the absence of male heirs from the eldest sister the succession passes to the male children of the next eldest sister. In some cases Siems are elected by public votes. In most States the Siem is the religious as well as the secular head and has sacerdotal duties to perform at different religious ceremonies. It is the custom of the Siem to consult the auspices with the soothsayers for the good of the State. The Siem in matters judicial acts as a judge, the whole body of the *durbar* being the jury.

The most remarkable feature of the Khasi marriage is that it is usual for the husband to live with his wife in his mother-in-law's house, and not for him to take his bride home. This arrangement is due to the prevalence of the matriarchate. As long as the wife lives in her mother's house, all her earnings go to her mother. Amongst the Khasis, after one or two children are born, and if a married couple get on well together, the husband frequently removes his wife and family to his own house. Many wives who revere their husbands' memories and who do not contemplate remarriage, purposely keep the bones of their deceased husbands with them; for it is believed that the spirits of the deceased husbands remain with them so long as the bones remain with them. If a widow marries, even after the customary taboo period of one year, whilst her deceased husband's bones are still in her keeping, she is generally looked down upon.* A Khasi cannot marry his maternal uncle's daughter during the lifetime of the maternal uncle. So also marriage with the daughters of a father's sister is not allowed during the lifetime of one's father. A Khasi cannot marry two sisters, but he can marry his deceased wife's sister. A Khasi cannot marry the daughter of his father's brother, nor the daughter of his father's paternal uncle. The mother's elder brother is the head of the house and the father becomes the executive head of the new home where after children have been born to him, his wife and children live separately with him. The father is second to the maternal uncle in honour. The Khasis remain contented with only one wife or husband.

There are three forms of marriage among the Khasis. A young man of marriageable age, between 17 and 25 years of age, chooses a girl of between 13 and 18 years as fit to become his wife. He mentions the name of the girl to his parents and uncles and aunts and they agree or disagree. Sometimes the marriage is arranged by the parents of the young people themselves. The parents after ascertaining the daughter's wishes investigate whether there is any taboo in the way of the marriage. If there be no hindrance, on an appointed day the bride's family consult the auspices by breaking eggs and examining fowl's entrails. Should the omens be unfavourable, they abandon the marriage project. On the marriage day the bridegroom and his party headed by a go-between, clothed in clean garments and wearing either white or red pagris go to the bride's house, where the bride, her mother and aunts have collected to receive the bridegroom and his party, dressed in their best, with their heads uncovered. The go-between then hands over the bridegroom to the maternal uncle of the bride or to her father. Either of them then provides the bridegroom with a seat next the bride. The bride and bridegroom exchange bags of betel-nut, and silver rings are interchanged. The go-betweens of the bridegroom and the bride then recite the marriage contract. On this occasion a priest is appointed who takes two gourds full of fermented liquor and mixes the contents together and then solemnly invokes God the Creator, the god or goddess of the State and the ancestress and ancestor of the clan. Then a pig or a fowl is sacrificed. Two or three days afterwards the bride accompanied by her female relatives pays a visit to the bridegroom at his house and after this they go and come as they like to one another's houses.

Divorce among the Khasis is common and may occur for adultery, barrenness, incom-

* Khasi widows do not as a rule remarry, unless they have no female children, in which case the clan urges them to remarry, so that the chain of inheritance may not be broken, inheritance amongst the Khasis always passing in the female line.

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patibility of temperament, etc. The rule of divorce is that both parties must agree. Parties divorced cannot afterwards remarry one another, but they are at liberty to marry into other families. A woman cannot be divorced during pregnancy. Divorces being settled, some acquaintances and friends as well as the relatives on both sides assemble in an open place to witness the divorce ceremony. The husband and wife each bring five cowries or five pice. The wife gives her money to her husband, who returns it together with his own. The wife then returns the ten shells or coins to the husband who throws them on the ground. A crier then goes round the village to proclaim the divorce. In the event of a husband or wife being absent for ten years without any communication having been received, a divorce ceremony is performed by the relatives on his or her behalf. In the event of a divorce the mother is always allowed the custody of the children.

When a child is born the umbilical cord is cut by a sharp splinter of bamboo; no knife or metal instrument can be used. The child is then bathed in hot water from a red earthen pot. The placenta is carefully preserved in an earthen vessel in the house, till after the naming ceremony has taken place. When the umbilical cord, after being tied, falls off, a puja is performed with eggs to certain water deities and also to a forest spirit. The naming ceremony of the child is performed the next morning after the birth. An elderly man who knows how to perform the naming puja takes a gourd containing pounded rice fermented and mixed with water and calls a god to witness. The people assembled then mention a number of names and after each name a little liquor from the gourd is poured on the ground. The name at the repeating of which the last drop of the liquor remains adhering to the spout of the gourd is the name selected for the child. Then the father of the child takes the pot containing the placenta and hangs up the pot on a tree outside the village. The parents and relatives of the child are then anointed with powdered turmeric mixed with rice flour and water. Rice flour is then distributed to all present and the male adults are given liquor to drink. After two or three months the ears of the child are bored and earrings are inserted. There is no fixed period of taboo after a birth, but the parents do not cross a stream or wash their clothes until the navel-string falls off, for fear that the child should be attacked by the demons of the hills and vales. A twin birth is taboo, which is regarded as a visitation from God for some transgression committed by some member of the clan. When the twins are of opposite sexes the taboo is considered to be extremely serious.

If in a family the female members have died out the male members of the family adopt a girl from some other family. The female so introduced becomes the head of the house. No particular ceremonies are performed at the time of adoption. In the case of a family being extinct the family property passes to the Siem.

In a Khasi family the man is nobody. He is lost to the family directly he marries. If he be a husband, he is looked upon merely as a begetter. The husband is a stranger in his wife's home; he can take no part in the rites and ceremonies of his wife's family and his ashes after death can find no place within the wife's family tomb. Further, the ceremonial religion amongst Khasis is in the hands of the women. And, the women inherit the property and not the men. The youngest daughter gets the largest share of the family property, for it is her duty to perform the family ceremonies and propitiate the family ancestors. The youngest daughter cannot dispose of the house without the unanimous consent of her sisters. All the daughters are bound to repair the youngest daughter's house free of cost. In the event of the youngest daughter's death or on her changing religion, she loses her position in the family and is succeeded by the next youngest daughter. Failing daughters, the inheritance passes to the sister's youngest daughter, who would be succeeded by her youngest daughter, and so on.

The lands in the Khasi Hills are classified under two main divisions, *(a)* public and *(b)* private lands. *(a)* Public lands are crown lands intended for the support of the Siem family and inalienable; or lands for the support of the priests of the states; or lands set apart for the supply of firewood, thatching grass, etc, and are the property of the village; or the sacred groves of trees, it being an offence for any one to cut timber in the

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grove except for cremation purposes. (*b*) Private lands are the property of the clan, or family, or self-acquired landed property.

The killing of a man who seeks for human victims to sacrifice to a monster is not considered murder and the slayer has only to inform the Siem and deposit Rs. 5, and a pig in the Siem's court. The slaying of a robber is dealt with in like manner. Other murders were punishable by beating the culprit to death with clubs. The punishment of adultery was imprisonment for life or a fine of Rs. 400, and one pig. A husband finding his wife and a man in *flagrante delicto* could kill both of them without punishment for murder. The punishment for rape was imprisonment for life in the case of a married woman and a heavy fine if the woman was a spinster. Arson was also punishable with imprisonment for life or a heavy fine. The punishment for causing people to be possessed by a devil was exile, but if a person so possessed died the sorcerer was hurled down a precipice. The punishment for robbery and theft was the stocks, the imposition of fetters, or the culprit was compelled to sit on a bamboo platform under which chillies were burnt. Incest was punishable with exile or a fine of Rs. 550 and one pig.

In ancient times the Khasis used to decide certain cases by means of water ordeal. The two disputants had to dive in some pool and the man who remained longest under water won the case. The parties could undergo this ordeal by attorney, so that long-winded lawyers were as much in request in the Khasi Hills as elsewhere. Another form of trial was to place two pots, each of them containing a piece of gold and a piece of silver wrapped up in clothes, in shallow water. The two contending parties were then to take up one of the packets, each from one pot, and he who brought up a piece of gold was the victor. If both of them brought up the same piece then the case was amicably settled by the *Durbar*. The most dreaded ordeal is to swear by one of their gods; they believe that if a person swear falsely, he will die.

The Khasis have a vague belief in a God the creator, who is of feminine gender. The religion of the Khasis is propitiation of spirits both good and evil. The propitiation is carried on by priests or by elderly men. There is a vague belief in a future state. It is believed that the spirits of the dead whose funeral ceremonies have been performed, go to the house or garden of God, where there are groves of betel-nut trees, the idea of supreme happiness of the Khasi being to eat betel-nut uninterruptedly. The spirits of those whose funeral ceremonies have not been duly performed are believed to take the forms of animals, birds and insects. There is no idea of hell. The particular spirit to be propitiated in times of trouble is ascertained by egg-breaking or examining the viscera of sacrificed animals. There are various other means of divination. The Khasis never symbolize their Gods by images, their worship being offered to the *spirit* only. Small pox is worshipped as a goddess and every person is eager to have the 'kiss of the Goddess,' by which name the fell disease is known among the Khasis. There are many household deities.

The Khasis revere the memories of deceased ancestors and adore them and appease them in times of trouble with offerings of food, &c. The Khasis worship also natural forces, and hills and rivers are regarded as the abodes of Godlings. The Kopili river is regarded with superstitious reverence. Some of these people will not cross the river at all, others can do so after sacrificing goats and fowls and leaving all food behind them. The Khasis have many war gods to whom they used to sacrifice for success in battles. There is a superstition among them concerning a gigantic snake which requires to be appeased by the sacrifice of human victims and for whose sake murders have even in fairly recent times been committed. Human sacrifices were offered annually in the *Sandhi Puja* in the month of Ashwin so late as 1832. Persons frequently voluntarily came forward as victims. The ceremony was witnessed by large crowds of spectators.

There are a few Khasi States where the priest takes the place of the Siem and rules the community with the help of his elders in addition to performing the usual spiritual offices. The priest is assisted at the time of making sacrifices by a priestess. He merely acts as her deputy. This is another instance of the strong matriarchate system among the Khasis. A priest is a priest for life and his clan appoints his successor after

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death. The influence of the priests over the people is very great. The people live in constant dread lest they should offend these avaricious men and so bring upon themselves the wrath of the demons, and spend large sums of money in order to secure their favour. The crops cannot be cut until the priest has seen them and obtained his share of the produce. Owing to the advance of Christianity, Brahmoism and education, they are gradually losing ground.

When a person dies, the body is bathed in warm water and dressed in white cloth and turban. An egg is placed on the stomach of the deceased. The rich deck the corpse with ornaments. A cock is then sacrificed, the idea being that a cock will scratch a path for the spirit to the next world. A sacrifice of a bull or a cow is made in case the deceased is a female. A dish containing eatables and betel-nuts and a jar of water are placed near the head of the corpse by way of offering refreshment to the spirit in its journey to the next world. The corpse remains in the house for some odd days, which are usually three. If it is intended to burn the body on a masonry pyre, a bull is sacrificed. If the body is placed in a coffin a pig is sacrificed. The funeral procession then slowly passes along the way to the plaintive music of flutes and the beating of drums. Copper coins are scattered along the route. The body is placed on the pyre, logs of wood are placed around the body and an egg is broken by throwing in the direction of the feet of the corpse and then fire is applied to the pyre, first by the members of the clan and then by the children, if any, of the deceased. Then they bid good-bye to the deceased saying, 'Farewell, go and eat betel-nut in the house of god'. The uncalcined bones are collected and carried to the bone repository. For three days the whole family is taboo, and no manner of work can be done. After this the family goes to bathe, and clothes and mats in the house are washed. There are separate customs in connection with deaths by violence or accident. If a person dies of any infectious or contagious disease the body is buried, but is dug up again and burnt with all the customary rites.

The coffins of the Khasis are made by hollowing out trunks of trees, and the dead body is fumigated before putting it in the coffin; the coffin is borne on a bier by four men with great solemnity to the place of cremation.

Probably one of the first objects which strikes the eye of a visitor to the Khasi Hills is the very large number of monoliths, table-stones, and cromlechs that are to be met with almost every where in that country. These are memorial stones to the dead. The Khasi stones are not grave stones, but are cenotaphs, the remains of the dead being carefully preserved in stone sepulchres, which are often some distance apart from the memorial stones. The memorial stones are either vertical stones, or table stones, or stone cromlechs. The vertical stones vary in height from 2 ft. to 27 ft. and $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. thick, the latter being the largest in the Hills. These are erected all in one line. The stones are of hewn granite or sand stones; they are rough hewn, and generally taper gradually to their tops, which are sometimes neatly rounded off. Stones with top coverings or carved heads are rare. Table stones rest on stone supports, being 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. from the ground. Some of these measure so much as $28\frac{1}{2}$ by $13\frac{3}{4}$ ft., and 1 ft. 8 in. thick. The table stones are always placed towards the centre of the group in front of the great central vertical stones. These groups of stones are usually situated alongside roads. The stone cromlechs contain the bones of the dead. The cromlech is opened by removing one of the heavy stone slabs in front. These are generally square or oblong, but are sometimes circular in shape also.

Similar stone memorials can be seen throughout the world and many aboriginal tribes erect them still now. The Ho and Munda tribes of Chota Nagpur were possibly descended from a common stock with the Khasis, for they have much similarity in their customs and linguistic affinity with the Hill tribes of Assam.

It seems little short of marvellous that these stones, which sometimes weighed many tons, were placed in position by primitive means, especially when we consider the great trouble there was to re-erect one of the fallen stones after the earthquake of 1897. Now-a-days only comparatively small stones are erected, which are generally hewn and erected on the spot, so that there is no necessity for any conveyance, whereas in

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ancient times great stones were brought sometimes from considerable distances, placed on wooden trolleys and dragged across country by means of ropes of cane and then placed in position by means of ropes and levers.

Dancing forms the principal part of all the Khasi festivities, and is an important adjunct of some of their religious ceremonies. One of the greatest festivities in the Khasi Hills is the Nongkrem dance or goat-killing ceremony, which takes place generally in May. The sacrifice of each goat is followed by a dance of 22 men armed with swords and shields, and chowries or fly flaps made of goat's hair. The girls dance in the centre, taking such tiny steps that the lifting of their feet from the ground is hardly perceptible, the arms held down to the sides and eyes demurely downcast. It is on this occasion they wear the peculiar silver (and sometimes gold) crown with tall spearhead like ornament rising behind. The hair is worn tied in a knot behind the head, but with a long tail hanging down the back. They appear in their best array, rather over-clothed and present the appearance of being perfect parallelograms. It is only the unmarried girls who dance. Dancing forms part of the ceremony of placing the ashes in the sepulchre of the clan. Dancing also forms a part of certain ceremonies performed at markets for the prosperity of the state and for the good of trade and harvest. To be without head-cloth is always a sign amongst the Khasi women of merry-making.

The Khasi word *sang* or taboo signifies an interdiction either religious or social from doing any particular thing. The following are some of the taboos:—

(*a*) To build a house with stone walls on all four sides.
(*b*) To use nails in building a house.
(*c*) To use more than one kind of timber in bulding the hearth.
(*d*) To build a house with resinous timber. Only the Siem family can use such timber.
(*e*) To cut trees from a sacred grove.
(*f*) To take or give anything with the left hand.
(*g*) To step over any one's body.
(*h*) To drink the milk of a cow or goat.
(*i*) To talk with any one when the thrashing of paddy is going on, except one's fellow-workers.

There are the following special taboos for pregnant women:—

(i) To accompany a funeral procession.
(ii) To finish any sewing she may have commenced before she became enciente; also finishing of the plaiting of wicker baskets.
(iii) To thatch the ridge of a house or to fix a handle to an axe or *dao* by the husband of a pregnant woman. *

CHARUCHANDRA BANDYOPADHYAY.

* This article has been compiled from "The Khasis', by Major Gurdon and "Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal" by Colonel Dalton.

SOME INDUSTRIES OF EASTERN BENGAL AND ASSAM

Note.—The references are all to parts and pages of "The Indian Industrial Guide" (a publication by the writer of this note. Publishers, S. K. Lahiri & Co., Calcutta, Price Rs. 5).

THE following is but a bare suggestive outline of the commercial aspects of some of the leading industries (present and probable)—specialities of this province—some of which are possessed of a name and fame all their own since days of yore.

Cotton. (Pp. 40-41 of part IV). (i)—

1. Chittagong Hill Tracts, and Hill Tipperah and Garo Hills are about the only tracts in the whole Bengal Presidency where cotton is produced on a sufficiently large scale for the market.

2. The supply of cotton grown in Assam comes chiefly from the hills.

Mr. Darrah, in his "Note on cotton in Assam" in 1885, speaks of several varieties of cotton grown in Assam on level ground,

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as also, hill sides, chiefly in the following districts:—

1. Garo Hills	...	...	23,000 acres
2. North Cachar Hills	..	...	4,000 ,,
3. Jaintia Hills	...	...	3,500 ,,
4. Nowgong ...	...	...	3,800 ,,
5. Goalpara ...	...	...	1,600 ,,
6. Khasi Hills	...	...	1,250 ,,
7. Sylhet ...	...	...	900 ,,
8. Cachar ...	...	...	500 ,,
9. Darrang ...	...	...	400 ,,

or, in Assam alone, some 38,000 acres formed the area under Cotton in 1885, which must have, since, increased.

One principal variety is the large-bolled high-growing cotton known as *kil* in the Garo Hills (G. Neglectum, Tod), also called *bar kapah* (large cotton) in Nowgong, which can be plucked twice a year and bears for three seasons.

Another is a small round-bolled cotton known as *shet* in Lakhimpur, *kynpad* in the Jaintia Hills or *haru kapah* (small cotton) in Nowgong, which is sown annually, and can be plucked once a year.

The cotton grown in the Jaintia Hills is said to be the best in the Province, while, Garo Hills is said to be the most prolific place, where the plants are grown as much on the hill sides as on the level ground.

Several other tracts in Assam are presumed to be suitable.

3. The Assam hill cotton (like Comilla cotton), short-stapled as it is, is not ordinarily used for spinning but for mixing with wool in the continent of Europe, where a large quantity of it is exported annually unginned. It has one remarkable characteristic as determined by Professor Gammie, *viz.*, an unusually large percentage of lint. The lint is nearly 50 per cent. of the unginned commodity. The cotton therefore fetches a fairly high price for this special purpose, the demand for the cotton going up by the extent the price of wool is high.

Accurate figures of export are not available—but the last year's official trade report puts them at 1 lac maunds valued at 18 lacs of rupees.

The Bhowal and Madhupur jungles, which appear to be very suitable for the cultivation of cotton, demand special attention.

In fact, in respect of cotton yielding capacity, this Province has unique natural facilities.

4. According to Mr. Darrah's calculation in 1885, the value of local cotton in Assam in that year amounted to some 6,00,000 of rupees, which is however only an insignificant fraction of our total requirements in the matter of clothing, which are met mostly by imported fabrics and imported yarns locally woven into clothing and, partially, by the indigenous silks. As an evidence of the rapid decline of the indigenous industry, may be mentioned the fact noticed in Mr. Samman's Monograph on "The Cotton Fabrics of Assam," that in 1886-87 as much as 367 maunds of indigenous hand-spun threads were exported to Assam from Hill Tipperah alone—which 10 years later (1896-97), dwindled down to a maund.

5. Mr. Samman, as the outcome of his researches regarding the weaving industry on which he was specially engaged by the Government, records the following hopeful observation in his Monograph, in 1897:—

"Among the civilized inhabitants of the Surma Valley, the industry may be said to be extinct and there is little probability of its revival unless mills be established. There seems no particular reason why cotton mills in Cachar or Sylhet should not be a profitable venture, as the cotton is grown so near at hand, and with the opening up of the country by the railway, cheap labour should be easily procurable.

Among the Assamese Proper weaving still holds an important position, even in the manufacture of the coarser cloths."

This speaks a good deal of the vitality of the cotton industry of this part in spite of its present depressed condition.

6. (ii) Dacca tree cotton flourishing in days gone by, now neglected.

Messrs. Shaw Wallace & Co. are reported to have acquired large tracts of land in Bengal and other provinces of India, for the cultivation of long staple cotton, and along with that, systematic trials with the Indian tree cotton (Gossypium religiosum) are said to be in contemplation.

As for the results of the experiments, the following quotation from the proceedings of the Board of Agriculture at Pusa in 1905, will speak for itself:—

"Mr. Greenway outlined the experiments being undertaken by Messrs. Shaw Wallace and Co., in Bengal and Assam. Tree cottons were being tried on several experimental forms. In Lower Bengal, the tree cottons are said to succeed apparently in any soil. Some of them have turned out practically useless, while others show promise of giving the largest yield known to the world."

In the last Agricultural Exhibition at Bankipur (March 1908), Mr. Srinath Datta,

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Assistant Manager, Hathwa, exhibited 5 varieties of cotton, (1) Buri, (2) Dharwar, (3) Egyptian, (4) Garo hills, and (5) Dacca, tree grown in Hathwa, out of which, the Dacca tree cotton appeared to have yielded the best results.

7. (iii) Ginning cotton—a most promising industry.

A mill, the first of its kind in this part of the Indian Empire, owned by a Bengalee Banker, was opened the other day by His Honour the Lieutenant Governor at Chittagong.

8. *Cotton seed oil*—a valuable article of commerce. It enters into the composition of soaps, olive oil, butter, &c., extensively used for various every day purposes in Europe and America.

It is one of the most important and lucrative industries in the United States of America at the present day. Before the discovery of the value of the cotton seed oil, cotton seed was a waste product just as it now is in India and cotton ginning mills used to be hampered with it—not knowing how to dispose of the 'waste'—as it was thought then. In 1867 there were only four mills in the States for the manufacture of this oil; to-day there are over 300 mills. (N. B.Pp. 40-41 of Part IV.)

9. *Oil-cake*—either as a food for cattle or as a fertilizer of the soil or as a human food, that is as a kind of bread made from the cotton seed meal mixed with wheat flour to serve at least as a sort of stand-by to poorer people in times of scarcity, has wonderful possibilities in India.

Prof. Connell of Texas exhibited samples of bread made from the meal mixed with wheat flour, which discovery startled even America The Professor says:—

"A combination of cotton seed meal with other bread stuff will greatly enrich the flours and meals we now use, at the same time decreasing the cost to the consumer. In a short time we may announce that the South has 4,500,000 tons of new bread stuffs fit for human consumption." (Pp. 250-251).

Thus considering the present output of raw cotton by no means small, which is sure to be increased manifold by proper attention to the industry, it is obvious that there is ample room for several mills yet in the Province, if only to gin cotton and crush the seeds.

10. (iv) *Simool cotton or Kapok*—The trees grow wild in inexhaustible plenty throughout the Province, specially in Assam Forests. There exists room for a vast business in this line. Liberal quotations are advertised every now and then in newspapers by firms of Calcutta brokers for this cotton for shipment abroad. (Pp. 168-171). The seeds are feeders to seed-crushing factories. The timber of the tree is the most suitable local material for tea boxes and is much in request for the Saw-mills, of which a large number are worked in Assam. Some half a million or more of tea boxes are made of this timber annually.

11. (v) *Akand cotton*—Large quantities of it are shipped annually to Europe and America for purposes of manufacture of lint and bandage cloths. It grows wild in abundance all over the Province, a neglected source of wealth: has a future before it. (Pp. 166-168.)

12. *Cotton fabrics (specialities)*—

(*a*) The World-famed Dacca muslins (plain, chequered, Jamdani), Dhamrai Golabadan Saris, &c.

The thread used for making the finest muslins is always homespun, as the weavers can turn out thread much finer than any now made in mills.

(*b*) Pabna *Saries* and *Dhuties*.

(*c*) Faridpur (Goalundo and Bhanga) *charkhana* for bed-sheets, &c.,.

(*d*) Comilla and Noakhali (famous *mainamati*).

(*e*) Tangail *dhuties* and *saries*.

(*f*) Khania sheets of Assam (muga ornamentation on border on a body of cotton.)

(*g*) Hill tribes rugs called *Paris*, *Khesh*, *Jim* or *Jin* (Miri, Abor, Lushai, Mishmi, Manipuri.)

13. *Weaving*—Besides the above-named places, Jorhat is an important centre of the weaving industry, specially for silk; but everywhere, it is the primitive hand-loom that is made to do the work.

There exists in the country much native talent of a high order. The industry admits of remarkable developments, as has been the case in recent years in places like Serampore and Chinsurah, with proper organization and wide-spread adoption of the latest patterns of improved fly-shuttle looms.

Practical demonstration in more places than one has held (1) the Salvation Army Automatic Directation fly-shuttle loom, and

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(2) the Sayaji (so named after His Highness the illustrious Gaekwar) Loom of Baroda (of most simple mechanism) to be the two most suitable types of fast-speed looms for both silk and cotton fabrics. Prices compared, (the former about Rs. 100 and the latter half that sum) the latter, which has been aptly styled the Sayaji Poor Man's Loom (to be had of the Director, Agriculture and Industry—Baroda State), would appear to be even more suitable than the former for general adoption among the Jollas and Tantis of this part of the country, most of whom are poor.

14. *Silk.*—(1) Assam, (i) Eri, (ii) Muga, (iii) Pat.

In spite of the world-wide celebrity of the Assam Silk, sericulture on a commercial and systematic scale has yet to be undertaken in Assam. What little of the industry exists, is practised in a rather haphazard and desultory fashion in scattered parts of the country.

Under scientific guidance with proper organization—as done in Murshidabad, under the late Mr. N. G. Mukherjee with the co-operation of the Bengal Silk Co., the industry in Assam would admit of an infinite expansion and development.

The three varieties of worms cultivated are:—

(i) The Eri (attacus ricine) Khaki-coloured, fed on Eri or Era, as it is called in Assam, (Castor-oil) plants (from which the name is derived) and Kesseru leaves.

The popular favourite is the Eri which is light, strong, remarkably durable and washes well.

(ii) The Muga (Antheria Assamea.)

Leaves of Sum tree form the staple food of this worm. It also feeds on Champa, Mozankuri and Hengalo leaves. Muga cloth is lighter and handsomer than Eri and is largely worn by women and as a holiday dress. Sibsagar, more specially Jorhat, is the principal centre of production of the Muga cloth, though comparatively little can be had in the market.

Of Tussur silk worms, the Antheria Yamamai of Japan, which yields a greenish white silk somewhat rougher and coarser than the white B. Mori or B. Textor silk, is the best.

The Antheria Pernyi or the China Tussur comes next. The Antheria Assamea or the Muga of Assam has been declared by experts to be just as good as the China kind. The superior position of the Assam Muga in the Eastern world silk market at least is therefore obvious.

(iii) The pat (Bombay textor.)

There are the two common varieties of it, Bar Polu (large worm) and Haru Polu (small)—white silk, the common species reared in Bengal, akin to the silk worm of Europe, feeding on leaves of Nuni (Mulberry)—a tree common in Assam.

The Pat is whiter than either Eri or Muga and is proportionately more expensive.

Palasbari in Kamrup and Mangaldai are also reputed centres of production of the Assam silk cloths.

(2) Malda *garad* and (3) Rajshahye silk industries are susceptible of great expansion.

15. *Lac*—reared on Bat and Aswath (Banian and Peepul) trees, also, Arhar: more commonly grown in Sylhet, Mangaldai, Nowgong, Kamrup, Khasi and Jaintia Hills and the Garo Hills Districts. One big tree, when the crop is good, fetches even Rs. 50 and more. One of the main uses of lac is as a dyeing stuff.

The export of lac from the Province last year amounted to 45 thousand maunds valued at 22 lacs of rupees.

16. *Gur and Sugar.*—(*a*) There is an extensive cultivation by Nepalese settlers in this district, about 5000 acres in 4 or 5 principal centres of plantation—not far from the town or the line of the railway.

There is a good deal of the crop in Tezpur and some other districts also.

The Gur turned out, according to official information based upon results of experimental crop cuttings, *viz.*, at the rate of 600 to 2,000 lbs. per acre, amounts to about a lac of maunds annually from this one District of Lakhimpur alone.

The trade is absolutely in the hands of the Kaiyas in whose grip the impecunious cultivators are, who either sell them for local consumption in the raw state or export them to down-stream districts (*Bhanti Muluk*), but seldom, if at all, out of the Province.

Some proportion of the raw produce finds its way to the Jorhat Distillery for purposes of liquor distillation.

17. At a place called Badulipar, 14 miles from Golaghat, one Srijut Deveswar Gossain owns a plantation of a fairly large size, most of whose gur also goes to the Jorhat

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distillery. He set up some machinery for sugar making three years ago, which at present lie abandoned, as he finds the sale of raw gur more paying and less troublesome than manufacturing sugar.

Some of the adjoining tracts in the Nowgong district along the Brahmaputra are also reported to be gur-producing.

The Rajshahye Division and Backergunj are two of the other most important gur-producing blocks of the Province, where also several hundred thousands of maunds annually never go beyond the raw state as produced by the usual time-honoured primitive process.

18. (*b*) The famous date-palm juice *Hajari-gur*, whitish and of delicate flavour, of Faridpur, a uniquely superior production.

It is a common assertion that for sugar-making the cane jaggery as produced at present in the conntry is of insufficient purity to ensure profitable working, that obtained from palms being in many ways preferable. This is, of course, partly due to the character of the cane grown. Varieties which will satisfy the indigenous demands are not necessarily the best for sugar making. The jaggery canes as grown at present have frequently much juice of inferior sucrose content.

The practical value of the palm juice gur for sugar has yet to be tested.

19. (*c*) The manufacture of sugar on a commercial scale has yet to be taken in hand. The only venture, a very small mill, within my knowledge in the province, is the one in Dibrugarh a Marwari concern run by a young Marwari lad who received instruction for three months under Mr. Hadi, Asst. Director of Agriculture, United Provinces: boiler 2 H. P; centrifugal apparatus obtained from Jessop and Co., for Rs. 1,150; capital employed in the business in all, about Rs. 2,000.

The out-turn is limited by the small power of the boiler. 2½ or 3 maunds of sugar out of three times as much of raw gur of local produce is the daily out-turn, which will increase proportionately to the increase of power of the boiler and capacity of the "centrifugal" and also in proportion to the increase in percentage of sucrose content in the canes.

The varieties of cane the mill is dealing with just at present are what are called "Pura" (Bombay and Boga i.e. white), Teli, and Magh,—good specimens, no doubt, and they are among the best grown locally; but, the yield of sugar is not more than 30 per cent. which is not a very high figure.

There is a ready sale in the local market of the mill produce, sugar, at 11 or 12 rupees a maund and refuse Lali for mixing with tobacco leaves for the *hooka*, at 3-8 or Rs. 4 a maund. The present price of raw gur varies from 3-8 to 4.

20. To quote from the most recent Government (Eastern Bengal and Assam) Trade Report (1906-07):—

"The import of refined sugar was 8,22,000 maunds and of unrefined sugar 9,86 000 maunds.

The export of refined sugar was almost *nil* and of unrefined sugar less than 6,000 maunds from the whole Province.

These figures clearly indicate one direction in which the resources of the Province could be developed with great advantage."

21. *Jute mills*—These are among the most flourishing concerns in the country at the present day, paying much higher dividends to their shareholders than even cotton mills —some of which latter pay even 20 per cent. dividend.

The number of looms in the jute factories has increased (according to official statistics) from less than 10,000 in 1895 to over 20,000 to day and has a tendency to increase still.

Calcutta gunnies are not only ousting Dundee from many foreign markets, but are also meeting all home demands.

Besides the British purchasers, Japan has been buying largely in Calcutta.

Bengal, specially Eastern Bengal, may be said to be the home of the jute crop. There is a never-failing demand for gunnies all over the world, while jute grows nowhere else except in India, mainly, Eastern Bengal.

The total value of the jute exports of the Province (Eastern Bengal and Assam) last year (1906-07) was close upon 24 crores of rupees, which represents more than two-thirds of the total value of exports from the whole Province by rail and river and is about four times the value of the nett imports of rice and paddy.

Nearly one-third of the exports went to Bengal which, in this case, means the mills in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, which are 35 or 40 in number.

There is a vast scope for enterprise and capital in this direction in the Province, specially in places like Chittagong, Chand-

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pur, Naraingunj and Goalundo, every one of which is ideally situated for purposes of big mills.

22. *Oil mills.*—Mustard oil is an indispensable article of daily consumption, though in varying quantities, with all sections of the people—irrespective of caste or creed or station in life, rich or poor, vegetarian or meat-eater.

Practically the whole of the local demand is met by imports.

The total population of the Province, according to the last census, is some 3 crores. Even allowing for $\frac{1}{4}$ chitack per head, per day, on an average, which is the rate sanctioned by the Jail Code to prisoners, or about 6 seers per head per annum, the provincial annual requirement may be approximately taken at something like 5 lacs of maunds;—and, this is just the quantity imported into the Province last year (according to authoritative official information) valued at close upon 1 crore of rupees. The pity of it is that this one crore of rupees is drained out of the Province from year to year, though not of the country altogether (as mustard oil is not a commodity imported from abroad) not because of any local scarcity of raw materials; for, according to official information, 4 lacs of maunds of oil-seeds (value 21 lacs of rupees) of which 90 per cent. came from the Assam Valley alone, capable of yielding over a lac maunds of oil besides 3 times as much of oil-cake, aggregate value some 25 lacs of rupees, went out of the Province for want of a better utilisation nearer home.

Two mills, both Marwari concerns under Indian management and control, one at Gauhati and the other at Dibrugarh in the Assam Valley, have been started since some time ago and are working to much profit, besides one at Chapermukh, one at Tezpur and some at Jorhat and Nazira.

An oil syndicate—a European concern—is just in the process of being floated in this town for which, considering the present position of the industry, one can easily predict a flourishing career.

There is plenty of room for several more ventures yet in the country.

Besides the oil, there is an ever-increasing demand for the cakes as manure, in the innumerable tea gardens which Assam and the district of Jalpaiguri are studded over with, besides the potato plantations in the Khasi Hills which are a rapidly expanding (and already important) industry of the day.

23. *Tobacco.*—The Barind country, Rungpur District specially, is one of the most reputed tobacco growing tracts in whole India.

Last year's export of unmanufactured tobacco amounted to over 3 lacs of maunds, 32 lacs of rupees in value.

The bulk of the raw produce goes to Calcutta, whence again a large portion is shipped to Burma, to be re-exported to the country in the shape of wrought cigars.

During the quinquennial period 1901-02—1905-06, cigars and cigarettes valued at Rs. 10, 322, 899 were imported into Bengal alone.

In 1905-06, 1,042 millions of cigarettes valued at Rs. 45 lacs were imported into British India—an increase of 23.8 p. c. on the quantity recorded in 1904-05 and of 167.05 p. c. since 1900, when the article was first distinguished statistically. Experiments hitherto made in the Rangpur Demonstration Farm and by private persons with seeds imported from Greece, Sumatra, America and other places, have shown that the best varieties of tobacco can be successfully grown in the district and cigarettes of superior quality can be manufactured from them.

Mr. Ambica Charan Ghose, a scholar of the Association for Scientific and Industrial education of Indians, who has been in Japan these two years and is the first Indian to be received into the tobacco works of the Government Monopoly Bureau at Tokyo and whom the authorities have most graciously afforded facilities for learning with his own hand every process connected with plantation, curing and manufacture, has declared 3 out of 4 samples of Rangpur tobacco sent to him for chemical analysis, as quite suitable for cigarettes.

It goes without saying that there is an immense opening to technical skill and capital in the matter of the tobacco industry in the country.

24. *Fruit Trade and Industry.*—Of all the neglected sources of wealth in India, perhaps there is none which requires, comparatively speaking, so little skill and capital to develop it as the trade in fruits. There are parts of the country where some of the best

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fruits on earth grow in natural abundance, and with a little skill and culture, they could be brought to grow in perfection. But here again, helplessness and apathy and, very largely, ignorance—are responsible for the utter neglect of an almost boundless source of national wealth.

Few of us home-staying Indians perhaps know that in England and all over the continent tinned peaches and pears and other fruits sell at prices which would earn 200 per cent. or larger profits after paying for freight and all other expenses. Tinned peaches are prized as a delicacy in England. Pineapples, which grow wild in some parts of India, fetch good prices in England, and Singapur has set up a profitable trade in them with England. Fresh mangoes sell for two to four shillings each in Covent Garden market; and even bottled mangoes fetch very handsome prices in England.

Guava cheese and guava jelly, though known only to retired Anglo-Indians, would, if properly advertised, become a paying business with large profits.

Lemon peel, which is generally thrown away as a useless article in India, is a commercial material of considerable value. It only requires a little treatment with sugar to make it yield good profits.

Bael fruits grow wild in the most luxuriant abundance in many parts of the country. It would be by no means difficult to set up a paying business in candied *bel*.

India imports large quantities of lemon squash and lime juice which could all be made locally both for home consumption and for export.

Preserved ginger and chow-chow and other Chinese fruits are as well known in England as in India. And there is no reason why India should not have a share as one of the suppliers of the English and Indian markets.

The Persians have a way of drying figs on strings which may be introduced into India.

Egyptian figs and dates form a considerable item in the imports of fruit into England, and here, too, India might without difficulty obtain a share in the supply.

25. Side by side with the fruit trade, a trade in preserved and pickled vegetables might also be profitably set up.

Cold countries are dependant upon tinned and preserved food for their supplies in winter. And tinned tomatoes and preserved peas, pickled onions and cabbages and cauliflowers, and cucumber, &c., might be shipped in large quantities to England and Japan.

Mango and other chutneys are also prized as great delicacies in England.

None of the articles indicated here as likely investments require any extraordinary skill to work up. A stewpan would in most cases be the only apparatus required; and a little skill in cooking and tinning air-tight would supply the rest.

26. Of the many species of sweet and delicious fruits grown in India, the mango, apple, pine-apple, plantain, orange, lichi, and papiya, specially appeal to European taste. An export trade in fresh fruits also is bound to be highly remunerative.

The fresh grapes of Australia (not to mention those from Kabul, which is nearer home), the pine-apples of Singapore, and the water-berries (pani-phal) of China are always to be seen in the Calcutta Municipal market. If fresh fruits from other distant countries can come to our markets, surely we too can send our fruits to other countries. Can not a syndicate be formed to carry on this important industry, on systematic and well-organised scales? Mr. Jamshedji Tata, the Bombay millionaire, intended to carry on the fruit export trade on a big scale. His intentions were, however, frustrated by his untimely death.

27. The following are some of the special productions of this Province:—

(1) Famous Rampal (Munshigunj) plantains, as yet unrivalled in point of size, softness, mealiness and flavour.

Langla Pargana in South Sylhet is also said to be noted for some superior varieties of plantain.

Weekly imports of Banana bunches into the London Market from all part of the world, excepting Bengal, can be counted by lacs. From the Jamaica and Canaries Islands alone, come 20,000 bunches a week (under liberal Government subsidy to a Company who ply specially equipped steamers with refrigerating machines, "Sirocco" fans—a contrivance for evenly distributing the breeze, &c.) (pp. 186-190).

As to the other aspects of the plantain industry, *e. g.*, (1) Fibres, (2) flour,—from the point of view of commerce there is in this line a vast field open to capital and enter-

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prise. (N. B. pp. 39-45, pp. 184-191, and part V. pp. 8-69).

(2) The famous Malda Mangoes, of unsurpassed excellence.

(3) The famous Khasia, popularly known as "Sylhet," orange with bye products like the much prized Kamala Madhu (honey), marmalade &c. (p. 191).

As Dr. Watts in his Dictionary of Economic products rightly observes, the Khasia Hills is one of the two great centres of sweet orange cultivation in whole India. It is the main source of supply to the Calcutta market, the other being Nagpur, which meets the Bombay market.

Of local varieties, the Sumathira sweet orange of Barpathar and Tengakhat circle in Dibrugarh (within a few miles of the town) where the tree is cultivated as a regular crop, possesses a special name.

Of Lemons—(i) Elachi (cardamom-scented), and (ii) Ada (ginger) varieties are two of the specialities of Langla Pargana in South Sylhet.

(4) Joldubi pine-apple of Sylhet, a specially sweet variety.

(5) Goalundo water-melons—a uniquely big and sweet species.

(6) Cocoanuts of Backerganj, Chittagong, Noakhali, and Chandpur. They are also grown more or less elsewhere. Main uses—oil, fibre, shells for hookas, cocoanut milk, butter, cocoatine, &c. (Pp. 244-45 and Part VIII, p. 53).

Much has been done in Ceylon by Government help towards advancing and developing the industry, (p. 98).

(7) Betel-nut, (p. 245)—an important trade; films taken out of bunch-covers much in demand for purposes of cigarette wrapping in Burmah.

Principal places of production—Bhola, Patuakhali, Noakhali, Chandpur, Madaripur, Chapghat in Karimganj.

As appears from the latest available official statistics, 4,18,000 maunds of betel-nuts were exported in 1906-07 from the Province, 82 p. c. from the Backergunj block and 14 from the Tipperah block, chiefly from Noakhali District.

28. *Dairy Produce.*—There are ample possibilities in view of the abundance of suitable tracts for pasture throughout the Province, particularly in the neighbourhood of the two chief cities of Dacca and Chittagong.

Pure ghee, not to speak of butter or cream-cheese, is a rarity now-a-days. Indigenous brands of really good condensed milk are also unknown.

(a) There is an extensive colony of Behar and Nepalese Goala settlers on the Brahmaputra churs in this District, as also places downstream, owning herds of cows and buffaloes, who hold in their hands a complete monopoly of the milk supply of this, as well as most of the other riverine towns of the Assam Valley.

Several thousand maunds of raw milk, a minor fraction of which is converted into curds and ghee, must be the usual annual output from a few neighbouring centres.

The utter unconcern in respect of what might prove a most remunerative business and the great room that exists for at least a ghee manufacturing industry in this locality will be patent from the following fact gleaned from the last year's Official Trade Report, *viz.* that out of 3,000 maunds of ghee (valued at Rs. 1,50,000 exported from the Province (practically from one block, *viz.* Backerganj) only 20 maunds went from the Assam Valley.

(b) The local Marwari Gowshala where the only produce at present is raw milk sold retail in the town might perhaps afford a nucleus for an experimental dairy farm.

(c) A dairy business has since not long ago been started by a gentleman at Silchar.

(d) A Government dairy has been in existence at Shillong since July 1900, leased to a private individual since April 1903. Butter and cream-cheese, both of excellent quality, are produced at the dairy and find a ready sale and are sent by post all over the Province. Financially the dairy has proved exceedingly profitable, having paid back the capital many times over. It has led to the establishment of a rival private dairy which, too, is believed to be going well.

29. *Poultry and cattle farming.*—Much is surely possible to be done in a land of plentiful pasture existing in convenient proximity to natural sources of water supply with possibilities for growth of various new fodder crops.

Goats, pigs, sheep, fowl, and eggs are getting rarer and dearer day by day. A small goat in Dibrugarh sells for Rs. 4 or 5, a fowl as. 6 to 8, while an egg costs nine pies to one anna. They are surely as dear, if not

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dearer at Dacca, Chittagong and other big towns.

Poultry farming is developing rapidly and wonderfully in all civilized countries of the world and has proved a most remunerative line. The poultry industry of America is the most gigantic in the world and ought to serve as an object lesson to this country. (N. B. Pp. 219-226.

A certain amount of trade in eggs is carried on between districts of the Chittagong Division and Rangoon. Big earthen jars *(matki or jala)* containing eggs dipped in slaked lime, are a common sight on the Assam Bengal Railway in Chittagong and Noakhali. They are transported by rail and steamer to Rangoon, where the eggs purchased at as. 4 per 20 or 25, sell at the rate of an. 1 or so each. Some traders of Chittagong have built up a fortune out of this business.

It appears the attention of Government has been already attracted to the great commercial possibilities of the poultry industry in the Districts of the Chittagong Division and special enquiries have been set on foot.

30. *Fish trade and Industry.*—The vast and varied character of the water area is a special feature of Eastern Bengal, where the fish produce is abundant, a considerable portion of which simply goes to waste for want of proper commercial and scientific utilization. The industry in its different branches possesses immense possibilities.

It is not an uncommon happening in the fish centres on the Padma, for basket after basket of Hilsa fish to be thrown away and destroyed under medical advice for fear lest over-eating by the people would result in cholera epidemics. Since the arrangement of transport of fish in ice from Goalundo to Calcutta, introduced not many years ago by enterprising traders, some check has been put upon the evils of a wasteful overproduction.

(i) Drying fish (*Sutki*)—practised in a crude primitive style in Chittagong but mainly in Sylhet.

(ii) Salting, specially of the Hilsa, on a small scale and in a crude style done in Madaripore and a few other places on the Padma.

(iii) Oil—a little of oil extraction practised in Sylhet.

Porpoise oil—a much sought for commodity, a specific for rheumatic pains.

(iv) Curing and canning—unknown.

(v) Fresh-fish trade (p. 200) with some organisation and capital has a future before it.

There is a good deal to learn from Japan where pisciculture and cognate industries (culture of sea-weeds included) are conducted on regular scientific lines and on extensive scales, (p. 204).

Sir Frederick Nicholson was specially deputed by the Madras Government to Japan for purposes of studying the industry on the spot.

Bengal has sources of fish supply perhaps unrivalled in the world; any efforts made to conserve and develop the industry in its various branches on modern scientific lines can not be too highly commended.

The Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam are conducting special enquiries into the condition and possibilities of the fisheries in Sylhet, an officer having been placed on special duty for the purpose. The industry is an important one in the Provinces but is capable of immense development. During the year 1906-07, the revenue from fisheries in the Provinces amounted to two lacs of rupees.

31. Turtle Farming, (p.p. 215-218).

Alligator farming and crocodile industry, (p. 57, Part VIII) are believed by persons competent to speak on the subject, to be worthy of attention.

32. *Leather and Tanning.*—Hide business is one of the factors which contributed to the wealth of the Dacca Nawab family.

Raw hides, as also, tanning ingredients (p. 311) are available in plenty in this vast Province; but yet, there is not one tannery, while there are 17 of them, 7 owned and managed by Europeans and 10 by Indians, in the neighbourhood of Calcutta alone, besides several centres of the Industry in the districts in the sister Province of Bengal, (p. 310.)

74 lacs of rupees worth of raw hides of cattle were exported from the Province, chiefly from the Dacca and Rajshahye blocks to Calcutta last year (1906-07).

33. *The Mahua*—a valuable economic product.

The tree flourishes splendidly in Behar Districts, Chota Nagpur and Santal Parganas

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on semi-hilly rough, hard, apparently barren soils—of the like of which, there seems to be no dearth in this Province. As a matter of fact, some isolated trees are found thriving in this town and its neighbourhood, the flowers of which are occasionally seen put up for retail sale in the bazar.

One full grown tree yields from 4 to 7 or 8 maunds of flowers. The special, and the more common use of the flowers is for liquor distillation. 6 gallons of liquor (proof spirit) can be obtained from one cwt. of flowers. The flowers are also an invigorating cattle food. The Jorhat distillery obtains its supply of Mahua flowers all the way from Central Provinces, I hear.

The Mahua, if only for purposes of liquor distillation, has a future before it in Assam.

The oil obtained from the seeds on account of its cheapness is often used as an adulterant of ghee. It is used in the preparation of soaps and candles in the same way as cocoanut oil. It yields no smoke or offensive smell when burnt. Mixed with otto, it is used as a hair oil going by the name of Phuloa. The London quotation of Mahua oil some time ago was £35 per ton (N. B., Pp. 174-176).

34. *Cattle Food and Fodder Crop.*—(i) Cotton seed meal (p. 250).

(ii) Mahua flowers.

(iii) Alfalfa or Lucerne—an American fodder plant—believed to be suitable for cultivating in this country. It is a drought resister, and feeds so deeply that only the most protracted dry weather can possibly have any effect upon it. An acre of the crop according to the record of the United States Department of Agriculture will furnish forage for 20 hogs throughout the season. It will grow in any soil from the sea-level to seven thousand feet elevation. It adapts itself to lime-stone, but prefers a light and sandy loam with a loose sub-soil. It seems to possess just those qualities which vast agricultural tracts in India urgently require. (N. B., pp. 67-69).

35. *Edible Roots.*—(i) The famous *Shati Palo* (powder) of Backerganj, Tipperah and elsewhere, proved by general testimony to be an excellent infant's and invalid food. (P. 105).

(ii) Golaghat arrowroot exhibited at the Jorhat Exhibition the other day, reported by chemical experts to be as good as the best imported varieties.

37. *Bamboo and Paper Making.*—(N. B. P. 270 and p. 17 of Parts VI).

Mr. R. W. Sindall, F. C. S., reputed as a consulting chemist and wood pulp and paper trade expert, who held special investigation on behalf of the Government of India, says :—

"The bamboo of India may some day supplant the spruce wood now being used in the manufacture of pulp for paper making. I have made a lengthy experiment and have found the bamboo is practicable in the manufacture of pulp."

As the outcome of his researches, he advised the starting of Mills in Burma for the manufacture of paper out of the pulp that was furnished by Bamboos and varieties of local wood, fibres and fibrous substances—materials which are available in superabundant quantities in the Forests of Assam and Bengal.

Considering the inexhaustible demand for paper and similar products and the fact that there are only three paper mills in the whole of Bengal at present, all located near Calcutta possessing a capacity of no more than 200 tons or so per week each, and in view of the superabundance of the required raw material at nominal cost so near at hand, it needs no extraordinary shrewdness to see that paper mills started under such auspices, are bound to be an unqualified success.

38. *Other Commercial uses of the Bamboo.*—(i) There is a special variety of bamboo somewhat like reeds, suitable for umbrella handles. It commonly grows in the hilly regions of the Chittagong Division and Sylhet and is much in demand in Calcutta, where umbrellas mostly with imported materials but country bamboo handles are manufactured on a considerable scale. There is a regular trade in this kind of bamboo with the Calcutta market.

(ii) Seasoned bamboos, as field telegraph posts—considered a success on trial (p. 71).

(iii) Kako or Medang bamboo—a hill species (well-known in Upper Assam) possessing long internodes of capacious hold, much in request among milkmen and housewives in this part of the country, for utilization as receptacles of milk, more often, of ghee : each internode hold holding 2½ to 3 seers of ghee : serves better than the brittle glass or earthen jars which are at the same time far more costly ; one *pab* (inter-

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node) selling for 3 or 4 As., sure to be made much of in the Bengal market.

That the bamboo, though a hill speciality, can take kindly to the ordinary sandy loam soil of the plains, is evidenced by the splendid growth, I noticed the other day in a cultivator's holding 6 miles from the town, of a clump of 50 bamboos, which originated out of one single shoot from the hills planted some 10 years ago.

(iv) Bamboo and Cane work.—Manufacture of very fine Shitalpati (mats), petaras (country trunks), tiffin and office baskets, chairs, tables and sundry knick-knacks of delicate workmanship, is a well-known industry of Sylhet and Tipperah, gradually dying out for want of proper support and encouragement.

39. *Forest Utilization.*—There are various woods in the Assam Forests some of which are certain to be found on investigation to be suitable for some one or more of the following purposes:—

(1) Matches, (2) Pencils, (3) Cigar boxes, (4) Walking sticks, (5) Gun stocks, (6) Musical instruments, &c.

40. Wood subjected to the process of dry distillation (*i.e.*, heated in a closed retort in such a way that the products of the composition are collected) yields two primary products.

(i) Charcoal. Owing to its intense, steady, smokeless heat, it is superior to ordinary wood for many purposes, *e.g.* ore smelting, blacksmith and other metal workers' forges, &c.

(ii Pyroligneous acid, from which several important commercial products are obtained by further distillation or treatment with various chemicals, *e.g.*, Acetic acid, alchohol, chloroform, iodoform methylene (used in making varnish) formaline, creosote, pitch and tar, besides many other substances.

The manufacture of these products has not hitherto received the attention it deserves in India. It can be hoped that a development of this industry will lead to a profitable utilization of many woods which are at present of little or no value and thereby give a push to the cause of the industrial progress of the country.

41. *Saw Dust:—its commercial uses.* There is a large number of saw mills in the Province, specially Assam, from which huge quantities of saw dust daily run to waste for want of an utilization of them commercially, unlike in Japan (p. 22 part VI).

The following are some of the ways of utilization of saw dust mentioned by experts:—

(i) Saw dust can be cemented together into a very firm material called "XYLOLITH" used for decorative purposes, flooring panelling, &c.

(ii) As a packing material.

(iii) Mixed with clay, it forms light porous bricks. It is mixed with mortar to increase its porosity.

(iv) Used in the manufacture of explosives and of dyeing materials, while, treated with various chemical re-agents, it is used for the production of cellulose, vinegar, alcohol, gum, oxalic acid.

42. *Match-making wood.*—Wood for matches requires to be fairly soft and easily split; it should ignite easily and burn with a flame, and when blown out, it should not smoulder.

In Europe, the chief woods used for matches are aspen, pines and firs.

In India, various woods have been tried in the match manufactories which have been established at Calcutta, Ahmadabad, Guntur (Madras), near Bilaspur (Central Provinces) and elsewhere. As for the woods which have been found to answer best in India, Mr. R. S. Troup, F.C.H., I.F.S., of the Imperial Research Institute, Dehradun, gives a long list in his work. "The Indian Forest Utilization", out of which the following varieties are commonly available in the Lakhimpur Forest Division.

(1) Satiana (Alstonia Scholaris).

(2) Simul (Bombax Malabaricam).

(3) Raghu or Bengal Kadamba (Kanthokephabus Kadamba).

(4) Bhe (Slix Titrasprum).

43. *Lead Pencil wood.*—Wood for lead pencil should be straight-grained and even-textured, easily cut, free from knots and other defects.

The principal wood from which lead pencils are made, popularly known as cedar, is a species of Juniper (Juniperus Virginiana) found in the United States and Canada.

Among Indian woods *Juniperus Recurva* is probably equal to this species but is not available in sufficient quantities. Its vernacular name current in the Punjab is Bettar. It is not known in Assam Forests.

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44. *Camphor Industry*,—(pp. 254-264). Camphor is extracted from the twigs, branches and bark of the trees by mechanical processes.

The plants have power to absorb malarial gases and to check cholera germs. Plantation in malaria-stricken localities would be a welcome sanitary improvement.

The wood of the tree is insect-proof, takes good veneering and is used in Japan in the manufacture of cabinets and other articles of furniture.

Oil from the seeds is used for various purposes and is of great economic value.

Japan holds a complete sway over the camphor market of the world. The one great producing centre is Formoza, where its production is a Japanese Government monopoly.

The industry is of special interest to India, where the tree can be very well cultivated, in as much as the supply of crude material at the present moment is several million lbs. short of the demand.

Celluloid makers are the chief users of camphor; it will be a long time before a synthetic substitute can come into the market sufficiently cheap to compete with the natural product.

One lb. of Japanese seed (to be had of the Yokohama Nursery Co., at 70 cents per pound) should give 2000 plants. Ceylon-grown seed is also advertized now and then. Seed is also obtainable from Queensland. In Bengal, Mr. Isvar Chandra Guha of Jamalpur in Mymensingh is in a position to supply seedlings from his nursery.

45. *Turpentine, bye-product resin.*—Like camphor, turpentine is in great demand for pharmaceutical and industrial purposes.

Its manufacture from pine forests is a Government monopoly in India at Nainital; out-turn small; large imports into the country in consequence to meet demand; quality of product turned out from the Indian Factory has been declared by experts to be as fine as the kind imported from Europe and America.

In 1904-05, 62,000 trees were tapped in the Nainital Forest Division and they yielded 4259 mds. of crude resin or 2.74 seers per tree. 6128 gallons of turpentine and 3318 maunds of bye products (colophony) were manufactured at a cost of Rs. 14,300 and sold for Rs. 26,830. There was thus a large margin of profit. The industry, to quote the Government report, has been "an assured success."

There is a vast field in the country for the industry. (N. B. Pp. 264-267). According to expert opinion, Assam is one of the tracts in India presenting special possibilities.

46. *Essential Oils.*—The forests hold within their range scented grass, roots, herbs, shrubs, stems, barks and flowers of various kinds, for example, lemon grass, citronella, sandal wood, anise, thyme, lemon, eucalyptus, from which essential oils bearing their respective names, are expressed, for which there is always a good market. Factories, if started, are bound to be profitable (N. B., Pp. 247-250).

The Government gardens in the Nilgiris, Ootakamund, have established an oil distilling business, the existence of which is perhaps not known on this side of the country. The oils being worked there are :—Oils distilled from different varieties of eucalyptus, camphor oil, gaulther, wild cinamon oil, litsea oil, lemon grass oil. These oils are the products of local indigenous plants or those cultivated in the gardens and most of them are stocked for public sale.

The lemon grass of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills has, I hear, been taken a monopoly of by the Boolbool Soap Factory of Dacca.

47. A few other oils of commercial value are :

(1) Chaulmogra of Chittagong, a well known economic product of the district, a specific for leprosy (p. 252).

(2) Royna oil (p. 251) also called 'Baidyaraj', has various uses.

(3) Ground nut, a very important product deserving of special attention, (p. 108). Its oil is of immense economic utility. There is practically no cultivation of it in Bengal, far less in Eastern Bengal and Assam.

48. Rapid strides are being taken in Australia in the utilization of her vegetable products for the manufacture of eucalyptus oil, various kinds of dyes, camphor, perfumes, peppermint, Cajiputi oil, gums, gum resins and various such marketable commodities, as was testified to by Mr. R. T. Baker, F.L.S., Curator and Economical Botanist of the Sydney Technological museum, in the evidence he gave some time ago, before a Royal Commission. All other countries of the civilized world are also fast going

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ahead. It is India, the great nursery of natural products, which is lagging behind.

49. The manufacture of perfumes, *e.g.*, attar of rose, kewra, khas khas, bela, chameli, on a large scale by the adoption of western scientific methods, is sure to lead to great results. There is a vast prospect open to capital and scientific skill in this direction. The unqualified success of the infant institution known as the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works at Calcutta started as a modest beginning in the aforesaid line, is a case in point.

50. *Garden of drugs and medicinal plants.*—There prevails a dense mass of popular ignorance as to the economic value and commercial uses of the thousands of drugs, plants, shrubs, herbs and trees thriving in the soil of India, which has been very aptly described by a writer as "The garden of the world."

The Americans, foremost in taking up new ideas in a similar situation, realized the necessity of starting a demonstration farm, and the present blooming "Sanfransisco garden of medicinal plants" is the outcome. In the garden, a ten acre plot, there are at present specimens of medicinal vegetables to the number of 400. In time, the plot will contain more than 3000, which will make it the most complete drug garden in the United States. Experiments of considerable utilitarian value are being conducted and Government experts are busying themselves in the matter of interesting domestic agriculturists in the cultivation of drug plants.

Several thousands pounds sterling annually could be saved to India by the check that would be exercised over imports if but a tenth part of the natural vegetable wealth of the country were properly utilized, for their commercial yield, under organized scientific operations (N.B. pp. 75-77, p. 30). The only start in this direction I know of, though on a limited and extremely specialised scale, is the small Ayurvedic drug garden of a Kabiraj of Calcutta near the Railway Station at Lillooa or Bali off Howrah.

51. *Dyeing*—Fast dyeing is an ancient art of India, now almost extinct under the unrestricted onrush of imports of cheap (though mostly fugitive) artificial dyes.

Dyeing materials, barks, roots, &c. Indigo, turmeric, lac, *kusum* or safflower, *bakam*, *singhur*, *kamala*, *palas*, *latkan*, *manjishtha*, *mehendi*, *gab*, *kanthal* or jack fruit,—which are among the principal indigenous fast dyes—are yet available in plenty all over the country.

52. Among other forest produce of special value are :—

Rheeta or the soap-bark tree (Sapindus merginature): the fleshy pericarp seed-vessels being in great request as an excellent washing material (p. 98).

(2) Tejpat (bayleaf), cinamon—from Khasi hills.

(3) Cardamom from Naga Hills and Patki Hills off Margherita.

(4). Mishmi *teeta* (bitter), roots of some herbs grown in the Mishmi Hills, scientifically called "coptis teeta", a well reputed medicinal product whose properties and characteristics are described in full in Dr. Watts' Dictionary of economical products.

The season for procuring the roots is from November to March, price Rs. 4 to 5 per seer. The trade approximating 25 to 30 maunds in a year, so far as present information in possession of the local Forest Department goes, is in the hands of 3 or 4 Chinese merchants who visit the place annually for purchase, and some local Kaiyas.

(5) Musk.—Its collection is a special industry of the districts in Upper Assam.

(6) Bees' wax (pp. 227-229).

(7) Horns, ivory, &c.

(8) Skins of tigers, bears, deer, &c.

(9) Collection of rubber from the forests, a monopoly of the Kaiyas.

53. *Lime and lime stones.*

Two important centres in the Province are :—

(1) Khasia and Jaintia Hills. Lime stones quarried partly for use in the manufacture of lime popularly known as Sylhet lime or for use as simple lime stone and partly for the manufacture of cement near Calcutta. The amount of lime stones carried in 1898 was 61,105 tons, which rose in 1903, to 88,675 tons.

This Sylhet lime and the Sutna or Katni lime of the Central Provinces are the two famous kinds of lime in India.

(2) Sadiya lime, also good, much in demand for local consumption—not much known outside.

Shil (Slab) and *Nora* (roller)—spice grinding stones—things of daily use in the kit-

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chen. The supply of this stone is reported in Lower Bengal to be derived from the Khasia and Jaintia hills quarries.

54. *Ivory works.*

Once an important and flourishing art in the days of Native Rajas, ivory carving is now almost completely extinct in the country. Even till the time of Hunter's statistical accounts (1879) ivory ware was a speciality of Sylhet manufacture, the carvers of which, to quote Hunter

"Were characterised by much ingenuity and taste. Their work consists of ivory mats, which are sold at from £20 to £60 each, fans for from £1-12 to £2-10, sticks from £1-12 to £2, chessmen from £3 to £5 a set, dice from 3 to 6 a set."

In Assam proper, Kamrup and Jorhat were the two reputed centres. Hill Tipperah is still a seat of the art possessing some reputation, where carving of a superior order is a favourite pastime with members of the Raj Family.

55. *Bell-metal industry.*

Cups, plates, glasses and other utensils of every day use are of this metal and the industry is one of great interest and importance to the masses. Places reputed for superiority of their manufactures :—

(1) Sarthebari in Barpetta Sub-division, (2) Titabor in Jorhat Sub-division, (3) Islampur in Jamalpur Sub-division, (4) Atia, Kagmari in Tangail Sub-division.

56. *Brass ware specialities.*

Tubs and rice washing sieves are among the specialities of Kamrup manufacture. Palong and Angaria in Faridpur are noted for the superiority of the brass wares turned out there, which are popularly believed to be the same kind as the famous Rajnagar brass wares of old.

Duali near Lohajung in Vikrampur is the seat of an alloy industry called "Bharan." Utensils turned out are cheaper than the pure bell-metal or brazen wares.

The trade of the brazier and copper-smith has always formed an important branch of Indian craftsmanship. Brazen vessels are prescribed by religious ordinance for Hindu use and have for centuries served for domestic as well as ceremonial purposes. The general rule is that Hindus cook and eat in brazen vessels, and Mahomedans in tinned copper ware. The domestic use of porcelain or China ware cups and platters is confined to the poorer classes of Mahomedans.

The brass and copper ware industry admits of infinite expansion under proper direction. In the sister province of Bengal, this industry has been taken up first of all for consideration by the special officer recently appointed for the provincial industrial survey.

57. *Cutlery and Steel work.*—The following places possess special reputation :—

(1) Wazirpur (Barapaika) in Backerganj for *RamDao* (Sacrificial swords), small daos (called hand daos), pen knives, razors, long thin short blade double edged swords, *Bati* daos, *Sarota* or *Janti* (nut-cutter), scissors, &c., wrought iron work edged with steel, with ornamentation in brass (human eyes, flowers or name of purchaser or manufacturer, date, year &c.) worked near the blunt edge. The Ram daos are of such superior finish at the cutting edge that the test to which they are put by an intending purchaser, *viz.*, of cutting outright in twain a whole dry cocoanut with shell and fibres intact, floating in water, is passed without any hitch.

Some of the products of these blacksmiths were specially commended at the recent Calcutta Industrial Exhibition.

(2) Dattapara., Kanchanpur and Barahinagar are among the villages in Noakhali district which are noted for their iron work—the chief products being domestic and agricultural implements.

(3) A special manufacture of the aforesaid village Wazirpur in Backerganj confined to two or three families, and in this respect, I suppose, it stands unique in the country, is the conch-shell saw (semi-circular cutter) which is much in demand with the Dacca families of Shell-cutters.

(4) Panchgaon (Rajnagar) in south Sylhet produces Ram daos, hand daos, *Bati* knives &c., of a superior finish. Some of these were exhibited at the recent Jorhat Exhibition and obtained commendation.

(5) In Mymensingh one workman successfully makes steel trunks, the only case in which they are turned out in this province, and in old Malda one workman can make locks comparing very favourably with imported ones.

58. *Silver work.*—Dacca work, a speciality, enjoys equal reputation with the famous Cuttack filigree work.

59. Conch shell and mother-of-pearl work

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of Dacca—a unique, interesting and expanding industry.

60. *Coal, oil &c.*—As for coal, kerosine oil, candles, jute and other fibres, rubber, tea, cinchona, which are among the other specialities of the Province, they are already receiving due attention at the hands of the Government as well as private capitalists.

61. List of officers put on special duty from time to time and now, in other Provinces :—

(1) Sir Frederick Nicholson, Madras, deputed by Government to Japan for fisheries investigation.

(2) Mr. K. G. Gupta, Fisheries investigation, Bengal.

(3) Mr. Ahmad Do. Do.

(4) J. G. Cumming, for industrial survey of the Province of Bengal.

(5) Mr. A. C. Chatterjee, Do. Do. United Provinces.

62. *Nota Bene.*—The following information culled from the latest official Trade Report showing what huge quantities of raw materials go out of the Province in one year (1906-07), simply for want of local manufacturing enterprise, ought to furnish food for serious reflection to thoughtful men in the country.

	Quantity, mds. (thousands)	Value, Rs. (lacs)
1. Jute, raw	23,436	2,128·2
2. Tea	1,868	541·5
3. Hides of cattle	304	74
4. Tobacco unmanufactured	318	32
5. Lac	45	22·4
6. Oil seeds	362	21·5
7. Cotton, raw	101	18·5
8. Silk, raw	5	10·7
Total	3 crore maunds (nearly)	29 crores of rupees

Dibrugarh. DAKSHINA RANJAN GHOSE.

THE FOUR WINDS OF EIRINN

I HAVE often felt that it is possible for the Indian Nationalist to be too self-centred; he knows little, and sometimes cares little for the national aspirations of others, and even his own he but half understands at times. Perhaps the least expected, and most reassuring of political phenomena in modern Europe has been the uprising of the little nationalities, and the powerful protest that has been made in so many quarters against the barren cosmopolitanism which seemed to be creeping over every land. The philistine utilitarianism of the Early Victorian 'educators' has been quietly but surely overcome by those who at one time seemed weak and worthless. There is far less danger to-day, of the extinction of Gaelic, Irish, Welsh, Provincial, Czech and a host of other languages, and of the cultures which they represent and with which they are inseparably bound up, than there was twenty years ago. The fight for the recognition of Irish, for example, has already been won.

I need explain no further the interest which, for India, attaches to the national and political poetry of other nations, especially that in which their individuality is expressed, and in which their determination to lead their own life in their own way is evident. I am not now referring to the epic and heroic literature which is and must always be the foundation of every national culture, but to national poetry, which is still being made, like your own *Bande Mataram*, and like the Marseillaise and the Irish 'wearing of the Green,' to say nothing of the songs of socialism and the future, which even in England are to be heard at times. I want to introduce to Indian readers, the poems of Ethna Carbery, otherwise Anna Macmanus.

'Mo Chraobhin Cno,' 'My Cluster of Nuts' is one of the many names by which the Irish Motherland is known to her children; and here is Ethna Carbery's poem of that name.*

* All the poems here referred to or quoted are taken from 'The Four Winds of Eirinn', by Ethna Carbery (Anna Macmanus), a collection of her poems, in 1902 already in the eleventh edition, and often reprinted since.

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"A sword of Light hath pierced the dark, our eyes
have seen the star.
O Mother, leave the ways of sleep, now days of
promise are :
The rusty spears upon your walls are stirring
to and fro,
In dreams they front uplifted shields—Then wake
Mo Chraoibhin Cno !

The little waves creep whispering where sedges
fold you in,
And round you are the barrows of your buried
kith and kin ;
Oh! Famine-wasted, fever-burnt, they faded
like the snow
Or set their hearts to meet the steel—for you,
Mo Chraoibhin Cno !

Their names are blest, their caoine sung, our
bitter tears are dried ;
We bury Sorrow in their graves, Patience we
cast aside ;
Within the gloom we hear a voice that once
was ours to know—
'Tis Freedom—Freedom calling aloud, Arise !
Mo Chraoibhin Cno !"

And so four verses more, speaking more especially of Irish things than these verses, that voice the determination never to forget the past, never to allow a permanent subjection of the real self of the Motherland. Nay, the subjection has lasted too long already, and we shall find other poems speaking with a concentrated bitterness, that shows how little chance there is that Ireland will love England, till England leaves Ireland free to do so.

"Play us our Eire's most sorrowful songs,
As she sits by her reeds near the wash of the wave,
That the coldest may thrill at the count of her
wrongs,
That the sword may flash forth from the scabbard
to save,
And the wide land awake at the wrath of the
brave . . .
And surely no note of such music shall fail . . .
To strengthen our souls for the strife to be dared."

Or this from 'Donald MacSeagham na Mallacht'—

"I curse them awake or sleeping,
I curse them alive or dead,
And, Oh Christ! That my words were embers
To fall on each Saxon head.

They have swept my land with their fury,
It is burnt where their feet have passed :
It is blighted, dishonoured, lowly
In the track of the poisonous blast . . .

Then stay me not of my curses—
When mountain and fair green glen
Are free as the Lord God meant them,
I shall pray at your bidding then."

So strong yet is the bitterness in Ireland, and it would seem there can be no more from it, until Ireland is left free to be herself. It is not the fault of Irishmen that they feel this; it is a result of England's action in the past, a *karma* that must be reaped as much as any other. The one way to meet it is by love; and love, England will not give yet to Ireland or to India; love means self-sacrifice, even the self-sacrifice of leaving others to order their own life, though you feel sure you could order it so much better for them.

There are few things from which India has suffered, that Ireland has not known too; but the result of poverty in Ireland, where the people are as devoted to the land as any Indian villagers could be, has been emigration, that is, depopulation. Ireland is a thinly populated country of poor people; the few rich landowners driving out the people directly or indirectly to put their land under grazing, just as in Scotland the crofter has been driven out to make room first for the sheep farm and then for the deer forest. One of the saddest of Ethna Carbery's poems laments the 'Passing of the Gael.'

"They are going, going, going from the valleys
and the hills,
They are leaving far behind them heathery moor
and mountain rills,
All the wealth of hawthorn hedges where the brown
thrush sways and trills.

They are going, shy-eyed colleens and lads so
straight and tall,
From the purple peaks of Kerry, from the crags
of wild Imaal,
From the greening plains of Mayo and the glens
of Donegal . . . .

Some must wander to the East, and some must
wander West ;
Some seek the white wastes of the North, and
some a southern nest :
But never shall they sleep so sweet as on your
mother breast.

The whip of hunger scourged them from the
glens and quiet moors
But there's a hunger of the heart that plenty
never cures ;
And they shall pine to walk again the rough
road that is yours . . .

They may win a golden store,—sure the whins
were golden too :
And no foreign skies hold beauty like the rainy
skies they knew ;
Nor any night wind cool the brow as did the
foggy dew.

They are going, going, going, and we cannot
bid them stay ;
The fields are now the strangers', where the
strangers' cattle stray,
Oh Kathaleen ni Houlihan, your way's a thorny
way !"

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Kathaleen ni Houlihan is another of the names for Ireland. It would be easy to go on to speak of the literary qualities of Ethna Carbery's poems; the delicate grace & haunting beauty of songs like 'In Tir-nan-og', and the passion and sorrow of the 'Sad Song of Finian' or the 'Four Places of Sorrow'; it would be easy also to point to the serious faults in many of the poems, a sentimentality, and use of hackneyed phrases and conventional expressions: but my object in writing this little note is not primarily literary, and so all that can be left for the present. I should like only to do something to reveal to India what the national awakening means to Ireland, and to draw closer between these two oppressed and friendless lands, the bonds of love and sympathy.

'MAEV.'

KARMA AND FREE WILL

THE question whether the human mind is free in its exercise of volitional power or whether it is determined by any phenomenal antecedents and external conditions, is one of those deepest metaphysical problems about which much has been said by philosophers though they have yet been unable to offer any satisfactory solution. The problem has divided the whole philosophical world into two hostile camps, between which there seems to be no hope of rational reconciliation. The antagonism between the two rival theories of 'liberty' and 'determinism' is so pronounced and radical that, it seems, no attempt at bridging the gulf between the two can possibly succeed.

Is the human will *free* to choose among the several motives that compete for the mastery, or is it merely a passive subject of the motive forces acting upon it, moving in the direction of their resultant and incapable of exercising any personal preference? Is the will itself the active subject determining its own end or is it under any necessity which is foreign to it? Such is the problem of free-will.

Though the problem is metaphysical in its nature, a conviction is widespread among all students of ethics that some sort of reconciliation ought to be arrived at before one begins the study of ethics: and it is no ill-grounded conviction.

"The living throbbing experience of the moral man implies a deep and ineradicable conviction that his destiny, if partly shaped for him by a power beyond, is yet in its grand outline in his own hand to make it or mar it as he will."

In other words, morality requires freedom of the will. The whole structure of ethics rests on a sandy foundation if Free-will is denied. What is the use of applying moral judgments if man's actions do not represent his character, if they are not embodiments of his volition? No action is *mine* unless *my* will is exercised in doing it. An estimate of moral actions is possible only on the condition that they are the expression of free-will. The *Vedanta Ethics* is strong on the point that the best action is nothing if it were a mere chance result which might have been otherwise. And, again what is the use of preaching about duty, if a man's predetermined position renders him incapable of profiting by the counsel? Thus 'freedom of the will,' on examination, turns out to be a fundamental postulate of morality without which moral life loses its integrity. If one is of opinion that the theory of *Karma* which is an outstanding feature of the *Vedanta* Philosophy (in common with other orthodox systems of Indian Philosophy) is inconsistent with freedom of the will, then the very conception of the 'Ethics of the *Vedanta*' seems open to question and must inevitably fall to the ground. No less a man than Hegel says:—

"No morality, no determination of freedom, no rights, no duties have any place here so that the people of India are sunk in complete immorality."

Thus it becomes essential that we should dissipate the fallacy underlying the charge that there can be no 'Ethics of the Vedanta', for according to the law of Karma

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man acts of necessity and not of his free-will. From this unauthorised assumption they draw the obvious inference that man is not responsible for his actions, since *he* does not subscribe to them; therefore moral judgments on the *subject* are impertinent. So now let us consider how far the charge is justifiable.

Sankara, the learned *adwaitic* commentator of the Vedanta Philosophy, anticipates this objection, which he states in the following words; "If every being acted according to its nature only, which is determined by its Karma and deeds in the past life,—then there is none that has no nature of its own. There being thus no scope for personal exertion, the teaching *i. e.*, the Vedas and ethics would be quite purposeless." Sankara points out that the objection is met in the verse of the *Bhagavad-Gita* which states that "every sense has its affections and aversions to its objects fixed. One should not become subject to them, for they are one's opponents" (III 34). Herein is hinted the proper significance of Karma. Every action must be followed by its proper result or in other words every cause has an effect. And therefore all our actions in our past life have resulted in certain fixed tendencies which are termed the 'likes' and 'dislikes' in the abovementioned verse. The aggregate of these tendencies forms the bent of a man's mind and this is due to *Karma*. A *Nyaya* aphorism states, "Our actions though apparently disappearing remain still unperceived and reappear again in their effects as tendencies" (*Pravrittis*). Here Determinism holds in being endowed with certain tendencies and not others.

And again, one ought not to subject oneself to these *likes* and *dislikes*; for 'they are one's opponents.' We are tempted, so to say, to act according to these tendencies which have become a part and parcel of our nature. We are prone to follow their path because we have acted in such wise in our past lives. This temptation is the *effect* of our past *karma*, which is the *cause*. Here the law of *karma* or necessity holds.

Where then lies the scope for the exercise of 'free-will'? In rising above these tendencies. We are constantly asked to restrain our senses without permitting them to have their own way. "O descendant of Bharata! first restrain your senses." The sum of man's duty is to make the lower sensuous self yield to the higher rational self, to control Phillip drunk by Phillip sober. We are always enjoined to subjugate our senses through which alone the tendencies resulting from the previous birth show themselves. The wise sage must cut off the tendrils of sensibility which would take hold on the course of the world and make him its slave. When violent passions are excited in us—and these are the ills which our life at present is heir to owing to its past *karma*—we should combat them by opposing a firm will to them. That is the only way to overcome them. We have to throw off the yoke of the passions and should rise to rational freedom. In this cultivation of our will and acting always as our reason directs, true freedom consists.

The Vedantic moralist takes note of and appeals to the *real* self. The rule of sensuous desire he depicts to be disgraceful slavery in which the *real* self is subordinated to the animal part of our nature, or in Carlyle's words, the 'spirit' man to the 'brute' man. One has not to surrender oneself to these senses but must control them, suppressing the bad ones and cultivating the good ones. The forward march of the 'turbulent senses which carry away the mind' must be checked. If we with Shakespere raise the question,

> "Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
> The flings and arrows of outrageous fortune,
> Or to take arms against a sea of troubles
> And by opposing end them . . . . ,"

the answer which the Vedanta gives is '*oppose*' and '*end*' them. Chain the wheel of Fortune and get out of all fear of her rotations.

Thus we find that *karma* is just a name for the sum total of our physical, mental and moral conditions in which our free-will meets with definite limitations; and adequate reflection shows that we are not masters of the situation in which we find ourselves placed as well as the alternatives which present themselves before us. These alternatives are determined *for* us as far as this Life is concerned, though *by* us in our past lives, and the will is free to choose from among these alternatives. Man has not the universal field of possibilities for himself. Out of the physical, mental and social environments, whatever

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they may be, man has to develop a character good or bad. The universal law of *karma* has nothing to do with the *real* man, if he has once understood what he is in his *real* nature. It is not the '*senses*' that make a man what he is, for the brutes also possess them. It is only *reason* that is the peculiar characteristic—*the differentia* of man.

"Know, man hath all that Nature hath, but more,
And in that *more* lie all his hopes of good."

It is the possession of this faculty that entitles him to the highest place in the scale of creation; and in exercising this faculty man is free.

No system of moral philosophy can deny the fact that there is this amount of limitation to the exercise of free choice. When man is born into the world, when he first sees the light of day, he finds himself in certain physical surroundings, mental environments and social spheres. With some mental dispositions and into some particular social atmosphere man is thrust into the world. For these things he is not at present responsible : and here the law of cause and effect or *karma* holds. As Lotze points out, "freedom itself, in order that it may even be thought of as being what it aims at being, postulates a very widely extended, although not an exclusive prevalence of the law of Causation."

Even this amount of limitation, the Vedanta philosophy points out, has been the effect of our own doings in the past life. This order of nature in which we are placed is no foreign necessity to which we are subjected. It is we who forge our own chains. We may file them away by opposing to them a firm will or rivet them more strongly by following their lead. We are always working with plastic clay that can be shaped to our fancy.

"Look! the clay dries into iron,
But the potter moulds the clay;
Destiny to-day is master—
Man was master yesterday."

(Sir Edwin Arnold's Hitopadesa.)

Every deed goes to establish a habit, thereby weakening the power of reason to resist the passions.

Man has to develop a character out of the lines laid down for him in his inner nature and outer circumstance. These form the *given* elements in his life, the raw material which he can work into the texture of the moral life and out of which he has to create a character good or bad. This is an irreducible and uncontrollable element in this life which the most sceptical of philosophers have to recognise. The only thing that a man can do with it is to make the best of it, just as a cobbler makes the best shoe with the leather that is given him. "What," says Epictetus, "are outward things? They are materials for will, in dealing with which it shall attain its own good." There is not the least doubt about the fact that success or failure is determined not by the nature of the material but by the free play of the self. We find as a matter of fact that out of the most unpromising material we sometimes get saintly characters, whereas out of the most promising it is not unusual for us to get the worst sinners.

But 'nature' or the 'given', which is an alien and opposing force, may assert its own independence. How can it be controlled? It may embarass and endanger if not defeat our moral ends. This, whatever one may call it, *fortune* with Aristotle, *fate* with the Stoics or *circumstance* with the present day moralist, how can we get rid of? It is not the swift but they who run that gain the day. Opportunity makes the hero. To use a metaphor: wind and tide have to be controlled by the steerman's mind, *i.e.*, he has to make use of them and see that they take him to his goal. But should they prove too strong, what is he to do? Robert Owen, the socialist, was but right when he said that external circumstances had much to do with the moulding of one's character. In the words of Matthew Arnold, our character is also due to 'a power not ourselves which makes for rightousness'. In spite of the best intentions, misfortune arises through what is called 'the niggardly nature of a stepmotherly fortune'. How are we to eliminate this baffling quantity which threatens and at times destroys our moral calculations? To quote Prof. Huxley,—

"It may seem an audacious proposal to pit the microcosm against the macrocosm and to set man to subdue nature to his higher ends, but I venture to think that the great intellectual difference between the ancient times and our day lies in the solid foundations we have acquired for the hope that such an enterprise may meet with success."

With progress in science and the increase

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of knowledge consequent upon it, man has learnt to use nature as his instrument, and as years roll on this conviction that man is the master of nature and not her slave is getting greater and greater confirmation. So this objection would not now be pressed.

But admitting the force of the objection, the Vedanta Ethics has its own answer to make. Virtue lies not so much in the achievement of any external results, for we are asked to do our duties free from attachment and equable as to success or failure (Gita II, 48). Without caring for the fruits of action, in scorn of consequence, we have to do the right. So we do not care whether our deeds end in success or failure. Virtue, therefore, lies not so much in the external consequences as in the noble bearing of the several chances and accidents of fortune. Blessed are the pure in heart. The soul, though it may be opposed in the realisation of its volition by many untoward occurences, has its nobility shining through, as Kant's will does, by its own light, still retaining its moral worth. Thus we see that the solution has room both for freedom and necessity. We are in moral bondage when our actions are determined wholly by circumstance and free when they are due to reason.

The reconciliation of the problem of freedom and necessity is sometimes considered to have a parallel in the solution of the same problem given by Kant, one of the greatest of the world's philosophers. The similitude is only apparent and vanishes on detailed examination. According to Kant man is at the same time both determined and free, determined with regard to his relations as a member of the phenomenal realm, free with regard to his relations as a member of the noumenal realm. In the sphere of reason man is free but in this phenomenal world, necessity or stern law reigns. But moral relations exist only in the phenomenal realm and there, according to Kant, it is necessity that is the sovereign, so that the freedom which Kant offers us is an empty abstraction practically of no use to us.

Prof. James Seth subjects the whole argument which Kant adduces in support of his theory of freedom to an unflinching criticism, in which he says,

"Here as elsewhere, Kant so presses the distinction between the phenomental and the noumenal as to make that distinction absolute. In my noumenal nature, or in myself, I am free; in my empirical or phenomenal state, I am not free, but under the necessity of nature. This is hardly better, as M. Fouillee has remarked, than to tell a prisoner that outside his prison there is freedom, and that he has only to think himself outside, to realize that he is free. We are confined within the prison house of desire and passion, of sensibility and motive force, and the only life we know is that of prisoners."

Thus we see how empty and unreal the freedom which Kant offers us is. This drawback is not to be found in the *Vedantic* solution of the problem, for even in the phenomenal realm we are powerful enough to check our impulses, to resist our passions and lead a life of satisfied selfhood in which the lower passions, which constitute the '*matter*' of morality, are regulated by 'reason,' the '*form*' of it.

So 'freedom of the will,' according to the 'Ethics of the *Vedanta*,' is just what Prof Paulsen of Berlin terms 'the faculty to determine one's life, independently of sensuous impulses and inclinations by reason and conscience according to purposes and laws.' We have a very good picture of this ideal of freedom in Horace's Seventh Satire of the Second Book.

"Who then is free? He who is wise, over himself true lord, unterrified by want and death and bonds; who can his passions stem and glory scorn; in himself complete, like a sphere perfectly round, so that no external object can rest on the polished surface; against such a one fortune's assault is broken."

In the words of James Thomson,

Resolve, resolve, to be men aspire;
Exert that noblest privilege, alone
Here to mankind indulged; control desire;
Let Godlike reason from her sovereign throne
Speak the commanding words 'I will' and
it is done.

The possession of the free will is a glorious privilege, though of course it gives an opening for sin; but sin is the result of a perverse use of the gracious right of the free will; that is not the fault of God, who gave you the privilege. As Milton points out in his famous epic, it is our own fault; none else is to blame.

".....whose fault,
Whose but his own? ingrate, he had of me
All he could have; I made him just and right,
Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall."

So we ought not to depreciate the value of free will on the account that it leads

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to sin and suffering. God made man in His own image and so ordained that the nature of the human will should be free. Man is not man if 'fate' be his master.

S. RADHA KRISHNAN, B.A.

THE GROUNDNUT INDUSTRY ON THE WEST COAST

WE observe that the Madras Government has of late been paying considerable attention to the cultivation of groundnuts on the West Coast. Liberal grants are being allowed to the various agricultural associations in Malabar and South Canara for the experimental cultivation of groundnuts in those districts. We propose, therefore, to record to-day a few particulars in relation to the subject, which we trust will be of interest to your readers.

Arachis hypogaea is the botanical name of the groundnut. Nothing definite is known about its origin. Its nativity has been traced to America. Some authorities, however, assert that the origin was Africa; but this is doubtful. It is true that in the sixteenth century Africa and Asia received it. Dr. Dymock says that the plant was introduced into India some 60 years ago from China. It has long been cultivated in various parts of India, chiefly in Burma, Bombay and other places. So far as the West Coast is concerned it must be said to be quite a new crop. It is only two or three years since the people on the West Coast (in the Districts of Malabar and Southern Canara) began to interest themselves in the cultivation of this crop. They have now begun to find the cultivation of this plant far more profitable than the ordinary dry land field crops; and there is no doubt that with the help of the Government the groundnut cultivation will soon begin to thrive well on this Coast. Mr. H. C. Sampson, Deputy Director of Agriculture, Southern Division, has already issued a Note regarding the cultivation of this plant in which he gives some useful hints so far as the West Coast is concerned.

The different forms of the groundnut (*Archis hypogaea*) may be roughly classified into two varieties—"bunched" and "running." The first variety has got its stems erect and the second prostrate. Basing on this difference, the Botanists have given the names of *Africana* and *Indica* to the two varieties—Africana to the "running" variety and *Indica* to the "bunched." The "running" variety is the one commonly grown in Virginia and other adjoining parts. What is known as the Spanish nut belongs to the "bunched" variety. Very little information is available regarding the relative merits of these two varieties.

Both these varieties are grown in the United States; but nuts produced by the "running" variety, which has come to be known as "Virginian" on account of its extensive cultivation in Virginia, are more in demand. The reason for this is that in the United States these nuts are more used as food; and since the Virginian contains a relatively small percentage of oil they are preferred. North Carolina grows this plant extensively: it is favoured there as a forage crop. In Georgia, Coast Rica, the Argentine Republic and other places, different forms of groundnut are cultivated; but all these various forms dispersed over the world may be brought under the two heads we have already mentioned. In Africa and on the coast of Senegambia also the plant is grown. It is a semi-prostrate variety. In Senigambia they are known as Galan and Cayor nuts, these names having their origin in the place names of Galan and Cayor on the coast of Senigambia. In Egypt a plant of a very prostrate form is grown. Regarding the varieties met with in Asia, little is known. However, the Indian plant may be said to be a semi-prostrate one. Two varieties, which may be distinguished from the colour of the seed, are grown in the Malay Peninsula and Java. In Trincomallee in Ceylon, and in Japan, two varieties are grown. On analysis it has been found that the Japanese groundnuts are richest in oil.

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The nuts from the Tropics of the old world come next in rank, while those from North America come last. The following analysis prepared by the U. S. Agricultural Department will be found particularly useful.

PERCENTAGE IN DRY SUBSTANCES.

ORIGIN.	Water.	Oil.	Proteids.	Soluble non-nitrogenous matter.	Fibre.	Ash.
Japanese.						
"Tojin-mame"	7·50	54·60	26·49	12·64	4·32	1·95
"Nankin-mame"	15·61	54·54	32·66	5·99	4·88	1·93
Tropics of the Old World.						
Congo ...	5·01	52·88	28·33	14·51	1·55	2·73
Rujisque ...	4·59	52·48	29·73	14·02	1·24	2·53
Egyptian ...	...	52·30	22·97	20·27	1·61	2·85
Bombay ...	7·71	50·47	33·73	10·15	2·33	3·32
Southern United States.						
Tennessee (1888) crop ...	3·87	49·35	28·65	17·23	2·37	2·40
Tennessee (1889) crop ...	4·86	48·60	27·07	19·39	2·52	2·51
Georgia ...	12·85	43·13	30·49	21·86	2·34	2·18
"Spanish" grown in Georgia ...	13·15	41·17	32·18	20·43	3·50	2·72

We shall now give a few details about the cultivation of this plant. It is said that a very hot climate suits it best. In the "Annual Report of the United States Department of Agriculture" the following passage occurs:—

"It is possible that the farther south the nut is grown the more oil will be developed in the seed. The Algerian growth furnishes 25 to 27 per cent. the quantity of oil in the Virginian growth is less than that of Algiers".

A similar view is expressed in "Semlers Tropische Agrikulture" as may be seen from the following:—

"Like castor oil seeds, gronndnuts are richer in oil the more tropical the climate under which they are cultivated. West African nuts from near the Equator contain 50.55 per cent. of oil, North America only 25.27 per cent, and at times only 20 per cent."

We should think that a good deal depends upon the soil. In a bulletin issued by the Land Records and Agriculture Department, Madras, Mr. Subba Rao says that the seeds from soil new to the crop are richer than those from village sites, and red sandy loams richer than those from clays. We are also told that the seeds produced on unirrigated land are richer in oil than those produced under irrigation. The fact that the oil-bearing capacity of the seeds depends upon solar energy cannot be accepted as a general truth. The analysis prepared by the United States Department of Agriculture does not show anything more than some of the racial differences of the nut. The cultivation of the plant is very simple, the seed being simply dropped into small holes about an inch deep after the land has been forked. The most suitable soil is a rich friable loam, slightly sandy. Hard soils should be avoided. Soils which are dry and sandy and where there is a certain uniformity in the rainfall are also suitable. The seeds may be sown any time during the year, though the beginning of the South West Monsoon is generally preferred by cultivators. No particular care is necessary in the operation. Some attention must be paid in the selection of the seeds for cultivation. It is always safe to buy the nuts in the husk. The seeds should be well dried. They begin to sprout 12 days after sowing. It takes 5 to 6 months for the crop to mature. Mr. Sampson is of opinion that on the West Coast it might take 6 to 6½ months, as the growth of the plants is likely to be checked a little during heavy rains. There is no definite means of finding out when the crop is ready for harvesting. When young nuts begin to form near the ends of the branches, it may safely be presumed that those near the root are quite ripe for harvesting. Harvesting is done by pulling the plants out by the hand and the nuts picked off and collected in baskets. The yield per acre comes to between 40 and 60 bushels.

Having given a description of the plant and its cultivation, we shall now mention some of the uses of the groundnut. We read that few economic plants serve so many different uses as the groundnut. The oil expressed from the seeds of groundnuts can be used for a variety of purposes. It is similar to the olive oil and is generally used in lieu of olive oil for medicinal and alimentary purposes. Within the last 70 years this oil has become of great commercial importance in European countries. On the average, over 10,000 tons of prepared oil

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are being consumed. Hitherto the oil was being prepared locally for export; but now the nuts are largely exported to foreign countries where they prepare the oil by improved methods. The nuts are also used as food. Its importance as an article of food is thus spoken of by Dr. Watts :—

"Dr. Muter observes that the residue from them (nuts), after the expression of the oil, far exceeds that of the peas, and is even richer than lentils in flesh-forming constituents, while it contains more fat and more phosphoric acid than either of them. On these grounds, we are justified in urging the adoption of the groundnut meal as a source of food, it being superior in richnsss of all important constituents to any other vegetable products of a similar nature."

In addition to these uses, the leaves of the plant may be used as fodder for cattle. Groundnut cakes made of the refuse of the shells after extracting the oil are also said to be very useful as a nourishing food for cattle. Further, as a green manure the groundnut plant has a high reputation. It would appear that its roots, leaves and stems contain nearly ·0914 per cent. of nitrogen. It is therefore best to use groundnut as a rotation crop. When the soil gets exhausted by paddy cultivation, a crop of groundnuts may be grown and after harvesting the nuts the plants may be ploughed in as green manure. Mr. Simpson in the note alluded to above says :—

"It is not advisable to grow groundnuts year after year on the same lands; especially in a country with such a heavy rainfall: and probably it will be found advisable to alternate this with one of the cereal crops which are now grown such as *chama*, *modan* or ragi thus:——First year, groundnut: second year, cereal: third year, fallow."

Before concluding we have also to draw the attention of those interested in the groundnut industry to a leaflet issued some time last year by the Department of Agriculture, Bengal. In it is mentioned that poor, loose, friable sandy loam soils will give good crops of this commodity. The profit per acre is from Rs. 51 to Rs. 71, and there is a ready market for the groundnut at all times. Roasted groundnut is sold in every bazar; it is sold as "burnt almonds" by the confectioner. Mention is also made of the various other uses we have already alluded to. These and other facts, coupled with those that are mentioned in Mr. Simpson's official Note, ought to embolden Agriculturists to the growing of groundnuts on a more extensive scale than hitherto.

C. D. NAYAR.

THE PAY OF THE SEPOY

IN the course of his article on the Indian Army, published in the *Calcutta Review* for March 1856, Sir Henry Lawrence wrote :—

"Those who have watched events, or have studied Indian Military History, can distinctly trace almost all past murmurs and mutinies, we might indeed say *every one*, to some error or omission, trivial or great, of our own. Pay has been the great stumbling block. Whether in Bombay, Madras or Bengal, doubts as to the intentions of Government in regard to pay, have been at the bottom of most mutinies."

What Lawrence wrote is perfectly true. Factory hands and other labourers combine and strike and thus get their pay increased. But resort to this method is denied to the soldier. If he strikes, he makes himself liable to be shot down as a mutineer. But it cannot be denied that the pay of the native sepoy is quite inadequate to the services he renders to the State and the hard times he lives in. To quote Lawrence again—

"Europeans were made honest by *honest treatment*; Natives were driven to worse roguery than before, for bread."

The pay of the native sepoy till 1895 was seven rupees a month. In that year it was increased to nine rupees and last year it was again increased by a couple of rupees more. This pay is quite inadequate to maintain a sepoy and his family in decency, not to say comfort. Even in 1832—76 years ago—the pay of the sepoy compared with the wages of labour and price of subsistence was not very high. The then Commander-in-chief, Sir Jasper Nicolls, in his evidence before the

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Select Committee of the House of Commons, answered the question—

17. "How is that (the pay of the sepoy) compared with the wages of labour and the price of subsistence? —The lowest servant of any officer gets four rupees, some as high as twenty, *so that in fact it is very low compared with servants*; **."

Before the same Committee, Sir H. Worsley said :—

"It may be safely assumed that since the early period of time in question, all necessaries of food and raiment have risen from 50 to 100 per cent. * * and that in like manner have the labours and duties and the wear and tear consequent on distant marches, in peace as well as in war, proportionately increased, with expense and inconvenience, * *"

Since 1832 all necessaries of life have risen from 100 to 200, or even 300 or 400 per cent.,* and the labours and duties and the wear and tear of the sepoys have also proportionately increased. But there has not been any proportionate increment in the pay and allowances of the Indian sepoys. These are as inadequate now as ever, and are very much lower than what artisans, and even coolies in many big cities, earn. It is well known, for example, that in Calcutta common coolies earn not less than twelve annas a day, or Rs. 22-8 per mensem.

Captain Macan in his evidence before the abovementioned Committe on the 17th April 1832, said :—

"In former times the sepoys had many advantageous privileges which they have not now; we were then generally in a state of war, and when in an enemy's country, they lived more or less free of expense; indeed when travelling in our own provinces, they had many advantages, unjust, no doubt, to the people, though gratifying and profitable to the soldier; they got wood, pots and many little articles of food, for nothing; and I have heard an old officer in the Company's army say, that formerly, when a detachment went out on service, they lived almost free of any expense; this system has been partly abolished."

At present the sepoys do not enjoy any such advantageous privileges as they did in former times to which Captain Macan referred. The Indian army is wholly composed of mercenaries. Wrote Sir Henry Lawrence in his paper on the Indian Army :—

"Unfortunately we have no Militia in India. All are mercenaries; the most faithful in the world, but still mercenaries."

The only thing which can attract these mercenaries then to the army is their pay. To buy the fidelity of these mercenaries then they should be adequately paid.

It is said that the sepoy is paid the market rate of wages. There can be no greater fallacy than this. Till lately (and even now) the Indian sepoys belonged to the respectable classes of Indian society. Jack Sepoy is, in every respect, a far superior person to the Christian Tommy Atkins. Writes Sir John Kaye :—

"It is difficult to conceive two conditions of life more dissimilar in their social aspects than soldiering in India and soldiering in England. In England, few men enlist into the Army as an honourable profession, or seek it as an advantageous source of subsistence. Few men enter it with any high hopes or any pleasurable emotions. The recruit has commonly broken down as a civilian. Of ruined fortune and bankrupt reputation, he is tempted, cheated, snared into the Army. Lying placards on the walls, lying words in the pot-house, the gaudy ribbons of Sergeant Kite, the drum and the fife and the strong drink, captivate and enthral him when he is not master of himself. He has quarrelled with his sweetheart or robbed his employer. He has exhausted the patience of his own people, and the outer world has turned his back upon him. And so he goes for a soldier. As soon as he has taken the shilling, he has gone right out of the family circle and out of the circle of civil life. He is a thousandth part of a regiment of the line. Perhaps he has changed his name and stripped himself of his personal identity. Anyhow, he is as one dead. Little more is heard of him; and unless it be some doting old mother, who best loves the blackest sheep of the flock, nobody much wishes to hear. It is often, indeed, no greater source of pride to an English family to know that one of its members is serving the Queen, in the ranks of her Army, than to know that one is provided for, as a convict, at the national expense.

"But the native soldier of India was altogether of a different kind. When he became a soldier, he did not cease to be a civilian. He severed no family ties; he abandoned no civil rights. He was not the outcast, but the stay and the pride of his house. He visited his house at stated times. He remitted to it a large part of his pay. * * * * The Company's Sepoys had a genuine pride in their colours, and the classes from which they were drawn rejoiced in their connexion with the paramount State. It was honourable service, sought by the very flower of the people, and to be dismissed from it was a heavy punishment and a sore disgrace." * * * *

"In this connexion of the soldiery with hereditary rights in the soil, there was an additional guarantee for his loyalty and good conduct. He was not merely a soldier—a component unit of number two company, third file from the right; he was an important member of society, a distinct individuality in his native village, no less than in his cantonment lines. He retained his self-respect and the respect of others; and had a personal interest in the stability of the Government under which his rights were secured."

That the Indian sepoy is *superior* to the European soldier in soldierly qualities, also,

* See Rao Bahadur G. V. Joshi's interesting article in the *Indian Review* for October, 1907.

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will appear from the following extract from "A Staff Officer's Scrap-Book" by General Sir Ian Hamilton :—

"Every thinking soldier who has served on our recent Indian campaigns is aware that for the requirements of such operations a good Sikh, Pathan, or Gurkha battalion is more generally serviceable than a British battalion. If, for instance, a non-commissioned officer and a dozen men are required to picquet a mountain top two or three miles distant, until the column has passed, and are then to find their way back and follow on with the rear-guard, no one in his senses would send British soldiers. They might lose their way; they might unseasonably exhibit a preference for fighting and require to be extricated; or in some way or another accentuate the anxieties of their general, even if they did not form the text for a regrettable incident by getting cut up completely. For advance guards, rear-guards, road-making, night fighting, escorts to convoys, and for everything in fact that takes place in these mountains except a definite attack upon a definite position, the best native troops, being more in touch with nature, can give points to the artificially trained townsmen who now form so large a proportion of our men. I do not ignore the fortunate fact that the scouting and reconnoitring of the British Army has vastly improved since the South African war. But even so we remain, and must continue to remain, a long way behind more primitive nations in these important warrior characteristics. All this is supposed to be a secret; a thing to be whispered with bated breath, as if every sepoy did not already know who does the rough and dirty work, and who, in the long run, does the hardest fighting.....There is material in the north of India and in Nepaul sufficient and fit under good leadership to shake the artificial society of Europe to its foundation."

The Indian sepoy is a respectable member of society and his pay is not sufficient to maintain his position in society. To compare his pay with that of an ordinary laborer is absurd. Even the ordinary day laborer or the cooly, as he is called in the presidency towns and large cities of India, earns and is paid more than the sepoy. Again the women folk of coolies earn something by their labour which adds to their family income. It is a fact that in Bombay, coolies are addicted to polygamy, because their wives also earn something and so they can club together and maintain themselves decently.

The wives and families of British soldiers are paid extra allowances, but not those of native troops. Of course, the wives of native sepoys cannot and do not go out of the regimental lines in search of work. What is known as grain compensation is paid to the sepoy but not to his wife or any one of his family members.

It is also not fair to compare the pay of sepoys with that of the police constables or servants of Europeans. In all countries of the world, not even Christian England excepted, a policeman adds something to his income besides his pay by what are called "tips." That is almost a recognised institution for a policeman all over the world.

So also servants of Europeans or gentlemen swell their pay by "tips." But Jack Sepoy does not and cannot expect any "tips" from any quarter.

The following table from the Statistical Abstract relating to British India from 1896-97 to 1905-06, shows the average monthly wage-rates in certain selected stations, in rupees, of a common mason, carpenter, or blacksmith :—

Second half of each year.	Calcutta.	Patna.	Cawnpore.	Bombay.	Rangoon.	Nagpur.	Rawalpindi.	Karachi.	Madras.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1886	15	6 to 8	10	32·5	30	15	10·31 to 12·31	30 to 40	13·59
1887	15 to 20	6 ,, 8	10	32·5 to 47·27	30	15	11·23	30 ,, 40	12·19
1897	18 ,, 20	6 ,, 7	7·5 to 9·37	27·5 ,, 42	45	15	23·12	30 ,, 45	13 to 16
1902	18 ,, 22	8 ,, 12	7·65 ,, 13	27·5 ,, 42	45	18	21· 5	30	13 ,, 16
1905	20	11	7·75 ,, 15	27·5 ,, 42	45	18 to 20	20·94	20 ,, 35	13 ,, 16
1906	15	13	7·69 ,, 15	26·25 ,, 37·5	45	20 ,, 25	22· 5	30	13 ,, 16

The increase in the wages of these artisan classes during twenty years is remarkable. But no such increase has taken place in the pay of the sepoy. To make him efficient, to make him contented, it is necessary to at least double the pay which the sepoy at present draws. Sir Henry Lawrence truly said in the article which has been referred to above that "without contentment there can hardly be efficiency." The bureaucracy may indulge in any amount of insincere praise of the sepoy's loyalty; but this lip-praise does not fill his stomach, nor does it remove his deep discontent and resentment at being made to do the hardest and most hazardous work, while he is paid lower than a coolie, very much less than the pampered but inferior British soldier, and distrusted and ill-treated. He wants honest treatment rather than praise.

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THE RUIN OF INDIAN MANUFACTURES

THE Board of Control of the East India Company proposed a list of queries upon subjects relating to the Trade with India. The queries were eleven in number and the list was conspicuous by the absence from it of any query relating to the welfare of any Indian manufacture. The answers to these queries are so instructive and they throw such sidelights on the ruin of Indian manufactures that extracts from them are given below.

The first query was :—

"What facilities have been afforded to persons trading with India, since the opening of the Trade in 1814, by the repeal or modification of Duties or of Regulations in India injuriously affecting the Commercial Transactions of individuals?"

Mr. Larpent's answer to this query ran as follows :—

"The import duties on the manufactures have been reduced to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *ad valorem*, and many of the staple articles admitted free of duty.

Regulations have been made to prevent, if possible, the injury sustained by the private merchant when in competition with the Company in the provision of silk, and the purchase of other articles.

Transit duties have been modified and drawn back in many instances.

Permission is given under the Regulation of the 7th May 1824, then applicable to coffee, subsequently extended to indigo, to British subjects to hold lands in their own names on leases for 60 years."

Mr. Sullivan in replying to this query, said :—

"Since the opening of the trade in 1814, all inland duty on cotton has been taken off; when exported to China the duty has been lowered to five per cent. and if the cotton is exported to England, no duty whatever is levied.

The Honourable Company's cloth investment has been discontinued for some time, all the weavers to the southward have been at the private merchants' command, to make up any quantity of cloth they might wish for."

One Mr. Crawford in reply wrote :—

"With respect to duties, the Statute of 1813 enacted, that no new tax should be imposed without the sanction of the home authorities. A new schedule of reduced duties was accordingly transmitted from England, and passed into a law by the Indian government in 1815. Fortunately for the commercial intercourse with Great Britain, the rate of duties then adopted has in general been steadily adhered to."

The Glasgow Chamber of Commerce wrote :—

"The admission of woolens, metals and marine stores into India, free of duty, has undoubtedly given great facility to the trade in these articles; * *"

Thus the replies to the query show how the Charter Act of 1813 benefited the natives of England in their commercial transactions with India.

The second query was a very important one and its answers cover more than eleven pages of the folio volume of the Report. This query ran as follows :—

"To what extent has the Trade with India increased since 1814, and with regard to the Exports from Great Britain, what degree has the Increase consisted of British Staples?"

The answers given to this query contain several useful tables showing the increase of Exports of British goods to India.

From Parliamentary Papers, 9th February, 1830, No. 37, the amount of value of British manufactures exported in 1814-15 to all parts of India was in

		£
1814 : East India Company	...	826,558
Private Trade	...	1,048,132
		1,874,690

But according to Mr. Larpent the Export Trade of the United Kingdom to India in the year 1830 was £3,032,658, or an increase of nearly 62 per cent. in 16 years.

In reply to the above query, Mr. Bracken wrote :—

"It has increased very considerably, particularly with Bengal and Bombay :—

		Imports.	Exports.
		£	£
Bengal.			
1813-14	...	877,917	2,767,624
1827-28	...	2,232,725	4,898,018
Bombay.			
1813-14	...	92,698	305,154
1827-28	...	819,693	508,592

In the year 1828-29 there was a still greater increase at Bombay; the imports amounting that year to £781,248, and the exports £833,767. In the same year there was a decrease in the whole import and export trade of Bengal with Great Britain of £421,364, occasioned by the decreased exports of the East India Company,

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otherwise there would have been an augmentation; the private trade having increased £260,604.

The trade of Great Britain with Madras has also increased, but not to the same extent.

Madras.	Import. £	Export. £
In 1813-14 ...	271,749	436,513
In 1827-28 ...	258,740	715,873

Of the increased exports from Great Britain to India since 1814, a large proportion is formed of British staples and manufactures, embracing British capital and industry. The following particulars are not unworthy of attention, more especially cotton twist:—

Statement showing the value of the Principal Articles of Export (from England) to India in 1814 and 1828:—

ARTICLES.	1814 £	1828 £	Increase. £
Beer and Ale ...	50,022	99,037	49,015
British Cotton Manufactures ...	109,480	1,621,560	1,512,080
British Cotton Twist Manufactures ...	7	388,888	388,881
Earthenware ...	10,747	26,625	15,878
Glass ...	68,443	114,978	46,535
Hardware and Cutlery ...	26,883	78,765	51,882
Iron, bar and bolt ...	107,927	155,038	47,111
,, cast and wrought	55,154	102,629	47,475
Leather and Saddlery	21,637	46,187	24,550
Linen Manufactures...	23,434	36,120	12,686
Machinery ...	6,043	103,676	97,633
Spelter* ...	Nil	59,486	59,486
Stationery ...	38,494	84,735	46,241

In answering this query, Mr. Crawford wrote:—

"The actual exports of 1814, were £1,403,362 so that in 14 years' time the increase was more than threefold, not to say that the prices of 1814 were high war prices, and those of 1828 low peace prices.

The exports have generally consisted of British staple manufactures, and the following short enumeration will show the increase between 1814 and 1828; * *

* In 1827, the exportation of spelter to Calcutta was much larger—£104,822.

	1814.	1828.	Increase per cent.
Broad cloths, stuffs and camlets pieces	17,790	49,502	178·20
Calicoes, plain, printed, &c., yds.	680,234	34,843,110	5,022·22
Cotton, Twist lbs.	8	4,558,185	56,977,212·50

In answer to this query, the Manchester Chamber of Commerce and East India Committee wrote:—

"The increase in the staples of Lancashire is believed to be without a parallel. The export of British cotton manufactures and twist to India and China, in the years ending 5th January 1815 to 1831, is exhibited by the annexed table, framed from papers presented to the House of Commons.

	White or Plain Manufactures. Yards.	Printed or Dyed Manufactures. Yards.	Total. Yards.	Cotton Twist. lbs.
1815	213,408	604,800	818,208	8
1816	489,399	866,077	1,355,476	...
1817	714,611	991,147	1,705,758	624
1818	2,468,024	2,848,705	5,316,729	2,701
1819	4,614,381	4,227,665	8,842,046	1,862
1820	3,414,060	3,713,601	7,127,661	971
1821	6,724,031	7,601,245	14,325,276	224
1822	9,919,136	9,976,878	19,896,014	5,865
1823	11,712,639	9,029,204	20,741,843	22,200
1824	13,750,921	9,540,813	23,291,734	121,500
1825	14,858,515	9,666,058	24,524,573	105,350
1826	14,214,896	8,844,387	23,059,283	235,360
1827	16,006,601	10,218,502	26,225,103	919,387
1828	24,786,540	12,962,765	37,749,305	3,063,856
1829	27,086,170	10,498,666	37,566,836	4,549,219
1830	...	...	39,733,698	3,185,639
1831	...	...	52,179,844	1,494,995

"The following table, showing the total value of merchandise imported at Calcutta from Great Britain by the private trade, for 15 years, say from 1813-14 to 1827-28, has been communicated by a merchant of Calcutta. * * The continuation of the table for the two years 1829-30 and 1830-31, is taken from Bell's Comparative View of the Commerce of Bengal The particulars of the year 1828-29 are wanting."

Commercial year.	Total value. £	Copper. £	Iron. £	Woolens. £	Cotton goods. £	Twist. £
1813-14	5,376,775	78,581	230,547	184,521	91,835	Nil
1814-15	4,099,165	396,323	278,746	44,712	43,346	...
1815-16	5,752,886	411,884	455,078	122,619	261,846	...
1816-17	8,051,112	542,267	583,610	238,616	313,102	...
1817-18	13,562,962	891,601	821,433	574,184	1,120,909	...
1818-19	15,944,495	1,730,329	617,089	735,611	2,655,192	...
1819-20	8,633,573	1,835,112	333,935	911,618	1,585,890	...
1820-21	11,320,797	2,441,403	632,390	1,719,268	2,555,908	...
1821-22	15,163,826	2,464,659	610,419	2,511,495	4,681,870	...
1822-23	18,098,611	1,903,566	619,869	2,010,422	6,577,279	...
1823-24	15,862,534	2,382,938	661,136	1,648,986	3,716,278	...
1824-25	17,607,786	2,235,434	567,262	1,587,314	4,627,765	81,145
1825-26	12,868,606	489,115	743,998	884,683	3,665,461	141,305
1826-27	12,858,348	831,672	502,005	1,083,978	3,804,022	809,052
1827-28	18,991,756	1,903,401	592,084	2,415,759	4,930,139	1,842,110
1828-29	...	...	...	...	...	...
1829-30	16,125,841	2,662,383	404,021	866,486	5,061,861	1,437,126
1830-31	20,073,354	4,061,634	620,994	1,425,918	5,818,247	2,917,969

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The price of almost every raw produce of India was much lower in England in 1830 than in 1814. This either goes to show that the private traders who were let loose on India by the Charter Act of 1813 were compelling the mild natives of this country to sell their raw produce at such a low price as the English Christians dictated to them, or that there being no or little demand for their raw products in India, (for the indigenous industries and manufactures had almost been crushed), the growers and producers of them sold them at very low prices. Such would seem to be the case with such articles as cotton, wool, and raw silk. In 1793, one pound of cotton-wool fetched 1*s.* $\frac{3}{4}$*d.* but in 1815, it was priced 11$\frac{1}{2}$*d.* and in 1831, 5*d.* only. In 1793, one pound of raw silk was priced 21*s.* in 1815, 18*s.* 1*d.* and in 1831, 13*s.* 7$\frac{1}{2}$*d.* only. It is preposterous to suppose that the prices were high before 1813, on account of the monopoly of trade being enjoyed by the East India Company. Even then much of the profit remained in India, as wages of the middlemen. The Banians or Sircars as they were called, employed by the Company to purchase Indian staples for them, were natives of India.

From the testimony of Mr. Sullivan, it appears that the private merchants were not very fair in their dealings with the natives. He wrote :—

"* * but, nevertheless, the Honourable Company paid more for their goods than the private merchant, which may be accounted for as following: no public agent can ever procure any large quantity of goods at the same price the private merchant does ; the private merchant's purchases are limited, and when he does not wish to exceed a stipulated sum, and cannot procure the article he wants on his own terms, will decline purchasing. With the public agent it is different; the native agent knows as well as the resident that he has received certain orders to purchase a certain quantity to be ready by a certain time; they keep up their price, and make the resident on most occasions come into their terms. The charges on the Honorable Company's goods are great, from the nature of the carriage, and I do not think they can derive any advantage from their trade except by way of remittance."

The interests of the Indian producer were sacrificed for the benefit of Englishmen. For what did the lowering of the price of Indian products mean? Mr. Wood wrote :—

"If by any change in the system of conducting the Indian trade the price of its products could be reduced the interests of the Indian cultivator or producer would suffer. A high price in India operates as a premium to industry, in the same way as a high price of corn in England; and if the price of sugar, indigo, or cotton were to fall, it would cause the land producing the same to be thrown out of cultivation, or to be cultivated by some crop which would yield a greater return than the articles now cultivated for exportation." *

The above remarks of Mr. Wood were quite true.

How the industries of India were ruined by the Free Trade policy of England since the passing of the Charter Act of 1813, the following will show.

Mr. Mackillop wrote :—

"Prior to 1814, cotton piece-goods were shipped extensively to England from Bengal, and a considerable supply of raw cotton was also sent frequently from both Bengal and Bombay; * *

The exports to India have increased considerably since 1814; then, for instance, spelter, cotton yarn, and cotton piece-goods were usually imported into Europe from India, but now they are all exported from England in very large quantities."

Mr. Rickards wrote :—

"The principal articles imported into India from Britain, are cotton piece-goods, twist, woolens and metals, including spelter. * * of the increase of British manufactured articles which has taken place in the period alluded to, some idea may be formed from the following facts given in evidence. The first import of cotton twist into India occurred in 1821. In 1824, about 120,000 lbs. were imported; in 1828, about 4,000,000 lbs. In 1815 the importation of British white and printed cotton goods into India, was about 800,000 yards; in 1830, it was about 45,000,000 yards." †

The answers which the fourth query elicited are very important, as they throw much sidelight on the mode in which the East India Company carried on their Commercial transactions in India. The query ran as follows :—

"What are the practical effects of the union of government with Trade in India? In point of fact, have the powers of government been employed to place rival Merchants under any unfair disadvantages in Trade? Has Rivalry in Trade been found to be productive of any undue bias to the proceedings of Government as a Government, when rival Merchants are concerned? If any inconveniences to the Public do in fact arise from the union of the two operations, do they or do they not outweigh the advantages of the Company."

In answer to this the Liverpool East India Committee wrote :—

"The system pursued by the East India Company in the conduct of their commercial transactions in India may generally be said to be oppressive to the interests of the British merchants, and unprofitable to themselves.

* P : 380 (Appendix 4) Vol. II, Part II, Affairs of the East India Company. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 16th Aug. 1832.

† P. 317. Ibid.

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We believe that the practical effects of the union of government with trade in any country must be prejudicial to the general interests of commerce; and that this has been the case with the East India Company there is abundant evidence to prove.

It has been shown that the native dealers in India are both afraid and unwilling to dispose of these articles of produce to private merchants, which the Company are in the habit of purchasing, until they have first ascertained their wants, and the wishes of commercial agents; and it must be obvious, that where the public revenue of the State is brought into collision with the capital of private merchants in the same market, the result must be disadvantageous to the latter."

Mr. Larpent in answer to the above query, quoted the memorial of London merchants in which they stated that

"so long as the 31st Regulation of the Bengal Government, of the year 1793, remains unrepealed, the East India Company avails itself of its political authority to increase its mercantile profits.

"When it is considered how strong the habitual feelings of deference to authority are in India, and the mode in which the raw produce or manufactured goods of that country are obtained, namely, that of advance, the character assigned to this Regulation in the preceding paragraph will not be thought too strong. By it, no persons in balance to the Company, or engaged in any way in the provision of their investment, can withdraw from their employ; they cannot work for others or for themselves. If they do not fulfil their contract they are put under the restraint of peons, and the goods they manufacture, or their articles of produce, are liable first to the Company, although they may be indebted to others: * *

Mr. Rickards' reply was an important one. He wrote:—

"In a publication of mine in 1813, sundry extracts are given from the Diary of the Commercial Board at Surat, in which the following facts will be found to be fully substantiated, as the ordinary course of proceeding of the Company's commercial servants, between the years 1796 and 1811, *viz.*—"That the Surat investment was provided under the most rigorous and oppressive system of coercion; that the weavers were compelled to enter into engagements and to work for the Company, contrary to their own interests, and of course to their own inclinations, choosing in some instances to pay a heavy fine rather than be compelled so to work; that they could get better prices from Dutch, Portuguese, French and Arab merchants, for inferior goods, than the Company paid them for standard or superior goods; that this led to constant contests and quarrels between the agents of the foreign factories and the Company's commercial residents, and to evasion and smuggling on the part of the weavers, for which on detection they were subject to severe and exemplary punishment, that the object of the commercial resident was, as he himself observed, *to establish and maintain the complete monopoly, which the Company had so sanguinely in view, of the whole of the piece-goods trade at reduced or prescribed prices;* that in the prosecution of this object compulsion and punishment were carried to such a height, as to induce weavers to quit the profession; to prevent which, they were not allowed to enlist as sepoys, or even on one occasion to pass out of the city gates without permission from the English chief; that so long as the weavers were the subjects of the Nabob, frequent application was made to him to punish and coerce weavers, for what was called refractory conduct, and when severity was exercised towards them, the Nabob (who was but a tool in the hands of the British government) was desired to make it appear as the Voluntary act of his own government, and to have no connexion with the Company or their interest, lest it should excite ill-will or complaint against the Company's servants; that to monopolize the piece-goods trade for the Company at low rates, it was a systematic object of the resident to keep the weavers always under advance from the Company, to prevent their engaging with other traders; while neighbouring Princes were also prevailed on to give orders in their districts, that the Company's merchants and brokers should have a preference to all others, and that on no account should piece-goods be sold to other persons; that subsequently to the transfer of Surat to the British government, the authority of the Adawlut (our own court of justice) was constantly interposed to enforce a similar series of arbitrary and oppressive acts?"

"As long as the Company continued to trade in piece-goods at Surat, this was the uniform practice of their commercial servants. It may be taken as a specimen of the practice of other factories, and nothing more than the natural consequence of uniting power and trade in the same hands.

In Lord Wellesley's well-known letter of 19th July 1804, to the Madras Government, a similar course of arbitrary proceeding is detailed as being the practice of the commercial factories under that Presidency. If reference be had to that letter, it will be seen, on the faith of the highest official authority, how the power of the sovereign has been arbitrarily and habitually exercised, not only to favour and promote his own commercial dealings, but to throw obstructions in the way of private enterprize, fatal to the interests and pursuits of the regular and more legitimate traders of the country.

* * * * *

I can not explain myself better on this head than in the words of an answer to my examination of July 1831. A commercial resident, anxious to promote the Company's interests, or dreading the consequences of disappointment in completing the Company's investment, naturally desires to secure in its favor all the advantages which power can give it. To this end arbitrary and oppressive acts are encouraged or connived at, till the commission of them comes to be considered as zealous performance of official duty; and this must ever be the case where power and commercial dealings are committed to the same hands."

"In Mr. Saunders' evidence, of March 1831, this spirit is stated to prevail, and the most arbitrary and oppressive acts to have been committed up to the year 1829, in those districts of Bengal where the Company's silk factories are established. Mr. Saunder's evidence is very important, in distinctly showing not only that a practice very similar to that above described as the former practice at Surat, prevailed in the Bengal silk factories up to the latest period but that the Company's interference had the effect of raising prices upwards of 40 per cent. between the year 1815 and 1821;

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and that this high price continuing, so that great losses were sustained on the sales in England, an attempt was made in 1827, by an equally arbitrary proceeding, to reduce the prime cost of the article, and orders were accordingly given to cause it to be fixed by the *buyers* of the commodity, without the least reference to the will or the interest of the *sellers*.

"* * * * * that when a sovereign exercises trade, or a merchant is allowed the use of power, that power is, under all circumstances, and by whomsoever administered, sure to be abused, and perverted to the most pernicious purposes. * * * * * * * * *

"When I was in India, several treaties existed with Native Princes, in which, where any branch of the Company's trade was concerned, or likely to be promoted, stipulations were invariably inserted, either for a monopoly of such branch in favour of the Company, or to give the Company's agents a preference in their dealings therein over all private merchants. The history of Bengal contains a series of the most iniquitous proceedings founded on such treaties with the Nabobs of Bengal, both previous and subsequent to the year 1765. * * * * I believe the same principles to be in force in the present day, of which some notable examples may be found in the history of the late transactions regarding Malwa opium and treaties with Malwa princes." *

The only other query which we need refer to here is the last one, *viz.*, the eleventh, which ran as follows :—

"Can any measures, not involved in previous questions, be suggested, calculated to advance the interest of Indian commerce, such as the improvement or increase of the exportable productions of India, &c. &c."

It may be thought that this query was meant to do justice to the industries of India. But nothing of the sort was ever intended by the framers of it. Their sole object was how to enrich their own countrymen at the expense of India. This is borne out by the majority of the replies given to the query. We will first reproduce below the answers of the four distinguished Chambers of Commerce which carried on trade with India.

The Manchester Chamber of Commerce and East India Committee wrote :—

"The improvement and increase of the exportable productions of India would doubtless be a great good to India, and *not to India merely, but to this country.* The improvement in the quality of India cotton is an object of paramount importance to the prosperity of the cotton manufactures of Great Britain, so much so, that every facility should be afforded to the speedy development of whatever India is capable of accomplishing in this way; but we have no specific measure to suggest, unless it be the obvious one of permitting British subjects to hold land."

No comments are needed on the above reply of the Chamber of Commerce. It clearly shows (especially the passage we have put in italics) the selfish object the Chamber had in view when it made the above recommendation.

The Glasgow Chamber of Commerce wrote :—

"Every improvement or increase of the exportable production of India, would, no doubt, have that effect; and with a view effectually to promote such desirable objects, we earnestly hope that the license system by the East India Company shall be entirely abolished, and every encouragement and facility, consistent with the safety and tranquility of India, will be granted to British subjects going there, from whose skill, capital and enterprise most beneficial results may reasonably be expected."

The answer of the Glasgow Chamber also shows like that of Manchester that they wanted to benefit their own kith and kin and not the manufacturers of India.

The Liverpool East India Committee suggested

"that encouragement be given to men of talent, particularly acquainted with the best modes of raising and improving the different products of India, to settle in the interior of the country."

The Hull Committee also made the same suggestion as did the Liverpool East

* One Mr. Henry Gouger in his "Personal Narrative of two years' imprisonment in Burmah" writes :—

"The East India Company competed with the private trader in the production of raw silk. They had their commercial residents established in the different parts of the silk districts, whose emoluments mainly depended on the quantity of silk they secured for the Company, who permitted these agents (or *residents* as they were termed) to charge them a certain commission on its value.

"The system pursued by both parties was this :—Advances of money before each bund or crop, were made to two classes of persons—first, to the cultivators who reared the cocoons; next, to the large class of winders who formed the mass of the population of the surrounding villages. By the first, the raw material was secured; by the last the labour for working it. These advances were regarded as legal earnest money, or as pledges by the receivers to confine their dealings to the party disbursing it.

"The larger the quantity of silk the resident provided for his masters the greater was his remuneration,—a state of things which naturally created a jealousy between the functionary and the private trader, as their interests clashed. But there was no equality in the competition, the one being armed with arbitrary power, the other, not. I will state a case of every-day occurrence.

"A native wishing to sell me the cocoons he produces for the season takes my advance of money; a village of winders does the same. After this contract is made, two of the Residents' servants are despatched to the village, the one bearing a bag of rupees, the other a book, in which to register the names of the recipients. In vain does the man to whom the money is offered protest that he has entered into a prior engagement with me. If he refuses to accept it, a rupee is *thrown into his house*, his name is written down before the witness who carries the bag, and that is enough. Under this iniquitous proceeding, the Resident, by the authority committed to him, forcibly seizes *my* property and *my* labourers even at my own door.

"Nor does the oppression stop here. If I sued the man in Court for repayment of the money I had thus been defrauded of, the judge was compelled, before granting a decree in my favour, to ascertain from the Commercial Resident whether the defaulter was in debt to the East India Company. If he was, a prior decree was given to the Resident, and I lost my money.

"Another weapon in the hand of the Resident was the settlement of prices to be paid to the cultivators at the close of each season, the East India Company's price regulating that of the private trader. The higher the price, the greater his commission,—the money was not his own, and his masters had a long purse."

"A personal narrative of two years' imprisonment in Burmah, 1824-26." London : John Murray, 1860, p. 2.

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India Committee. Then it concluded by saying:—

"Since the Directors of the Company have been the monarchs of our vast possessions in India, no facilities of communication with the interior by roads have been afforded, nor has any improvement in the culture of its soil and its various products been made; * * How widely different would the condition be of this important part of the globe, and its vast population, were the Company to confine themselves to their magisterial duties, and no longer act on the narrow principles of rival and monopolizing merchants! The advantages arising from such a change (the right of colonization being granted) would be incalculable, both to ourselves and the native inhabitants of India: to ourselves it would afford a most inviting opportunity for the investment of capital; be an inexhaustible source for the extension of commerce and manufactures, and for the employment of our shipping; a source in these respects more highly important, because free from foreign competition and control. It would afford inducements to the emigrant far beyond either Canada, the United States, or New Holland; and would greatly and permanently improve our national as well as individual prosperity. *As to the natives of India, this change of system would tend by their increased intercourse with Britons, to enlighten and civilise them, to dispel the horrors of their superstition and idolatry, and greatly to facilitate their improvement, general welfare and happiness.*"

Yes, Indians are being civilised off the face of the earth by famine and plague and other epidemics following on the track of the impoverishment of the people in consequence of the ruin of their industries.

Most of those gentlemen who replied to this query demanded encouragement to their countrymen to settle in India without which they thought the interests of Indian Commerce would not be advanced. According to Mr. Larpent the measures proposed to benefit Indian Commerce, were:—

1. "A remodelling of the Customs table.
2. Equalization of the duties on Indian sugar,
3. Reduction of duties on Indian cotton and silk manufactures, which pay here 10 and 20 per cent. *ad valorem*, whilst British manufacturers in India pay 2½ per cent. only.
4. Opening of new ports for the importation of Indian goods, and extension of the bonding system into the interior of the kingdom on articles heavily taxed.
5. Encouragement to persons to settle in India."

Mr. Mackillop in the course of his reply wrote:—

"It would obviously be to the advantage of exporters of goods from this country, were the duties reduced on the importation of Indian produce to England. I allude particularly to sugar, silk piece-goods, pepper, and almost every description of spices, &c. *It is acting inconsistently to encourage the exports of a country, and at the same time to repress the importations of the State to which the exports are sent; it is, in fact, a system of trade not calculated to be beneficial to either party.*"

The words which have been put in italics show that Mr. Mackillop took a statesmanlike view of the situation, but he spoke to deaf ears, for it was not the interest of England to encourage the industries of India.

Mr. Wood suggested the construction of roads and canals in India for facilitating the transport of the produce of that country. He wrote:—

"Very little has been effected by way of opening the communication with the Presidency by land, and the roads have been left in a much worse state than when under the government of the Moguls; the remains of their roads and bridges are to be seen throughout the country; and although we have been so long in possession of the country, the roads within 30 miles of Calcutta are impassable for carriages in the rainy season."

Well, Mr. Wood forgot that India appeared to the Britishers to be a milch-cow whom it was their *duty* to go on milching without giving it any sustenance. Mr. Wood was not aware of the fact that it was not considered in those days the *duty* of the British Indian Government to construct roads and canals in India for the benefit of the natives of this country. Thus Mr. N. B. Edmonstone who had filled very high offices in India, in his evidence as a witness before the Parliamentary Committee on the 16th April 1832, was asked.

"1710. Since we have derived a large revenue from the territory of India, amounting now to £20,000,000 annually, can you point to any great improvements in the way of public works, such as works for irrigation, roads, bridges, or any great public works in the country, by which any marks appear of the benefits derived from our Empire there?"

In reply, Mr. Edmonstone said

"*Not from public works; that has generally been left to the industry and skill of the native landholders.* There has been one work of that description that has been of very great importance, the renewal of some canals anciently drawn from the Jumna in the north-west quarter of India, which have been carried through a great extent of arid territory, and been productive of very great increase of revenue."

Mr. Edmonstone was then further asked:—

1711. In that single and small sample, is there not evidence of the vast benefits that a paternal government might confer upon that country?

He said:—

"I am not aware in what manner the public resources could be applied in that way. All the lands being private property, it necessarily depends upon the proprietors of those lands to introduce such works

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and improvements as they find best calculated to promote their own interests."

The above characteristic reply of Mr. Edmondstone should be borne in mind by our present-day rulers who look upon land revenue not as tax but mere rent and who say that the people have no private right in the land.

Mr. Rickard's reply was the most important one and it covers more than five pages of the folio volume. He wanted reforms in the administration of India and he concluded his reply by saying:—

"Should these reforms be found to conduce to the internal prosperity of India, the objects desired in this question would be most fully accomplished; for by increased prosperity on the one hand, and the entire abolition of the Company's trade on the other, the most effectual measures, as well direct as indirect, would thus be adopted, to advance the interests of Indian Commerce, and not only to increase the exportable productions of India, but those of Britain also."

The reforms which Mr. Rickards proposed were far-reaching in their consequences, and had they been then granted, there would not have been that amount of discontent in India which exists now. He was in favor of conferring on the natives of this country a modified system of representative government. He also pointed out the unfairness and injustice in levying heavy duties on Indian imports in England. He wrote:—

"The rates of duty imposed on Indian imports into Britain, when compared with the exemption from duty of British staples into India (cotton goods being subject to a duty only of 2½ per cent.), constitute an important feature in the present question. Indians within the Company's jurisdiction, like English, Scotch or Irish, are equally subjects of the British Government. To make invidious distinctions, favoring one class, but oppressing another, all being subjects of the same empire, cannot be reconciled with the principles of justice; and whilst British imports into India are thus so highly favored, I know that Indo-British subjects feel it a great grievance that their commodities when imported into England should be so enormously taxed."

"* * * * the system of duties on British goods imported into India, compared with those on Indian goods imported into Britain, both being equally the property of British subjects, it is liable to this inconsistency, that British staples imported into India are admitted duty free, whereas Indian produce is charged with enormous duties in this country, many articles of ordinary consumption being subject to duties exceeding 100, and from that up to 600 per cent., while one article as high as 3,000 per cent." * *

"But the greatest obstruction of all to the extension of Indian Commerce, both internal and external, is the land-tax, *one-half of the gross produce of the soil;* an import which paralyses the energies of the great mass of the people by consigning them to irretrievable poverty; * *"

But Mr. Rickards spoke to deaf ears; he was crying in the wilderness. No one paid any heed to what he said.

THE GREAT WAR IN BENGAL, 1658-1660

(Based on original Persian Sources.)

CHAPTER IV.

Battle of Khajwah.

Aurangzib marshals his army

No time was now lost on the Imperial side. Next day, 3rd January, Aurangzib formed his plan of battle and assigned to each division its proper position. Early at dawn on the Fourth, the order of battle was issued: the artillery was to be planted opposite the enemy's guns, and the army was to advance there. All was stir and bustle in the camp. The marshals and orderlies galloped about to arrange the ranks; the trumpets sounded; the kettle-drums struck up; the standards were borne aloft. Before each division moved the elephants and guns; behind them tramped the serried ranks of steel-clad cavalry. "A dense cloud of dust" raised by 90,000 horses' hoofs "hid the earth and sky."*

Advances to Shuja's position.

From 8 A.M. Aurangzib himself rode out on a huge elephant, inspecting his troops and cheering them by his presence in the field. Under his leadership the army advanced slowly and in perfect order, till about 3 P.M., when they halted one mile from the enemy's force, behind the Imperial artillery, at a spot chosen by the scouts for the battle. Shuja, too, marshalled his ranks, but did not leave his position. Only his

* *Alamgirnamah*, 242, 245, 250. Khafi Khan, ii 49. Aurangzib's disposition of his troops is minutely described in the *Alamgirnamah* 245-250, and Shuja's on pp. 250 & 251; also Aqil Kh. 75. Khafi Kh. (ii. 49) merely gives an abstract of the *Alamgirnamah*.

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artillery was sent half a mile in front of his camp. The Imperial artillery replied to their fire, but little execution seems to have been done on either side.*

Night spent in watching.

At nightfall Shuja's artillery retired on his army, in order to keep touch with it. Mir Jumla, with a born general's instinct, at once seized the deserted position,—which was a high ground commanding the enemy's camp. By hard labour he dragged 40 guns to it and mounted them, aiming at the enemy and ready for action on the next morning. By Aurangzib's order his soldiers did not take off their armour, their horses were not unsaddled; the men only dismounted and slept each at his own post. The Emperor himself occupied a small tent pitched on the field. His generals hastily entrenched in front of their divisions, and kept watch. Mir Jumla went his rounds during the first part of the night, superintending the entrenching and urging the sentinels to be on the alert. †

Tumult in his Camp

The eventful 5th of January was about to dawn. A few hours of the night still remained; the Emperor was engaged in the prayer of the last watch (*tahajjud*), when a vague clamour arose in the far-off van of the army, and grew louder every moment. ‡ The alarm and confusion rapidly spread through the camp. The air was thick with the yells of assailants, the cries of startled sleepers and timid fugitives, the tramp of horsemen recklessly galloping away and of cattle stampeding in fright. The *badmash* element among the camp-followers seized the opportunity of plundering on their own account. The darkness heightened the confusion and the ignorance of its cause added to its terrors.

Caused by Jaswant's treacherous attack.

Messengers began to come running to the Emperor to report the truth. An act of treachery, disgraceful in any servant, doubly disgraceful in a Rajput, ‖ was the root of all this trouble. Maharajah Jaswant Singh (of Jodhpur), who commanded the right wing, had brooded over some fancied slight or neglect and matured a deep plan of vengeance. He had, it was said, sent a secret message to Shuja that he would attack the Imperial camp at the back of the field at the close of the night, ¶ and that while the Emperor would hasten to the rear to repel him Shuja should swiftly fall on the disordered army and crush it between two adversaries. So, shortly after midnight he got his 14,000 Rajputs § ready, turned his back to the field, and rushed the camp of Prince Muhammad, which lay in the path of his flight. The few guards of the camp were soon overpowered; the followers who fell in their way were slain, and every thing that the Rajputs could lay hands on was carried off. Some of the camp people, roused by the noise and mistaking it for the approach of the enemy, hastily loaded their goods on their beasts for flight. These now fell into the hands of the Rajputs, who were saved the trouble of packing their booty! Horses and camels beyond number and an immense amount in cash and kind were carried off. The baggage, stores, and draught-cattle of the whole army, from the Emperor to the meanest private, which lay in the camp behind the bivouacking army, were looted. "Everything in the Prince's camp was swept away with the broom of plunder." Much of the Emperor's own camp suffered the same fate before the Rajputs gained the road to Agra. The confusion spread to the army at the front. Men assembled in broken groups, rumours of disaster spread through the ranks. "The news caused distraction among the troops; their order was broken; cowards and traitors fled away with or after Jaswant; some doubledealers went over to Shuja. Many commanders left their posts and

* Masum (101*b*) says that the fire was continued all night, and many were slain. But this is very unlikely. The *Alamgirnamah* gives the more credible account, which I have followed.

† *Alamgirnamah*, 252.

‡ *Ibid* 253. The *Ahkam* gives the time as "two and a half *prahars* of the night" (4*b*); Khafi Khan (ii. 51) says "when 4 or 5 *gharis* of the night remained"; the *Alamgirnamah* is vague, "towards the morning" (255.)

‖ Aurangzib's own words, in a letter to Jai Singh, given in the Paris MS., folio 2*b*.

¶ For the attack on the Base Camp, see Masum 110*b*-111*b*, *Alamgirnamah* 253-256, Khafi Kh ii. 51-53, *Amal-i-Salih* 19,*b* (meagre), Aqil Kh. 76 & 77 (brief and confused), and *Ahkam*, Irvine MS. 4*b*. (India office MS. 34*a* gives a few lines more.) The best accounts are those supplied by the *Alamgirnamah* and the *Ahkam*. Khafi Khan supplies a few interesting details.

§ This number is given by the *Ahkam*. Masum says "5 or 6 thousand." I have taken the larger number because Jaswant as commander of the Right Wing could not have had less than 10,000 men; in the reduced Mughal army of the next day that wing had 10,000 men, with a reserve of 3,000 more. Secondly the *Alamgirnamah* admits that at dawn Aurangzib found that "nearly one half of yesterday's force had been scattered by the tumult" (256.)

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hastened to the rear-camp to look after their property."

Shuja inactive.

But the situation was saved by Aurangzib's wonderful coolness and Shuja's hesitation. Shuja received Jaswant's message, heard of the tumult, but did not leave his own camp at night lest it should be a mere *ruse* contrived between Aurangzib and Jaswant to lure him into destruction! So great was Aurangzib's repute for writing feigned letters, making false professions, and practising all the stratagems of war and policy, that Shuja durst not take advantage of his seeming distress. The general who hesitates is lost; the psychological moment passed away, never to return.

Aurangzib's coolness

The Emperor was at his *tahajjud* prayer in his field-tent, when the news of Jaswant's attack and desertion reached him. Without uttering a word, he merely waved his hand as if to say, "If he is gone, let him go!" After deliberately finishing the prayer, he issued from the tent, mounted a *takht-i-rawan* (portable chair), and addressed his officers, saying, "This incident is a mercy vouchsafed to us by God. If the infidel had played the traitor in the midst of the battle, all would have been lost. His flight (now) is good for us. Praised be God that by this means friends have been winnowed from secret enemies in my army. The occurrence is a God-send and an omen of victory to us!"*

Saves the Situation.

So Aurangzib firmly kept his own position, and prevented the confusion from infecting his division too. His example put heart into others. Orderlies were sent off to urge the leaders of the various corps not to stir from their places; any one found away from his assigned post was to be dragged to the Emperor with insult.† Islam Khan was ordered to command the right wing in the place of Jaswant, and Saif Khan was given independent charge of the front section of that division. In all other respects yesterday's battle formation was retained. But Mir Jumla was empowered to make any change that he deemed necessary. The night wore off in watching and caution.

* "*Alamgirnamah*, 255 and 256, Khafi Kh, ii. 53. *Ahkam* 4b.

† Khafi Kh, ii. 53.

The rival hosts.

At dawn Aurangzib rode out on an elephant to inspect. Jaswant's exploit had scattered nearly half the Imperial army. But with the return of day-light many faithful officers, who had not been swept too far away by the tide of flight, hastened to rejoin the royal banner. Thus Aurangzib saw around himself more than 50,000 soldiers, as against Shuja's bare 23,000.‡ He issued the order of battle with an assurance of victory which the Court annalist ascribes to "his trust in God and the escort of angelic legions," but which the modern critical historian must set down to a more mundane cause, viz, his clear superiority of two to one over his enemy.

Aurangzib's battle array.

First spread a screen of skirmishers (*qarawwals*), a small but picked body under Abdullah Khan. These were the retinue of the Imperial hunt, men accustomed to track the deer and the tiger and to take advantage of every cover in the ground. The Vanguard was led by Zulfiqar Khan and Sultan Muhammad, the Right Wing by Islam Khan, and the Left Wing by the Khan-i-dauran and Kumar Ram Singh (the son of Jai Singh.) Each of these divisions was 10,000 strong and had a number of guns covering its front. Bahadur Khan commanded the *Iltimsh* or small advanced Reserve. The main Reserves of the two wings, each numbering 3,000 troopers, were under Daud Khan and Rajah Sujan Singh respectively. In the Centre the Emperor's banner waved over a vast host of at least 20,000 men.‖ His own right and left flanks were commanded by Amin Khan and Murtaza Khan. Khawas Khan brought up the scanty Rear. Aurangzib rode on a huge

‡ Aqil Khan (p. 76) gives Shuja's numbers thus:

Right Wing	5,000	This gives a total of 23,000.
Left ,,	4,000	
Right Reserve	2,000	No Reserve is mentioned.
Left ,,	2,000	
Centre (*tip*)	10,000	

‖ The actual strength of the Imperial army is mentioned neither in the *Alamgirnamah*, nor by Khafi Kh. The former only says that more than one half of the previous day's force *i. e.*, 90,000) was present. (p. 256) This would give 45,000 to 50,000 The latter adds that at dawn many of the dispersed officers came back to the Presence. (p. 53) Therefore Aurangzib could not have got less than 50,000 men with him after Jaswant's flight; 60,000 would be nearer the truth. 'Aqil Khan (p 78) estimates the Imperial force thus: Van, Right Wing, and Left Wing, 10,000 each; Right and Left Reserves 3,000 each. The number in the Centre (under the Emperor) is unfortunately not given. But it must have been twice as strong as either of the wings, because the '*Alamgirnamah* mentions 43 officers as present in it as against some 20 in each of the wings (pp 24--248.) The statement of the *Akhan* that when the battle began Aurangzib's army "did not number even one-fourth of Shuja's" is an absurd exaggeration and occurs only in the India office M S. of it (f. 34 *a*)

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elephant with his third son, Muhammad 'Azam, in his *howdah*. Mir Jumla was seated on another elephant, close to the Emperor's, ready to help him with counsel at any crisis. The army marched in this formation slowly ahead, and clashed with the enemy at 8 A. M.

Shuja's formation

Shuja had been impressed by yesterday's vast assemblage of the Imperial host, whose number rumour had swollen above 90,000 men. He knew that he could not adopt the customary plan of battle, making his force correspond, division for division, to the enemy's dispositions. His small force would then have been overlapped and swallowed up by the vastly extended front of an enemy who outnumbered him three to one. So, with great judgment he made a new formation to-day: all his army was drawn up in one long line, behind the artillery. His Right was commanded by his eldest son Zainuddin Muhammad and Syed 'Alam (5,000 men), and his Left by Hasan Kheshgi (4,000 men). Behind these two wings stood their Reserves, each 2,000 strong, under Isfandiar Beg and Syed Quli respectively. In the centre rode Shuja with his second son, Buland Akhtar, (10,000 men), his front being led by Shaikh Zarif and Syed Qasim. There was apparently no main reserve. With true generalship Shuja determined to assume the offensive, and make up for the smallness of his number by the moral superiority which the attacking party always has. The first stage of the battle justified his forecast.

Battle begins.

The battle began at 8 A. M., with a furious artillery duel; cannon, rockets and muskets were discharged on both sides, doing great havoc. One ball struck Zainuddin's elephant wounding the driver and the servant at the back, while the rider and remount escaped scatheless. The two Vans now closed and plied their bows.*

Aurangzib's Left Wing routed.

The first move was made by Syed Alam with Shuja's Right. He charged the Imperial Left wing, driving in front three infuriated elephants, each brandishing a two-*maund* iron chain in its trunk.† Neither man nor beast could stand their impetuous onset. The Imperial Left, which had no Prince or great general to command it, broke and fled. The panic spread even to the Centre; the soldiers ran about in confusion; the faint-hearted fled without waiting to be attacked. ‡ To make bad worse, a false report of the Emperor's death suddenly spread through the ranks and took away the hearts of the soldiers. Many fled away; "even veterans of the Deccan wars and old servants of the Emperor joined the stream of flight." ‖ So great was their panic that some of the fugitives did not halt before reaching Agra. Jaswant's mysterious appearance and rapid flight had created along the route to Agra a story of the Emperor's defeat and capture. The later arrivals from the field confirmed the news, gave circumstantial details of the disaster like eye-witnesses, and announced the speedy advance of the victorious Shuja to release Shah Jahan. Agra must have resembled Brussels just after Waterloo!

Attack on his Centre

But the battle had yet to be fought and won. The enemy, after clearing the Left Wing, pushed on towards the Centre, where only 2,000 troopers now remained to guard the Emperor. But Murtaza Khan from the left of the Centre, Bahadur Khan from the *Iltimsh*, and Hasan Ali Khan from the left Reserve, each with a handful of men, flung themselves forward and barred the enemy's path. The Emperor, too, boldly turned his elephant's head to the Left to confront the enemy. Backed thus by the Centre, those few brave officers successfully repelled Syed Alam, who galloped back by the same path that he had come.

Repelled.

But the three elephants continued to advance wildly, their wounds having made them fiercer than before. One of them came upon Aurangzib's elephant. It was the critical moment of the battle. If the Emperor had given ground or turned back, his whole army would have fled. But he stood like a rock, chaining the legs of his

* For the battle of Khajwah see *Alamgirnamah* 257-265, Masum 102 *b*—105 *b*, Khafi Kh ii 53-56 (mostly a repetition of the *Alamgirnamah*), *Amal-i-Salih* 20 *a* & *b*, Aqil Khan, 75-79. The last adds many incidents which the Court historian has omitted. Masum is of special value as giving a picture of the battle as seen from Shuja's side. Otherwise, the *Alamgirnamah* has been my chief authority.

† Khafi Kh, ii. 56.

‡ *Amal-i-Salih*, 20 *b*.

‖ Aqil Kh, 76 & 77.

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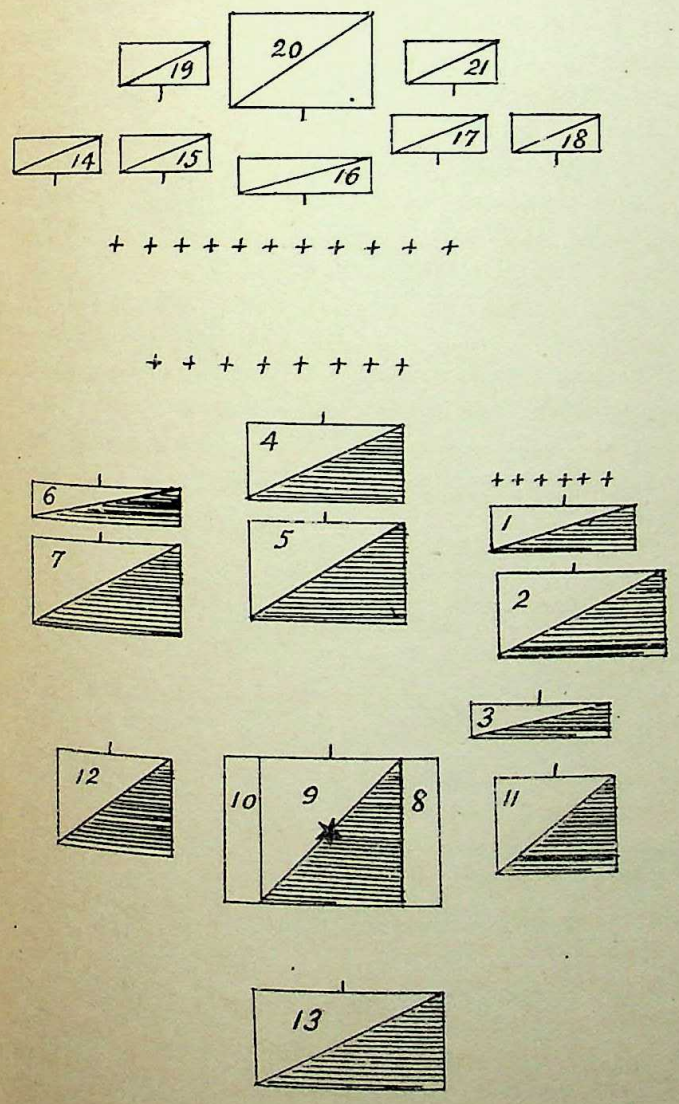
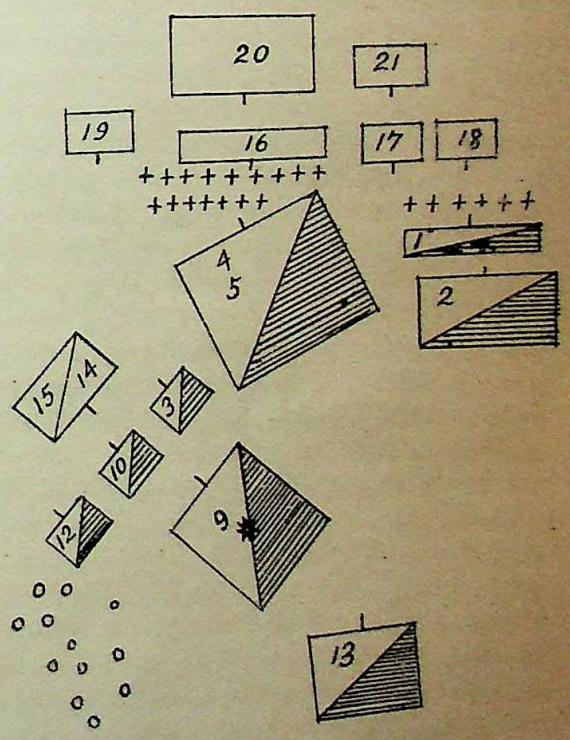
BATTLE OF KHAJWAH, 5th January, 1659.

FIRST STAGE.



SECOND STAGE.



Aurangzib's army
Shaja's army
★ Aurangzib's Post

+ + + Guns
o o o Fugitives

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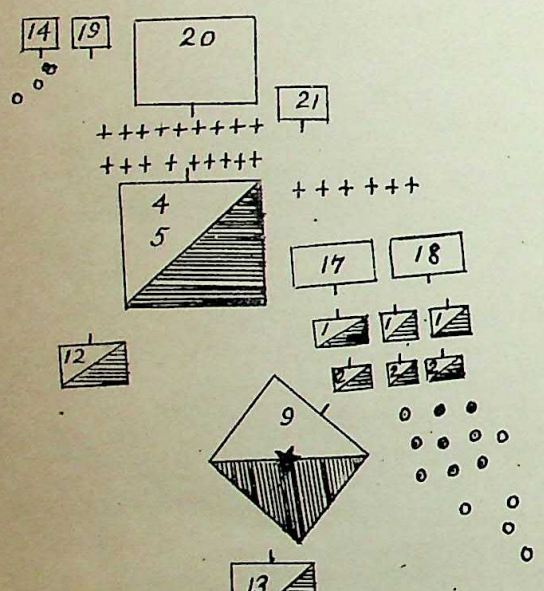
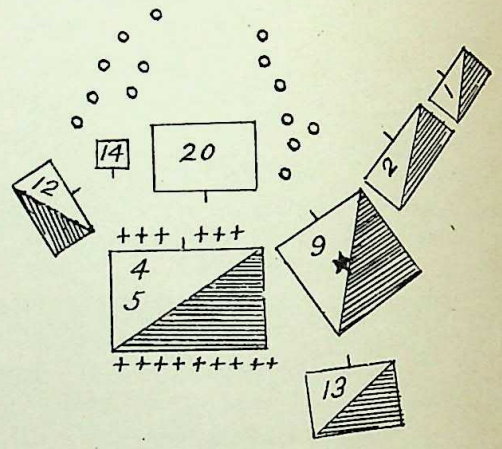
BATTLE OF KHAJWAH, 5th January, 1659.

THIRD STAGE.



LAST STAGE.



BATTLE OF KHAJWAH.

Aurangzib's army :

1. Right Wing, front division, under Saif Khan.
2. „ „ main body, „ Islam Khan.
3. Advanced Reserve (*Iltimsh*) „ Bahadur Khan.
4. Van, front division, under Zulfiqar Khan.
5. „ main body, „ Prince Muhammad.
6. Left Wing, front divn. „ Kumar Ram Singh.
7. „ „ main body „ Khan-i-dauran.
8. Centre, right flank, „ Muhammad Amin Khan.
9. „ main body, „ Aurangzib.
10. „ left flank, „ Murtaza Khan.
11. Right Reserve „ Daud Khan.
12. Left Reserve under Sujan Singh and Hasan Ali Khan.
13. Rear under Khawas Khan.

Shuja's army :

14. Right out under Syed Alam.
15. „ in „ Prince Zainuddin.
16. Van „ Shaikh Zarif.
17. Left in „ Shaikh Wali Farmuli.
18. „ out „ Hasan Kheshgi.
19. Right Reserve under Isfandiar M'amuri.
20. Centre „ Shuja.
21. Left Reserve „ Syed Qasim (?).

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elephant to prevent its flight.* At his order one of his matchlockmen, Jalal Khan, shot down the *mahout* of the attacking elephant. and immediately afterwards some Imperial elephants surrounded it, a brave royal *mahout* nimbly leaped on its back and brought the riderless beast under his control. The other two elephants ran away in front of the Centre towards the Right Wing. The Emperor now got breathing time, and turned to succour his Right, which had been hard pressed.

Aurangzib succours his hard pressed Right Wing,

For, encouraged by the success of Syed Alam's charge the enemy's Van and Left, led by Buland Akhtar, Shaikh Wali, Shaikh Zarif, Hasan Kheshgi, and others, had attacked the Imperial Right in the meantime. In spite of their small number, their gallant charge dislodged their opponents; many of the Imperialists fled, but the captains kept their places, though with very few men at their back. † All this time so severe was the stress of the fight on the Left, that Aurangzib had no time to think of his Right. Now, freed from the danger on his Left, he looked at the Right and found there signs of confusion and flight. His first thought was to hasten to reinforce that hard-pressed division. But even in the greatest difficulty and danger, his coolness and presence of mind did not desert him. ‡ It at once struck him that, as his front had hitherto been towards the Left, if he were now to face suddenly round and march to the Right, the rest of the army would interpret this *volte face* as flight. So, he first sent orderlies to the Van to tell the generals of his real object and to urge them to fight on without fear or doubt.

Then he wheeled the Centre round and joined the Right Wing. The succour came not a minute too soon. The elephant of Islam Khan, the commander of that wing, taking fright from a rocket, had fled scattering and shaking the troops of that division. The commander of the right wing artillery and his son had been slain. But Saif Khan and Akram Khan, the leaders of the vanguard of the Right, with a few men kept their ground, and were fighting hard to stem the enemy's advance.

* Khafi Kh. ii. 56

† *Amal-i-Salih*, 20 *a*, Masum, 102 *b* & 103 *a*.

‡ *Alamgirnamah*, 261 & 262.

Which now beats back the enemy's Left.

Just then the Emperor arrived and reinforced them. This was the decisive move of the day. The tide of battle now rolled resistlessly against Shuja. The Imperial Right, newly strengthened, made a counter-charge and swept away the enemy from before them, with great carnage. Shaikh Wali Farmuli, the leader of Buland Akhtar's Van, with some other commanders, was slain. Hasan Kheshgi, the general of the Left Wing, fell down wounded. Shaikh Zarif, a Daudzai Afghan, after a heroic fight in front of the Emperor, was captured covered with wounds. Buland Akhtar fled to his father. ‖

The Van Triumphant.

Meantime the Imperial Van, under Zulfiqar Khan and Sultan Muhammad, had beaten back the attack on it, advanced and shaken the enemy's front line. There the leader, Tahawwr Khan, with a handful of men, offered a bold opposition and saved the fugitives from slaughter. But so thick was the shower of cannon-balls, rockets, and bullets from Aurangzib's army that no man could stand it. The front line of Shuja began to gallop back to a safe distance in twos and threes at a time. ¶

General advance of Aurangzib's army.

There was now a general advance of the whole Imperial army, Right, Centre, and Left. "Like masses of dark clouds, they surrounded Shuja's own division, the Centre," his two flanks having been laid bare by the defeat and flight of his Right and Left wings. Many of his personal attendants perished from the Imperialist fire under his own eyes. The cannon-balls carried off a head or half a body at a time. Some of them, weighing 16 or 20 lbs, flew about his own head. § Therefore, at Mir Isfandiar Mamuri's advice he left the dangerous prominence of the elephant's back and took horse.

This was a fatal mistake. ** All was now

‖ *Alamgirnamah*, 263, Aqil Kh., 78.

¶ Masum, 103 *a*—104 *a*.

§ This last scene is graphically described by Masum, 103 *b* & 104 *a*.

** Bernier's statement, copied by Stewart, that Shuja was on the point of gaining the victory when he lost all by dismounting from his elephant, merely gives the bazar gossip. None of the contemporary authorities on whom my account of the battle is based, supports such an idea, which is also naturally improbable. Already the battle had been already lost and Shuja was in imminent risk of being captured, when he took horse.

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Shuja dismounts from his elephant

lost. The sight of the empty *howdah*, visible from the furthest limit of the field, struck terror into his soldiers, hearts. Their master was slain, so they imagined. For whom would they struggle any longer? They had been sorely tried by Aurangzib's artillery and wanted only a decent excuse for flight. This was now found in the riderless elephant. In a moment the whole army broke and fled.

His army flees.

Shuja's shouts to his men to stand firm fell on unheeding ears; he could not arrest the tide of flight, but stood in the field like a helpless "spectator of the hand of Fate." A few of his captains, who had been gallantly facing the enemy, now looked around and saw with amazement the field behind them deserted, and none of their followers present at their back. The enemy emboldened by the sight hemmed them round. It was only left for them to do and to die, and this they did. Syed 'Alam alone broke through the ring of his adversaries. *

Desertions to Aurangzib.

Already the craven-hearted had begun to buy safety with desertion to the victor's side. While Aurangzib was advancing from his own Right, first Murad Khan Safawi (surnamed Makarram Khan), then Abdur Rahman Khan (son of Nazar Muhammad Khan, the ex-king of Balkh), and Sanjar Beg (the son of Alawardi Khan), left Shuja and joined him. Under their guidance the Emperor skirted Shuja's artillery on his left hand and charged the enemy's centre, as narrated before.† But the victory had been already won. A courier now galloped up to him with the happy news that Shuja had fled from the field with his sons, Syed Alam, Alawardi Khan, and a small remnant of his army.‡

Spoils of victory.

Immediately the Imperial band struck up the 'music of victory' which conveyed the happy news to every soldier in the field. The battle was over. Aurangzib descended from his elephant, and knelt down on the field to thank the Giver of Victories. Shuja's entire camp and baggage were plundered by the Imperialists. One hundred and fourteen large and small pieces of cannon, and eleven of the celebrated elephants of Bengal became the victor's spoil, as also did a small portion of treasure and jewels which had escaped plunder by the soldiers.||

Criticism of tactics.

Reviewing the battle we must give the palm of generalship to Shuja. Aurangzib showed great firmness and presence of mind, but no military genius. Shuja's plan of battle was admirable; it would have succeeded if he had not been so hopelessly outnumbered, and if Syed Alam had been supported from behind and pressed his charge home. The latter, after routing the Left Wing of Aurangzib, was confronted by the Centre, checked, and forced to retreat. If he had made a longer stand there, he could have utilised the opening made by the rush of his two furious elephants in front of the enemy's Centre, and crashed into Aurangzib's Right from behind, at the very time when that wing was shaken by the charge of Buland Akhtar from the front and the stampede of Islam Khan's elephant. This would have annihilated both the wings of Aurangzib; and after this splendid success his Van and Centre, left alone in the field, would have been demoralised and easily defeated. But either Syed Alam was not a stubborn fighter, or Shuja was too timid to risk his all on one throw by denuding his Centre of men to support his victorious Right. Probably he was held in check by Aurangzib's Van.¶

LABORAMUS.

* Masum, 104 *a* & *b*.

† *Amal-i-Salih* 20*b*, *Alamgirnamah* 263 and 264

‡ Aurangzib's own account of the battle is given in the *Ruquaat*, No.19 and the Paris MS., 2*b*

|| *Alamgirnamah*, 265, Khafi Kh, ii. 59.

¶ This conjecture is borne out by 'Aqil Kh, 78 & Masum 103 *a*, who state that when Aurangzib's two wings were being dispersed (or soon afterwards), the Van under Prince Muhammad advanced on the enemy and "shook them" (Aqil Kh), or "broke up their formation" (Masum.)

THE MOTHER'S WAIL.

Dead! Dead! my child, before my heavy eyes!
From pains and aches now *you* are free;
The pangs of anguish doubled, are for me!
From hour to hour within my heart they rise;
My heart's ablaze with ceaseless burning fire!
My head is twisted with such phantasies
As will not give, poor me, a moments' ease
To do what was my lost Lords' prime desire.
Alas! Where shall I see you, where comb your hair!
Where shall I kiss your lovely face, your eyes!
Where shall I kiss you child, say, meet you where?
Love of the dead, know you my child, ne'er dies.
But unto God I ask all-agony,
If there be mercy, why there's none for me!

K. R. Kirtikar.

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NARRATIVE OF THE INCIDENTS OF MY EARLY LIFE

1st September.—Next morning we were told that the Grand Lama had approved of it, and would pay the money from his own private funds. This day the Minister resumed Hindi with me, doing a little English at the same time. He had prepared a book which contained the alphabets of the Siberian, Mantchu, Mongol, Chinese, Turki of Turkistan (called Horke), Sanskrit, Bengali and English languages. He now requested Ugyen to add the Lepcha alphabet to these, and he promised to teach me by and by a kind of secret writing which he knew. I also asked him about the date of the great Tibetan epic called Gyal-rung or Gyal-dung,* in 18 volumes, in which were narrated the chivalrous and romantic exploits of the warlike Qesar of Ling, the conquest of Hor-jang, and of other Central Asiatic kingdoms; but I did not obtain a satisfactory answer.

At night an alarm was raised in the camp of the Lachung men. Next morning I sent Ugyen to inquire, who brought back word that it was owing to thieves at the camp. Besides this, I heard of two other cases of petty theft, in one of which two beggars were concerned; and of a fourth, in which a monk was found guilty. The thief had concealed himself in one of the out-offices of a fellow monk of some property, where he was caught, taken before the Gye-kuo, sentenced to a flogging of fifty lashes, and expelled the monastery. It appeared the prisoner had once before robbed the same monk, when the latter was away from his house and had, as is the custom in Tashilhunpo, locked the door of the house before going. On account of the strictness of the Grand Lama and the vigilance of the Police the monks are kept under great discipline. People say that no murder has ever been known to have been committed within the Tashilhunpo monastery, although frequent murders occur at Sera and Da-pung, near Lhasa. This is ascribed to the personal influence of the Tashi Lama over his monks.

4th September.—On the 4th September the Minister was requested by the Grand Lama to start on a tour towards Rong-tsham-chen, which comprised all the districts lying north of the Tsangpo, to observe and report upon the doings of the Jongpons. This at once threatened to change my former plan of accompanying the Minister to Dongtse, and of sending Ugyen to Darjeeling. The Minister, however, expressed his willingness to allow me to accompany him on his tour. On consideration, I resolved to ask for a "*lam-ig*" (*i.e.* a State passport) to and from Sikkim. If I failed to get it, I decided either to stop at Tashilhunpo, or to accompany the Minister, according as he might advise. I stated this to him, and he at once asked the Grand Lama to grant me the *lam-ig*, especially as it would ensure the safety of his own money, which I was to carry with me for the purchase of a lithographic press. The Grand Lama, however, hesitated to issue a *lam-ig* for a journey which would extend beyond his territories, and feared that the issue of such a passport publicly might eventually assume a political aspect. At night he consulted with his private advisers, one of whom, named Kachan Dao, told him, as I afterwards learnt from the Minister, that both I and Ugyen were impostors, and that though our behaviour during a year or two might be all that was desirable, yet at the end he feared we might prove most dangerous enemies; and if he (the Grand Lama) entertained any doubts on the point, he would do well to set them at rest by consulting his tutelary deities. I had never seen nor heard of Kachan Dao as belonging to the Grand Lama's staff, and was quite at a loss to account for his malicious proceedings against me.

5th September.—Following his advice, the Grand Lama consulted his tutelary deities for three consecutive nights, but received no

* The Gyal-rung in an epic written partly in prose and partly in the heroic measure. Qesar (or Ge-sar), whose exploits it narrates, was the greatest warrior of Kham, and is adored by the Western Chinese and by the Tibetans of Kham and Amdo as the God of War.

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sign or warning that we meant evil against him and his country. When the Minister waited on him next, the Grand Lama gave him an account of the consultation, and inquired if he too had consulted his gods. The Minister replied that he had, but had received no warnings against us. The Grand Lama then asked the Ministet if the lithographic press could be brought by April next, and at last he intimated his willingness to furnish me with a *lam-ig*. The Minister lost no time in informing me of his success, in spite of the opposition raised by Kachan Dao. It appears that Kachan had expected some presents from us, but not receiving any, had tried to do me this ill turn. The Minister advised me to make arrangements for our departure, and to provide two long trunks to pack the pictures which he intended to give me to be hung up in my chapel at Darjeeling.

12th September.—The 12th and 13th September were devoted to finishing the translation into Tibetan of some notes on photography. I was also asked what presents I would most like to have, when Ugyen took this opportunity of mentioning my liking for books, and my desire to possess such manuscripts as were not known in Sikkim. I now looked forward with pleasure to seeing my friends, from whom I had not heard for the last five months; at the same time I had but faint hopes of being able to meet my Tibetan friends again. For although I was to be provided with a *lam-ig*, yet I had some doubts whether I could ever enter Tibet a second time.

On the 12th, accompanied by Ugyen, I visited the establishment where clay images were made, in order to procure, if possible, an image of the Tashi Lama who had been Mr. Bogle's friend. The image-makers are very expert men, and can execute orders with taste and neatness. They can make pretty good images from life, but not with that artistic skill which I found among the successful students of the Calcutta School of Art; and they have hardly any notion of perspective, as their paintings evinced. A colossal image of Shakya is placed in a sitting posture behind their dwelling-house, which is three stories high, the surface of the roof consisting (after the Chinese fashion) of plates of copper covered with gold leaves. The waist of this gigantic image is level with the top of the first story, its neck with that of the second, and the crown of its head with the very top of the third story, which has a network of iron wire all round. The statue is believed to be made of copper and bell-metal, these being the second class of holy metals with which images can be made; those of the first class being gold and the bell-metal of Eastern India, "*sher-li*." I was not allowed to approach it. People have been known to burn one or two of their fingers (after coating them with a plaster of some inflammable substance) as a religious exercise before the idol, and there is a man still living who burnt the whole of his left arm; but such instances are very rare.

15th September.—SERVICE OF THE GRAND LAMA.—On the 15th of September (with the new moon) the grand annual service held by the Tashi Lama commenced. The grand worshipping hall, called *Tshog-chen*, was decorated with garlands, silk-hangings, and flags of various colours bearing inscriptions of the sacred texts; a great many bundles of incense, called *pyo* (or Chinese joss-sticks), were burnt. Before the images of Buddha and Bodhi-sattva were lighted numerous lamps fed with butter. Offerings to conciliate devils, called "'*torma*," were heaped up in small pyramids, decorated with wafers of various sizes, painted red, blue, white, and green, and each plastered with butter after the Tantric manner, while slender pieces of bamboo twisted round with thread were placed in the plate round these offerings. This "*torma*" or votive offering to demons and wrathful spirits is common to all sects of Buddhists in Tibet and in the Himalayas. Its origin is unknown, though it may be borrowed from the Pon religion. The monks, about 1,000 in number, were seated in front of the great chapel, next to which stood the high throne of the Grand Lama, inlaid with gold and covered with embroidered cloths and the richest China kincobs. All the vessels before him were of pure gold. On his left was seated the spiritual minister on a high cushion, and by him the three Khanpo of the Shatse, Tho-samiling, and Kyi-kandg Colleges. In the galleries along the wings of the chapel were seated the high officials of the State; and in the front gallery facing the Grand Lama sat on a high cushion the

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venerable Gyal-tshab Rinpo-che, whose hair was white with age. On his left and right sat the Changjed-kusho, Tung-ig-chenpo, Du-nyer, Kusho Norpu Tanga, Nyer-chang-chenpo, and other secretaries, among whom I recognized the face of Kusho-dichung, besides a host of Tung-ig and other minor officials. Ugyen and I had been invited; and we had to push our way through the crowds of visitors before we could take our seats among those in the front gallery in the same line with the Regent and other laymen. The service was commenced by the Gye-kuo-chenpo uttering in a solemn voice: Ah-hha! Awah-hho! Ao-u-hho! Chru-hhu! thrice alone, then accompanied by the voices of the other monks, amidst the savage music of cymbals, conch-shells, and numberless bells. From the palace of the Grand Lama to the great hall of worship, a distance of about 300 yards, the entire length of the way had been covered with Tibetan blankets, on which red China silk of a yard broad had been spread. Along this the Grand Lama now walked in state, accompanied by his bodyguard of six, called *Zim gag-pa*. Those present had provided themselves with handfuls of barley and rice. As soon as the Lama had arrived and had taken his seat, three cheers were given by the audience, and thrice were barley and rice thrown towards him. The profound silence which followed was broken by the quick and highpitched voice of the Grand Lama, as he commenced reciting a chapter from the *Kah-gyur*. The recital lasted for nearly four hours, from 6 A. M. to 10. I could not fully catch the meaning of what he read so fast, and perhaps few except the learned Lamas could follow him. The audience, however, seemed well pleased, whether they understood what was said or not, and cheered the Lama often during the recital. Tea was served from large copper cauldrons to all the monks present, each of whom had brought with him a large wooden tea-cup. It appeared to me that a great quantity of verdigris came off with the tea from these red copper cauldrons. The monks of Tashilhunpo often suffer from an affection of the heart which they ascribe to verdigris, and have often petitioned for iron tea-cauldrons to be used, but custom had sanctioned the copper ones, and their petitions were refused. The Grand Lama and the Minister had their tea, which was of course of the very best quality, from golden pots carried by the *Sopon-cherpo*. The service was over by 10 o'clock, when the Grand Lama, accompanied by the four *Khanpos*, left the hall. The second service commenced at 12 A.M.; at this I was not present, but I attended the third service, which ended at 6 P.M. Some disorderly people at this meeting received a good whipping from the Gye-kuo and Cho-thim-pa.

Next day the services were renewed. The third was the day for receiving the benediction from the "most precious jar of life" at the Grand Lama's hand. The people assembled in the grand court of the congregation; the surrounding halls and stories were also crowded with laymen. In the court itself were seated in rows the yellow-hatted monks of Tho-samling, Kyikang, and Shatse, while the Gnagpas were engaged in distributing tea. The Grand Lama was seated on a lofty throne, dressed in his pontifical robes, consisting of a conical mitre-shaped cap of yellow broad cloth, with long strips hanging to the shoulders, lined with the finest kincobs; a yellow China kincob jacket without sleeves; and an orange-coloured kincob mantle thrown crosswise from the left shoulder to the waist. His shoes were not visible. Kusho Norpu Tanga stood on his left, and the new Gyal-tshab-Rinpo-che, called Novan Nyinpo, on the right. The Gyal-tshab-Rinpo-che and other abbots, headed by the spiritual minister, sat on his left. After a short service the people began to file by the Lama, who, holding the consecrated pot with both hands, touched with it the head of each man as he passed him. First of all the Khanpo were thus blessed; next followed in order the Government officials, the pupils of the Tho-samiling College, Kai-kang, and Shatse. Ugyen and I had been placed among the Gnagpas; but as I had not on the peculiar college cap worn by the Gnagpas, I was not allowed to enter the alcove through which they were required to pass to receive the Grand Lama's benediction; but the Ugyen managed to slip in undetected among the crowd of Gnagpas. As soon as the Shatse pupils had passed, the Mongolian pilgrims were admitted, and I entered with them.

The alcove, ten feet by eight feet, was beautifully hung with garlands on all sides.

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About twenty feet in front of the throne were placed a copy of the scriptures and eight kinds of auspicious things. We advanced, two by two, and entered the alcove. I was presented by Kusho Norpu Tanga to the Grand Lama, who, seeming to recognize me, smiled while he touched my head with the consecrated jar. Our party left by a door standing opposite to the one by which we had entered and lined by officials. I was then provided with an ounce of oblation water and a few balls of sweet meat, painted red with sandal wood. We were followed by lay people and other pilgrims from distant countries.

18 *th September*.—On Thursday, the 18th, at 8 A.M. the Grand Lama left Tashilhunpo for Dechan Phodang. Great preparations were made for his departure; a line of tents was pitched outside the city; red silk was spread on blankets, according to the ancient custom, from the palace gate to Dechan Phodang, a distance of nearly two miles, which was lined by two rows of monks. The Grand Lama, accompanied by the Minister Gyaltshab, Chanjed-kusho, Kusho Norpu Tanga, and other officials, after walking a short distance, rode off towards Dechan Phodang. A great crowd had assembled, and there was heard the music of drums and Tibetan clarionets. At 9 A.M., mounted on two strong iron-grey ponies which had been engaged for the whole day, and accompanied by Lupa-gyanchen, we left the monastery by the east circular road which terminates at the eastern gate facing the Shigatse fort. This road 20 feet broad, lined with willows on the eastern side, seemed to me the largest avenue in the monastery. Meeting the Abbot of Shatse College, whom I knew slightly, we saluted him, and received his *chag-wang* or benediction. My monkish dress, which was of a superior quality, evidently attracted his notice a good deal. We also met several horsemen, who were just returning from escorting the Grand Lama to Dechan Phodang.

IF RUSSIA RULED INDIA

WHAT might have been or would be, is almost always, more or less, an unprofitable speculation. What the fate of India would have been or would be, if Russia had conquered India in the past, or were to conquer her in the future, has seldom been a subject of serious thought with Indians. The evils of British rule, or its blessings, if you like, have engrossed all their attention, on the principle "sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." But Anglo-Indians and Britishers have every now and then thrust the subject upon our attention.

In 1884 and 1885, when there was that Panjdeh affair and consequently a Russian scare, the Anglo-Indian press in general and in particular Mr. A. O. Hume, who afterwards conceived and brought into existence the Indian National Congress, wrote many articles to show to the people of India the blessings they enjoyed under the English rule, and how they would be ill governed and ruined, if they had the misfortune to come under the yoke of the Russians. Sir Willian Wedderburn in his Presidential Speech at the Bombay Congress of 1889 also referred to the calamities that would befall India if Russia were to rule her.

And now comes Mr. Nevinson's last letter to the *Manchester Guardian*, in which he harps on the same string. Says he:—

"After all I have said, it must not be supposed that I am blind to the advantages of our rule to India. It has saved her from Russia; it has given her a long peace and comparative security."

Again:—

"Let it be granted that we stay in India as far as practical politics can look, and that it is to India's advantage for us to stay. We must grant that, because the Indian peoples are now entirely unarmed * and unorganised, so that if we withdrew, our place would be taken within a year by Russia, Germany, or Japan; perhaps by all three in conflict. When the very worst that can be said against our rule has been said, the substitution of Russia's rule for ours remains an incal-

* "Disarmed" would have been a more accurate expression, —disarmed by the British out of sheer cowardly selfishness.

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culable disaster, nor have Germany and Japan yet given proof of governing subject races with success. Till India is strong enough to hold her own * (which used to be the hope of our statesmen) we must retain the ultimate supremacy in government and war; not that we do it particularly well, but that others would do it worse.

We are, therefore, obliged to face this speculative problem.

Russia and the Russians have been painted in the blackest colour possible by the British. Of course, the Christian natives of Great Britain are not blessed in abundance with that virtue which is called charity. With their characteristic insular pride and self-sufficiency, they do not find anything good or worth imitating in the character of other nations. But in the case of the Russians, it is their self-interest which makes them deliberately blind to their virtues. The Britishers as a rule are Russo-phobists. They are afraid of Russia some day wresting India, which is considered the brightest jewel in the crown of England. It is, therefore, the interest of all Britishers to do less than justice to the Russians.

But the question arises that if Russia were to come to possess India—of which, of course, there is no possibility—would her rule prove such a curse to India as it is represented by the British? Of course, there are two sides to every question. No foreign rule can be an unmitigated blessing to any country. But it largely depends on the rulers to make the lot of the ruled bearable.

Russia in many respects resembles India and so by the law of osmosis—a law so well known in physics, if the two countries came in contact with each other, there would be an interchange with, and diffusion of civilization between, each other. There are many things in common between the two countries and by their coming close to one another, there would be community of interests. Hence Russian rule might not prove so destructive to India as foreign rule is generally apt to be.

Russia like India is an agricultural country. So economically, the Russian rule would not prove disastrous to India by draining away her food stuffs and other agricultural produce. If Russia were an altogether industrial country, devoid of agriculture for the most part, then her rule would work incalculable mischief to India. Under the Russian rule, therefore, there would be no fear of the destruction and ruin of Indian industries and manufactures on the one hand, and the draining away of food stuffs and raw produce on the other, as has been the case with India under British rule. So the matter stands thus. It is an undoubted historical fact that British rule in India has been the cause, at any rate the main cause, of the ruin of Indian commerce and industries, because the British are a commercial and manufacturing nation and could and can prosper only at the expense of our manufactures and trade. Widespread and dire poverty and misery have followed in the wake of our industrial ruin. Oft recurring famines over ever-increasing areas, and plague are the effects of this poverty. These blessings of British rule we cannot appreciate. As Russia has not been in the past and is not even at present a commercial and industrial country, if *she* had conquered India instead of England, she would not have deliberately destroyed our industries as England did. Nor would Russia, if she conquered India now or in the near future, behave differently. So economically, as far as we can see, British rule is not preferable to Russian rule.

The Britons are a maritime nation, as we once were; the Russians are not. Our harbours and our merchant vessels have almost disappeared under British rule. The case would have been different under Russian rule, as she would have had no motives for putting an end to our harbours and to maritime enterprise on our part by deliberate hostility or studied neglect. So in this respect, too, Russian rule would not have been worse than British rule.

Then again, Russia possesses village communities and the joint family system. So under the Russian rule, there would be a revival of the former institution, which British rule has destroyed and which is the true basis of Indian autonomous rule, and no danger of the destruction of the latter. Thus Indian society would not be disorganised, an effect which an unsympathetic foreign rule is apt to produce.

Then Russia would be connected with India by land and not sea. So Hindus, to whom a sea voyage means loss of caste, would be able

* Does Mr Nevinson really believe that England will, if she can help it, ever allow India to becomse strong enough to hold her own? India has been growing continually weaker under British rule, and the process bids fair to last as long as British rule endures.

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to travel to Russia in far larger numbers than they can at present do to any European country. This travel to Russia and Europe would be no small gain. It would mean that the influx of European mechanical and industrial methods, culture and civilisation into India would be accelerated and increase in volume much more than is possible by the more circuitous, and, to orthodox Hindus, socially interdicted, sea-route.

Russia being connected with India by land, it would be impossible to deprive India of those political rights and privileges which would be enjoyed by the people of Russia, in increasing proportion, as day follows day. In an empire which spreads over an unbroken tract of country, it is obviously far more difficult to treat the inhabitants of different parts differently as regards political rights, than in an empire which lies scattered over different continents and separated by oceans. And as a matter of fact we find in the Russsian Duma representatives of the different Provinces (including Asiatic ones) of the Empire and of the different races and religious communities inhabiting it, though preferential treatment has been accorded to some, but not to the utter exclusion of any. We have read of the doings and sayings of the Musalman members of the Duma. Where are the Hindu and Musalman Members of Parliament representing Indian constituencies? Here it may be incidentally mentioned that the Russian people are mostly Asiatic in manners and customs. They are devoid of that insular pride and haughty spirit which form such marked traits in the character of several European Christian nations. In Central Asia they mix with the natives of that region, by whom they are loved and respected. The Russian railways in Central Asia have not got separate compartments reserved and labelled for "Europeans only." The natives of Central Asia who travel with the Russians in the same Railway compartment are not subjected to those indignities and ill-treatment which present such an unedifying spectacle in railway travelling in India.

And it is because humanity has not been altogether lost in Russia that it is possible for her to produce a Count Leo Tolstoy—the like of whom no other country can at present claim. A prophet is not honoured in his own country and in his own time. But Russia is beginning to honour Tolstoy. It can be safely predicted that if Russians act on those doctrines which are being preached by Tolstoy, they will come to occupy that prominence in the moral world, which no other Christian nation of the West has yet attained. And what is Tolstoyism? It is Vendantism—pure and simple. By their coming in closer touch with India, Russians would imbibe Vedantism, which they being of more Asiatic than European nature can fully understand.

And now as to the terrors of Russian rule. We have been told again and again by Anglo-Indians that there is no freedom of speech, no liberty of the press in Russia. But have we not been gagged, too? Have not Indian orators, editors and printers been deported without trial, or sent to jail for publishing the truth and doing what Anglo-Indian editors do with impunity every day? In the Central Provinces and in East Bengal, have not printing presses belonging to newspapers been unlawfully confiscated or destroyed by the police? If there is a difference between Russia and India in these respects, it is a difference, not in kind, but in degree.

Moreover, as to the free expression of thought in writing or speech, we find that Count Tolstoy has written and published the most revolutionary things in politics, economics, sociology and religion; and yet he is a free man in Russia. Is it conceivable that any man in India writing such things can remain outside a jail, even under the present radical ministry?

It is said that there is no personal safety in Russia for the politically suspect and no liberty of the subject. Is there very much more of that commodity in India? Let East Bengal reply, let Calcutta reply, let Tuticorin reply, let the Peshawar border reply. Substitute the punitive police, the military police, the Gurkhas, those members of the Calcutta and Mymensingh police force who behaved like ruffians, and the low-class Musalman ruffians at Jamalpur and elsewhere in East Bengal,—substitute all these, we say, for the Cossacks in the Russian Army, and if you find a difference at all, it will be one in degree but not in kind.

Students are said to be the objects of special persecution on the part of the Russian Government. Our students also are subjected to much persecution (whipping and

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imprisonment included) and constant espionage. The difference, we say again, is one in degree but not in kind.

Further, we are curious to know whether the barbarous Russian Government has disarmed and emasculated all its Asiatic subjects, as the most supremely enlightened British Government has done its Indian subjects. As far as we know, it has not.

We should also like to know the names of the Indians whom the British Government has appointed Governors of provinces and Generals in the Army, as the Russian Government has appointed a few at least of its Asiatic subjects.

But we think it were time we cut short this unprofitable speculation. Of course we have not fallen in love with Russian rule, just as we have not fallen in love with British rule,—in spite of its love-compelling sedition laws and regulation *lathies*, bayonets and Maxim guns.

NOTES

The Work of the Convention Committee.

Part of the work done by the Convention Committee at Allahabad is summarised below—

The constitution adopted by the Committee lays down that the objects of the Indian National Congress are the attainment by the people of India of a system of Government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members. These objects are to be achieved by constitutional means, by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration and by the promotion of national unity, fostering public spirit and developing and organising the intellectual, moral, economic and industrial resources of the country. It has been provided that every delegate shall express in writing his acceptance of the objects of the Congress as laid down above and his willingness to abide by the Constitution and Rules of the Congress.

Although we cherish the ideal of absolute freedom, we are conscious that no public body working by methods that are not secret, such as the Congress is, can agitate or work for absolute freedom without running the risk of being suppressed ere long. We also recognise the fact that colonial self-government does not necesssarily lead us away from absolute freedom. The work of the Congress may stop at that stage, future developments being left to the Parliament of an India governing herself on the colonial system. Moreover, the Congress does not stand in the way of any man or body of men working for absolute *Swaraj*. Of course, we know that freedom, either absolute or of the colonial sort, will not and cannot be *given* by England; it has to be *taken*, almost equal strength and effort being required in either case. And for such strong effort we must unite. The bureaucrat is the friend of neither the Moderates nor the Extremists. He wishes only to divide and destroy. We must not place either ourselves or any section of countrymen at the mercy of the alien exploiters. We are, therefore, sorry that the Convention Committee has laid down the constitution of the Congress absolutely, which it had no right to do, and resolved that a *new* Congress be called next December, in which those alone may participate who will accept in writing the objects of the Congress as laid down in the constitution passed by the Committee. Under the circumstances, the next Congress cannot be called a *National* Congress, but rather a sectional one. As the last Congress was adjourned, its members should have been summoned to meet again, and the constitution passed at Allahabad, placed before them as a draft for approval.

We accept the views expressed by Mr. G. Subramania Iyer in the following passage, taken from a letter which he has written to the Hon'ble Prof. G. K. Gokhale:—

The Congress does not take notice of the methods of our political work. Each may choose his own methods such as will in his judgment accomplish the object he may have in view. But as a body the Congress may well be content if its labour culminates in self-government as it obtains in Canada or Australia, because when that point is reached the nation will be represented not by the Congress but by a national Parliament which will deal with the destiny of the nation as the Parliament of any self-governing Colony does. At all events, can we not labour together and march forward as one united band till we reach *Swaraj* of the

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colonial kind and then part if we should. Before we reach even the former goal there is such uphill work to do as will absorb all the resources available to us for public work. To organise the people so that whenever necessary they may think determine and act as one man ; to teach them to choose their leaders and follow them with trust and courage ; to educate them into a knowledge of their full rights and duties ; and to provide them with all the appliances necessary for their own instruction and action—are these not likely to require most of our energy and resources in the immediate future? The four aricles of our political creed, Swadeshi, Boycott, National Education and as the consummation of these —Swaraj—what enormous work of a most arduous character do these involve in their fulfilment! How they will have to work with sincere, persistent and patient devotion ; what an amount of moral and material and personal sacrifice is necessary before substantial progress can be made! The difference in the respective faiths of the new and the old school is not yet a practical issue and until it becomes such all of us can work together without divisions mutually destructive and weakening the national cause. By no means do I disparage the salutary and ennobling effect of high ideals. Let each cherish his ideal and do his best to impart it to his countrymen. But in view to harmony among us bound together in the unity and solidarity of a national assembly, let us not break again while insisting on an ideal which transcends existing conditions and lies far away beyond their limits.

The Budget Discussions.

Most of the non-official members by their speeches on the Imperial and Provincial Budgets in the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils, showed their fitness for self-government. No national need, no national grievance, was lost sight of. But their courage, their devotion to the cause of the nation, their industry, their intellectual acumen, their comprehensive survey of the halting life of the nation,—were of no avail, could not be of any avail. We pay, the foreigner spends,—and spends mainly and primarily in furtherance of his own aims and interests. Broadly speaking, cheap and abundant food, sanitation of rural and urban areas by good drainage, supply of good water, &c., and general and industrial education made available to the poorest child in the land, these are the urgent needs and demands of the nation. But the bureaucracy spends on the army and the police and on their own comforts very much more than on what the nation wants. A large white army is required, among other objects, for overawing the people, as well as for finding employment for large numbers of Britons as soldiers and manufacturers of war materials. The police force must be strengthened for the work of espionage and repression of the budding life of the nation and checking the growth and spread of the swadeshi and other nationalistic movements. For these reasons, expenditure on the Army and the Police figures largely in the Budgets. Railways are said to be meant for the prevention of famine. But famines are growing more frequent, widespread and devastating in their effects day by day. Without denying the uses of railways in facilitating famine *relief*, in giving an impetus to trade and in making travelling easier, we may say that for the *prevention* of famine, canals and wells are certainly more effective means. But railways continue to receive far more attention than canals, &c. Even from the point of view of commerce and cheap locomotion, waterways are receiving increasing attention in America and many countries of Europe. But in India, railways being meant chiefly for the benefit of the British Iron Industry, for the British exploitation of India (resulting in the destruction of our old industries) and for strategic purposes, we cannot expect much attention to be paid to canals, &c. The Indian nation lives in villages ; and village sanitation is utterly neglected. The result is that a famished population fall easy victims to plague, malaria and other epidemics. The sanitation of towns is better attended to, because, among other reasons, Europeans dwell mostly in towns. There is no civilised country on earth where the degree of illiteracy is so great as in India, and Government is still engaged in devising excuses for not introducing free primary education. It is clear from every point of view that Government is earnestly engaged not in advancing the cause of the Indian nation, but something very different. But even if Government did its duty, we should not forget that our affairs must be managed not only *for* us, but *by* us, too. For nations by themselves are made.

Do we then conclude that we should allow our money to be misspent without protest? Of course, not. The cessation of all protests and criticism on our part would not be unwelcome to Government. But protest, or no protest, the result is practically the same. Unless we can control the levying and expenditure of our taxes, we are doomed. For so long as we are unable to do so, even the increase of our wealth by

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industrial development, if that be possible to any great extent under our present circumstances, will only place fresh sources of revenue at the disposal of the bureaucrat, enabling him to forge new fetters for our feet day by day.

Whatever the actual definite remedy may be, it must be reached by and after the awakening of the national consciousness. This pre-supposes the existence of the units which go to form the nation. Plague and other epidemics, and famines are, however, decreasing the number of these units. The survivors have not the physique and stamina of even their near ancestors. We must, therefore, do all that lies in our power to produce and keep sufficient food for the nation and improve the health of the villages. We must also have our own free primary schools, not merely because Government and aided schools do not exist in sufficient numbers or because they charge fees, but also because all that is inspiring and patriotic has been carefully omitted from the books prescribed for the schools controlled by the State Education Department. The time has come for the servants of the people to engage in inspired drudgery, performed in lifelong obscurity.

It is hard to pay excessive taxes to an alien people to be spent mainly for their own benefit, it is harder still to pay again for the work of building up and raising the nation. But pay we must. Else there can be no atonement for the sins that have brought national enslavement upon us. And this payment must take every possible shape,—material wealth, physical labour, teaching, industrial development, healing the body, moral and spiritual ministration. Give money, give food, give clothing, work with your hands for the improvement of village areas, teach, and build schools with your own hands if need be, and tell the people to have courage, faith, hope and charity. Great was the selfishness that has made us slaves, greater far must the self-sacrifice be which will make us free.

Tinnevelly and Tuticorin Affairs.

It is quite clear now that the trial of Mr. Chidambaram Pillay and others for sedition is but the concluding scene of the drama of Swadeshi repression. As British administration goes hand in hand with British exploitation, this is only natural. By his courage and unselfishness Mr. Chidambaram Pillay has proved himself no unworthy actor in the drama.

The Coral Mills strike like almost all such strikes was due to the tyranny and greed of capital, which will not allow a living wage to the actual producers of wealth.

Everywhere the struggle between the people and the bureaucracy grows keener day by day, but not harder. Courage!

The Telegraph Strike.

The Telegraph Strike, which is happily now over, has no doubt been marked by intentional idling by some of the men, but on the whole, they have been more sinned against than sinning. It may be possible at present for Government and employers of labour to dictate their own terms, but the day is not distant when labour conscious of its own worth and power and able to organise its resources will be able to secure its proper share of the good things of the earth. But there is neither any honor, nor any virtue in submitting to the inevitable. So let the employer be considerate while there is still time and not be led astray by thoughts of prestige.

Punitive Police.

The Bengal papers are full of facts and figures to prove that punitive police have been imposed in many villages in East Bengal simply to crush the Swadeshi movement. For the maintenance of the punitive police, Hindus have been generally taxed and Musalmans have either been not taxed at all or only nominally taxed. Again, "Swadeshi" Hindus have been very heavily taxed, whereas anti-swadeshists have been nominally taxed. Of course "Lord" Morley cannot believe this. Why should he? He is not paid to do so. And he is not a Pharisee!

We have already pointed out in our note on 'the British "Jazia"' in the March number that this punitive police tax will eventually lead to passive resistance on the part of the people. But the time is not yet. Let the cup of tyranny be full to the brim. Passive resistance bears fruit very soon where there is the practicability of active resistance. But even in the circumstances in which we are placed, passive resistance

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will lead us to victory. Only let there be the will to resist in every bosom.

"Response."

In the meantime, what is the duty of those of us who are not oppressed? Our distinguished countryman, Dr. J. C. Bose, has shown that RESPONSE is pre-eminently the sign of life. We believe that we are not dead as a nation. Under the strokes of adversity and tyranny, shall we not respond? "Respon siveness is life, and cessation of responsiveness, death." True, of late the shocks administered to us have been very powerful and many. But Dr. Bose has shown that wherever there is life, a single stimulus evokes a single response, while a stronger stimulus induces multiple responses. So if we have life, if we want to prove that we have life, let there be multiple responses. Plague and other epidemics, famine, oppression by our own misguided countrymen, oppression by Government, the appalling ignorance of our brethren and sisters,—let all these only serve to call forth our energies.

Tolstoy on passive resistance.

Tolstoy advises :—

(1) Not to take part in Governmental activity; (2) not to pay taxes, but to submit rather to imprisonment or seizure of goods; (3) to possess only what others do not claim from us—it is this which is the most difficult and the most important. Thoreau's essay on *Civil Disobedience* Tolstoy selects as being the best of all Thoreau's writings. Its great merit lies in its clear statement of man's right to repudiate, and refuse in any way to support, a Government which acts immorally. Thoreau refused to pay the poll-tax, allowed himself to be imprisoned, and wrote *Civil Disobedience*, which may yet prove to be the source from which a telling protest against war, or other evils enforced by Government, will spring. (*Tolstoy, his problems, pp. 199-200*).

Our Volunteers again.

Our volunteers have again rendered invaluable brotherly service to pilgrims at Tarakeswar and other places during the late bathing festival. They have braved the terrors of cholera, and nursed and carried cholera-stricken patients in palanquins to hospitals and cremated the bodies of those who died, irrespective of sex, caste, and social or pecuniary position. It is enough to record the fact.

Blessed be such drudgery!

Famine in the United Provinces.

It is a sad commentary on the public spirit of the United Provinces, that non-official famine relief work should have had to be commenced there by men of other Provinces. We are pleased to find, however that Oudh has awaked, and we hope Agra will soon follow. Lala Lajpat Rai and Babu Abinash Chandra Majumdar have been doing the work of relieving the famine-stricken in right earnest. In this blessed work, they are being helped by bands of enthusiastic volunteers. Babu Abinash Chandra had hitherto been working in Allahabad; he has lately opened a fresh centre of relief at Bahraich, whence he has been sending to the papers painful descriptions of the condition of the people. Says he :—

Wages given to labourers are not sufficient even to keep *them* in healthy condition, not to speak of their family and children. The paternal Government considers it its duty to keep men safe from the clutches of death. But if I were given the choice, I would have probably preferred an immediate relief to a prolonged life of starvation and ultimate end by dysentery and diarrhœa. The Famine Code is a standing disgrace to the British idea of charity. If you are generous and charitable, save the starving fully or leave them to their fate to struggle and die. Why tantalise them with a hope of life which you are unable to grant?

Babu Abinash Chandra being engaged in the self-imposed work of famine relief at great self-sacrifice and under trying circumstances, has been driven by the painful scenes he daily witnesses to indulge in this bit of frank criticism. But *we* have no right to read what he writes unless we help him in his work. His address is Lawrenceganj, Allahabad.

Barisal Day.

Anniversaries of momentous occasions play a great part in the development of national life. The breaking up of the Provincial Conference at Barisal has done more to promote the cause of national unity in Bengal than the bureaucracy anticipated. And each anniversary of that day,—which happily coincides with the Bengali New Year's Day—sees the national movement stronger than ever. The day was celebrated in Calcutta by a public meeting in College Square. The speeches, while showing that the insult to the nation has not been forgotten, bore no mark of that futile brooding over the past which is a

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sign of weakness, but were full of enthusiasm for constructive work. Build up the nation and make such insults impossible in the future,—that seemed to be the dominating idea, though nobody said so in so many words. And Mr. A. Chaudhuri, who was in the chair, struck the right note when he said "that we shall never be nationally great unless we found our convictions on religion." For in building up an Indian nation, we must spiritualise all our political, economical and other movements.

The Dignity of Labour.

There is plenty of evidence in Sanskrit literature to show that even the *Rishis* engaged in manual labour. But with the decay of the Hindu race a notion had come to prevail that it was not respectable or honourable to work with the hands, at the plough, for example. We are, therefore, glad that since last year a movement has been gaining strength in East Bengal for making the work of ploughing the soil honourable in the eyes of the people. Leading Brahmans and Kayasthas have been setting the example by driving the plough.

It is thus that we can elevate the depressed classes, and not by making "*Babu-logs*" of them. We must show them practically that work is blessed, that honest toil of whatever description is honorable, that it is not dirt that pollutes, but idleness and immorality.

And we must drive the plough not merely once in a way, but take to agriculture and manual labour in general in right earnest. The literate classes must send some of their members back to the soil and derive vitality therefrom, and the laboring classes must enrich the intellectual professions by their unsophisticated brains. And in this way the nation will become a thoroughly welded mass.

The Character of our Artisans and Labourers.

There are some pseudo-patriots who, whenever any defects in our national character or in the character of some classes of our country men are pointed out, say that similar defects are found in the characters of other peoples also. They forget that the presence of these defects in others does not convert them into virtues in the case of our own countrymen. The point is not that we are to be like other peoples, but that we are to be men of character, as nearly perfect as possible, and thereby efficient as a nation.

Neither our literate classes nor the industrial classes are famous for punctuality, accuracy, and methodical and regular habits. If you want a thing done by a certain time, you can seldom be sure that it will be done at the exact hour required. People forget that want of punctuality in doing what one has promised to do is a form of lying. Much of the work done by our countrymen, is characterised by slovenliness, inaccuracy and want of neatness. From the exercise book of the Indian schoolboy upwards, we find traces of it everywhere. If you find fault with an Indian artisan's work, the reply is, O Sir, it is country-made ! But why accept this inferior position for our country? It was not always so, and even if it were always so, surely we can do what others do. There is something indescribably humiliating in taking it for granted that our work must necessarily be inferior to that done by foreigners.

Our industrial classes and traders very often supply things which are far inferior to the samples shown or are not up to the standard agreed upon. This is dishonest and is not the way to prosper, and even if dishonesty paid, it would still be a shameful thing, to be avoided at any cost.

Our artisans and labourers are so indolent that considering the supervision they require, it is doubtful if their labour is at all cheap. And then, many of them, if they can live for 2 or 3 days upon one day's earnings, will not turn up to do your work on the second day. Mill hands particularly are so improvident and wanting in self-restraint that though they often earn more than many clerks, they spend most of their earnings in buying the biggest fish in the market and in getting drunk.

It should be clear to all servants of the Motherland that our efforts to improve the material condition of the masses should go hand in hand with a strenuous endeavour to improve their character.

Woman's entrance into civic life.

When recently Her Highness the Maharani of Mysore publicly distributed prizes to school girls, she exemplified by her con-

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duct woman's participation in the civic life of India. When on a similar occasion, the Maharani of Burdwan appeared in public and gave away the prizes, it was another instance of woman's entrance into civic life. The history of the swadeshi movement can furnish many instances of this new departure on the part of India's womanhood in modern times, in many a hamlet, village and town. When some prominent Indian ladies in Calcutta met Swami Vivekananda's mother to offer her their sympathy on the occasion of the imprisonment of her son Bhupendranath, Editor of the *Yugantar*, the new departure could not fail to strike all observers as very significant. Still more remarkable was the *Ashirbad* (blessing) ceremony of the ladies to the *Ardhodaya* Volunteers. The one thing that is essential to a great civic life is the co-operation of women; and it is most consoling and hopeful to find that our ladies realise their place and fill it in such noble and graceful fashion. This civic function of woman was one of the points in which Italy led Europe in civilisation during the Middle Ages. We have the notes of a certain Italian monk-traveller in France before the renascence, in which he exclaims with surprise at the servant-maid kind of place which seems to be taken by French ladies. Francis I is making a progress through the southern cities, and no ladies are present. "Had this been Italy," he says, "half the ladies of the city would have ridden out, in brave attire, to meet him, and would have joined his cavalcade back to the city, where he would have been met with flowers and addresses of welcome!"

Our Indian manner of life is less regal and more religious than this. Where Italy offered addresses, our genius dictates blessings and prayer. Our women, by social custom, lead a more secluded life, too. But still, when, for instance, Babu Surendranath Banerji visits any place in Bengal in the course of his ever-recurring swadeshi tours, is he not greeted with *ulus* and the blowing of conch-shells and showers of flowers, as he passes along the streets?

The fact that woman is necessary and that she knows how to come forward and play the great part that belongs to her in the communal life, is of the same significance in the case of the East as of the West. The city and the nation are as a vast family, and as the Mother is the divinity in the home, so is woman the palladium of our Homeland and its life. In the *Ashirbad* of Indian womanhood it is for our youth to hear the accents of the Mother Herself. They who have received this *Ashirbad* are blessed indeed. Far more blessed, under far more sacred and inspiring influence are they than the Western knights who in days of yore jousted where bright eyes rained influence. Let their deeds, too, be doughtier, their lives higher, purer, and more beneficial to the nation. Let their faith and courage never falter. Let their reverence for womanhood, irrespective of race, caste, creed or even character, grow from more to more.

Roosevelt's "National Virtue."

In a recent special message sent to the United States Congress, President Roosevelt says: "The first and most important of national virtues is capacity for self-defence." He is perfectly right. It follows as a corollary that the greatest national disaster is the loss of the capacity for self-defence. It is clear, too, that the greatest crime of which a nation can be guilty is to deprive another of the power of self-defence. And England has been robbing us of this power for the past century and a half. The longer British rule of the present type lasts the greater must be our national emasculation.

The Pathan tribes on the Afghan border have been raiding Hindu villages on the N. W. Frontier without let or hindrance. And the villagers cannot do anything to save themselves. For has not Pax Britannica deprived them of all arms by the Arms Act? Truly, so far as manly equipment goes, it is better to be a Pathan robber than a disarmed subject of H. M. Emperor Edward!

In East Bengal Musalman ruffians were let loose upon Hindu villagers to crush Nationalism and Swadeshi. Is there any similar mystery underlying the state of things in the N. W. Frontier Province? It is disgraceful for a Government not to protect its subjects, nor allow them to protect themselves. A Peshawari Hindu writes to the *Panjabee*:—

But the laws imposed by the *benign* British Government make this [self-defence] quite impossible. They can summarily deport beyond the Indus any person whom they consider "*undesirable*," and every enlightened Hindu falls in that category. They can try any

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man by their "*jirgas*" for any offence or no offence at all, and obtain any verdicts they like and send him to jail for a term extending up to 7 years without any right of appeal. The Peshawari Hindus are rich enough and can entertain their own watchmen, but how to arm them in the presence of the Arms Act, and what can watchmen do without arms? Dacoits and robbers can arm themselves *cap-a-pie*, but not the honest subjects of this British Empire in India."

Bengal National College and School.

The Dawn for March publishes a very interesting account of the excellent work being done at the Bengal National College and School. We are glad to learn that competent scholars are engaged there in original work in the fields of Indian Economics, History and Philosophy. In the Scientific and Technical Departments, the students have already proved the value of the training they have been receiving by turning out excellent educational appliances and scientific apparatus. The National Education Movement is proving its vitality by the self-sacrifice and public spirit it has evoked and the increasing number of affiliated schools that are giving their adhesion to the scheme of education laid down by the National Council of Education.

Primary Education Volunteers.

"Rusticus" contributes a very important and interesting letter to the *Hindoo Patriot*, He says—

"It is somewhat remarkable that while all native members excepting one regretted the indifference of Government to Free Primary Education in the last meeting of the Supreme Legislative Council, there was a conspiracy of silence on the part of official members from His Excellency the Viceroy downwards. The official members added nothing to, and detracted nothing from, what they had said last year. Does it mean that they [the official members] have forgotten all about this solemn proclamation of free education, which the agricultural classes believed to be the charter of their British citizenship?

Mr. Gokhale has been the advocate of free education of the agricultural and artisan classes for several years back. But the advocacy has been taken up by all the leaders of the Native communities. Has this unanimity of support of Lord Minto's own declared policy made his lordship suspect some latent evil in it? This reminds me of the Manager of a ward's estate, who had an obstinate lady—mother or grandmother of the ward, I forget which—to deal with. Whatever the manager would propose, she would oppose, and even when the manager accepted any proposal that she had herself made, she would ask for cancellation of it, believing that the manager would not have accepted it, unless there was some evil in it.

Lord Minto may argue like the lady I have mentioned, that half a dozen years ago the educated classes were against primary education, as it would raise the wages and impertinence of the lower classes, to whom they did not belong, why is it that they have changed their opinion and accepted his Lordship's leading?

The writer then makes an excellent proposal, which we shall give in his own words.

Now, sir, the leaders of the educated castes, classes and communities, in Bengal at any rate, should prove the sincerity of their profession by instituting a Band of Primary Education Volunteers. Every one who has passed the Entrance or Middle Vernacular or Middle English Examination should devote two years in some part of his life to free teaching in the primary schools lying within 5 miles of his native village. This is not too much of a sacrifice. In Germany, France and elsewhere, five years of life are compelled to be devoted to the military service of the country. From service as Volunteers the Bengalis in particular are shut out. If they are called upon to devote two years to teach without any remuneration in the schools of their own villages, without requiring their separation from their mothers, wives and children, they can hardly be described to be making any sacrifice at all.

We heartily support this proposal. The letter concludes with a touching appeal.

In fact the gap between the higher classes and lower classes is immensely greater to-day than what it was fifty years ago. If the British Government will not help us with an instrument that will enable us to fight with the Tehshildars, Gomastas, Mahajans, and Moharers, may we look for help and guidance from the educated classes to raise us up? if not to their own level, at any rate to a position which may enable us to have two meals instead of one every day.

Scientific Research by Indians.

Some time ago we read in the papers a queer paragraph to the effect that some Government officials had observed that there was too much research work done by the professors and their assistants in the Calcutta Presidency College. *Too much* research work! Ah! that green-eyed monoster, jealousy, must be at work, we thought. For was not the hated native beating the European in India in original work in some branches of science?

We are glad Dr. Travers of the Tata Institute has placed the matter in its true light.

"I would insist," says he, "that the professors' researches should be carried out in the college and among the students. A creditable amount of research work has been published by the professors of the departments of Chemistry and Physics, and by the students under them. I wish to make special mention of a piece of research work, for which Professor P. C. Ray and Mr. C. Bhadury are responsible, for the reason that no account of it will be published. The construction and management of the works of the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Co., is the work of past students from the Chemistry department of the Presidency College, acting under the advice of

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these gentlemen. The design and construction of the sulphuric acid plant, and of the plant required for the preparation of drugs and other products, involved a large amount of research of the kind which is likely to be of the greatest service to this country and does the greatest credit to those concerned."

Why the State should support science and literature.

The historian Lecky says :—

"To evoke the latent genius of the nation, and to direct it to the spheres in which it is most fitted to excel, is one of the highest ends of enlightened statesmanship. In every community there exists a vast mass of noble capacity hopelessly crushed by adverse circumstances, or enabled only to develop in a tardy, distorted and imperfect manner. Every institution or system that enables a poor man who possesses a strong natural genius for science or literature, to acquire the requisite instruction, and to develop his distinctive capabilities instead of seeking a livelihood as a second-rate lawyer or tradesman, is conferring a benefit on the human race. The benefit is so great that an institution is justified if it occasionally accomplishes it, even though in the great majority of cases it proves a failure. It is, no doubt, true that these unremunerative pursuits may often be combined with more lucrative employments, but only where such employments are congenial, and allow an unusual leisure for thought and study, and even then a divided allegiance is seldom compatible with the highest results. * * *

"A curious and valuable book might be written describing the provisions which have been made in different nations and ages for the support of these unremunerative forms of talent. In Germany at the present day the immense multiplication of professorships provides a natural sphere for their exertions; but the results of this system would have been less satisfactory had not the general simplicity of habits, the cheapness of living, and the low standard of professional remuneration made such a life hitherto attractive to able men."*

What is School Inspection?

The Hon'ble Babu Jogendra Chandra Ghosh pointed out the other day in the Bengal Council Chamber that for Primary Education, out of a total expenditure of 9 lacs, Rs. 2,01, 800 were meant for inspection. Evidently the Government cares less for providing intellectual food than for the *(political)* quality of the food supplied. Perhaps the official logical division of the genus Inspector is somewhat as follows: (*a*) Police Inspector, (*b*) School Inspector; Police Inspectors to deal with adult and actual criminals, and school inspectors to deal with young and possible criminals.

Swadeshi and the China Market.

Owing to the industrial awakening of China and Japan's efforts to capture the Chinese market, the export of Indian cotton yarn to China has been gradually diminishing, as the following figures given by Mr. Manmohandas Ramjee at a recent meeting of the Bombay Mill-owners' Association show :—

Export of yarn to China in bales, 651,870 in 1905, 599,936 in 1906, 412,127 in 1907.

He also showed that the production of the lower counts which were exported to China has diminished and that of the higher counts which are required for our *dhotis*, &c., has increased.

April to January	1905-06 lbs.	1907-08 lbs.	
Yarn Nos. 10-20	450,917,865	394,676,739	13 p. c. dec.
Yarn Nos. 21-40	95,932,962	116,586,469	21 p. c. inc.
Above	796,842	2,116,813	165 p. c. inc.

The progress of the Swadeshi movement can be clearly guaged from the following table given by Mr. Manmohandas Ramjee showing the increase in the Swadeshi Dhotis and other articles in competition with Manchester :—

(From April to January.)	1905-06 lbs.	1907-08 lbs.	Increase.
Dhotis	25,547,934	37,834,386	48 p. c.
Drills and Jeans ...	3,602,943	4,980,074	48 p. c.
Cambrics & Lawns	142,701	384,225	168 p. c.
Other sorts ...	134,081,554	153,334,256	48 p. c.

We are glad to note in this connection that Indian low-count yarns have been successfully placed on the English markets.

The Swadeshi Bureau in London.

We are glad to learn that a number of India's friends in London have started a Swadeshi Bureau there to collect all sorts of information about machinery manufactured and worked in England and elsewhere and study the methods of development by means of even small and simple machinery worked with the hand, followed in Japan and some western countries. The Secretary will supply every sort of information required by merchants and manufacturers in India without charging any fee or commission. Students are also supplied with information regarding various industrial schools and factories, &c. Indian manufacturers can also be introduced to the merchants in London who are buying Indian manufactured goods to sell in Europe and America. The Secretary is Mr. C. C. Varma, 10 Warwick Court, Gray's Inn, W. C. London.

* Lecky's History of England in the Eighteenth Century, Vol. II., p.p. 75-76.

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The benign British influence in the Native States.

The British Government has disarmed and emasculated its own subjects. They are also worse fed than the inhabitants of the Native States. Now the Arm's Act has been feeling its way in Travancore, to extend its operations to other States gradually, perhaps. Last year Kashmir interdicted political agitation. Now Travancore and Mysore have followed suit. How the goddess Pax Britannica is spreading her wings over the Native States!

The British Government of India compared to White Ants.

The following from the pen of an Anglo-Indian may be found interesting:—

"Some native sage has compared the Europeans in India to *Dimaks* or white ants, which from dark, or scarcely visible beginnings, pursue their determined objects insidiously and silently, destroying green forest trees, and in their excavated trunks building edifices, communicating by numerous galleries with the hardened clay pyramids, far and near, that denote where formerly flourished the far-spreading cedars. Attacking every thing, devouring every thing, they undermine and sap and desolate. The simile is not a very flattering one, though it is not in some measure without its aptitude either. * * * After all, however, there can be no question that in our early connection with India, there was much, from the contemplation of which, the moralist will shrink and the Christian protest against, with abhorrence." *The Calcutta Review, vol. vii (1847), p. 226.*

Has there been much *real* improvement since?

Tolstoy on the British occupation of India.

Tolstoy says:—

"Who, after all, can yet tell what the final outcome of the conquest of India, of the greed that caused it and of the violence that characterized it, will be? Does a nation's life consist in the abundance of the things it possesses? And does an empire gain in well-being when a small minority make fortunes in a distant land and return to establish families which henceforth live, generation after generation, on the labour of their fellow-men, for whom, in exchange, they perchance make laws which contravene, but do not surpass, the two great commandments approved by Christ?" [*Tolstoy, his problems, p.* 111].

"King Theebaw is Drinking."

A few weeks ago Reuter telegraphed from London:—

The "Times" publishes a letter signed "Citizen," stating that the writer is a business man who has been resident for neaarly a decade in Siam. He urges the appointment of Commission to take evidence as to the condition of Siam before its extra-territoriality is bartered for the states of Malaysia. The writer criticises the impudent slovenly Siamese soldiery, the disrepair of the roads, the venality of the legal administration, and the untrustworthiness of the Post Office and continued interruptions of the telegraphs.

As if many of these things are unknown in British India! When the British "business man" assumes the role of a philanthropist, the thing is sure to make the gods laugh. "Citizen's" letter reminds us of the following striking passage in a Parliamentary Sketch published by the *Morning Leader* in 1900:—

And then Mr. Healy told the House a parable, and told it so inimitably that friend and foe had to roar with laughter. It was something like this: "In 1879 the Government of the day wanted to annex Burma, and so that sound friend of the British constitution, Reuter, sent from Rangoon or Mandalay a telegram, 'King Theebaw is drinking.' Two days elapsed, and another message arrived, 'King Theebaw is still drinking.' A little later a further telegram announced that 'King Theebaw had murdered his mother-in-law and their maiden aunts.' Roars of laughter stopped Mr. Healy for a moment, and then he took up his parable again—"The Conservatives went out and Mr. Gladstone came in and, as the play bills say, 'five years elapsed.' Nothing was heard about King Theebaw's intemperance, or his butchered maiden aunts. But no sooner had Mr. Gladstone been defeated on something to do with Irish whisky than the faithful Reuter flashed this message to England. 'King Theebaw is still drinking!' So you took Burma, and your claims to Johannesburg and the Rand are about as respectable." No written description can do justice to the manner in which Mr. Healy gazed over his glasses as in solemn tones he kept chanting that refrain "King Theebaw is still drinking!"

As a matter of fact, as we have learnt from a gentleman of high official position who had occasion to know King Theebaw intimately, that unfortunate monarch was never given to drinking at all. But that is another story. What we intend to ask is, "Is Citizen's latter the first intimation to the British public (the Earthly Providence to all 'oppressed' *non-European* peoples) that king Chulalongkarn of Siam is drinking?"

But perhaps Mr. Stead of the *Review of Reviews* will characterise our question as "Midsummer madness."

Russia is much nearer Great Britain than the Asiatic Continent. We learn from the British people that there is intolerable oppression in Russia. Why then do they not play the philanthropists there? Asia has had enough of European philanthropy and to spare.

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The Shopkeeper throws off his mask again.

Every one knows that the drink evil is increasing in India, and that it is the cause of an immense amount of misery and destitution, besides being the greatest promoter of immorality and crime. A Government which sincerely seeks the moral elevation and material prosperity of its subjects must therefore welcome every movement for the suppression of this evil. But the British Government loves revenue more than anything else. So we find that in Poona the Temperance Volunteers, whose picketting in front of liquor-shops had decreased the sale of liquor by 80 per cent. or more, have been assaulted, arrested, prosecuted and punished by Government officials. Picketting is quite lawful and is done in all civilised lands including Great Britain. And the Poona young men had not used force or done anything illegal. But they had committed the unpardonable crime of indirectly diminishing the revenue of the Goverument derived from pandering to the vices of the people, as also of proving their *capacity for work calculated to raise the nation* (for the official theory, which has so hypnotised us, is that we are a set of incompetent fools). Hence they must be punished. So be it. We trust the volunteers will go on with their work in spite of what the *Christian* Government may do to stop their righteous efforts.

The Assumption of Maou Ying.

The picture which we reproduce of the Assumption of Maou Ying, a Chinese Taouist Saint who lived towards the end of the Chow Dynasty, B. C. 1122-255, is taken from a Chinese manuscript entitled *Yun t'ai hsien jui.* The manuscript is probably of the 18th century, and is one of the treasures of the British Museum library. The original picture, on silk, is of a wonderful deep blue tone; the Saint has left his companions and stands on the edge of a cliff gazing upwards at the cloud which descends from the sky, with a chariot and attendants to receive him. Especially noteworthy in this picture are the beautiful drawing of the figures, the atmospheric depth of the limitless space which stretches away from the edge of the precipice, and the movement of the cloud, which seems to be falling before one's very eyes, as if drawn down by its own weight. The whole picture is extroardinarily dignified in conception and masterly in execution; but the perfect colour of the original is required for its full appreciation. A. K. C.

"Kaikeyi," by Nundo Lall Bose.

Kaikeyi is not yet determined on the course to be taken. Not yet has she gone to the Anger-chamber. The head of the hump-backed serving-woman Manthara is seen in the act of departing from her presence, like some symbol of an evil suggestion left in the mind. The youngest and most beautiful of Dasaratha's Queens sits alone, while her motherhood struggles between nobility and ambition. Almost we see the tragic issue in the face of Kaikeyi. Almost we see the moment when the happiness of husband and children will become indifferent to her, and she will put off alone, from the shores of sweetness, in the little boat of selfish greed. She who has been as a flower of delight to the King, is destined to be her husband's slayer, as surely as if she were about to sever the thread of his life with steel. In this moment of unwomanly temptation, her beauty has become masculine in its character. Power and sternness are there, and we can see in the attitude the blood of kings. But the fierce struggle has left none of that tenderness and gentleness that Dasaratha and his sons were wont to find in her. And how wonderfully the billowy curves of the *Sari*-border tune us for the mental conflict in the mind of the Queen! Kaikeyi is here shown to us as of that order of heroines to which belongs Lady Macbeth, but there is a refinement and sensitiveness in the Indian character, which is not shown to us in the 'grim Scots wife.' Kaikeyi is more complex, more human. She is more woman and less man. Lady Macbeth's strength is such as to make her husband often play the woman. Kaikeyi's rouses in us rather the sense of pity, that she herself is turning her back on her true and higher self, to which she must one day, when the cup of disaster is full, find reconciliation. Instinctively we know that when the mind of the Western heroine catches a glimpse of the nature of her crime, she will lay hands of revenge upon herself, and complete in self-slaughter what began in the murder of guest and king. But over the soul of Kaikeyi the waters of remorse will flow in healing;

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THE ASSUMPTION OF MAOU YING, A CHINESE TAOIST SAINT.

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they will one with the streams of penitence. She is at this moment the tool of mysterious destiny, working through her folly, that all things may be accomplished. Not for ever is she to be left thus. N.

Our Obligation to "The Indian Press" of Allahabad.

It is but bare justice to say that the credit for whatever reputation for punctuality and neatness of get-up the *Modern Review* has earned, belongs to a considerable extent to "The Indian Press" of Allahabad. We could wish all Indian firms were as punctual, methodical and anxious to give the best value for the customer's money as "The Indian Press" is. If private reasons had not compelled us to remove our office to Calcutta we should have been most glad to continue our business relations with it.

THE MOTHERLAND

THE VOICE OF THE MOUNTAINS.

To our starry heights we call you, where the pure white fields of snow
Touch the azure vault of heaven, far above the dusty heat.
Down below the air is stifling: come and breathe of our free spirit,
O ye Leaders of the People.

THE VOICE OF THE FORESTS.

To our forest glades we call you, where the brooding Eastern sages,
With the birds and beasts around them, prayed and fasted, pondering deep
Over things divine and human: learn of us high thought and purpose,
O ye Leaders of the People.

THE VOICE OF THE DESERTS.

To our desert tracts we call you, where in solitude and awe
Man is mute beneath the sky, and earth is hushed and God is near.
Far away is noise and tumult: come and learn of us in silence,
O ye Leaders of the People.

THE VOICE OF THE SEAS.

To our sounding shores we call you, where the waves are ever breaking,
And the foam leaps up and sparkles in the joyousness of strife,
Driven backward yet advancing: come and breathe of our brave spirit,
O ye Leaders of the People.

THE VOICE OF THE PLAINS.

To our sunny plains we call you, shimmering in the summer heat,
Where the simple village people till the field and tend the herd,
Patient, poor and uncomplaining: come and learn our calm endurance,
O ye Leaders of the People.

THE VOICE OF THE RIVERS.

To our sacred banks we call you, where the slow and stately waters
Tell of age-long self-outpouring on the dry and thirsty ground.
Where we flow not, all is barren; drink of our life-yielding spirit,
O ye Leaders of the People.

THE VOICE OF THE CITIES.

To our ancient halls we call you, where your fathers lived and ruled,
Kasi with its seats of learning, royal Agra, fair Lucknow,
Old Prayag, imperial Delhi; come and learn your nation's greatness,
O ye Leaders of the People.

THE VOICE OF THE MOTHERLAND.

It is I, your Mother, call you, by the snows and by the forests,
By the silence of my deserts, by the toiling of my plains,
By my cities, seas, and rivers: live and die for me, your Mother,
O ye Leaders of the People.

C. F. ANDREWS.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

The Thread of Gold : (John Murray : London.)

We have heartily enjoyed the contents of this book. Added to the vivid interest of the subjects taken up are the fine flashes of imagination which glow into the reader's soul. Style, matter, treatment, all deserve the highest praise. The author's mental attitude gives a touch of humanity to the pages which in most places speak of the undying aspirations, hopes, and faiths of mankind, thus widening the sphere of appeal. The way of human life is not the primrose path of dalliance—the shadow of the darkest woes and tragedeis undeniably rests upon it—we are at times overwhelmingly burthened and crushed down, so much so that it is difficult to lift the eyes to catch glimpses of other skies. Yet that we may not brood too intently over the evils, nor be easily disposed to woo sorrow with whispers from her lying lips, there runs through the most miserable existence the thread of gold, which heartens the drooping spirit and saves it from arid despair. The Earth, as a Greek thinker has it, is bound by a chain of gold to Heaven.

Almost all the familiar aspects of life have been treated of : Young Love, Prayer, Music, Leisure, Work, The mystery of Evil, and so on : and the various moods through which the reflecting mind passes are very happily described. Many pathetic incidents have been related—the beetle which sails straight into the eye and finds its little day of joy so soon over between the 'oozy rims'—the picnic party of some inmates of a Pauper Lunatic Asylum, who are full of revel and sport—the cripple who gallantly bears the malice of fate transfiguring pain into something "august, tranquil, and divine"—the Bank clerk who in full flight has been struck by the dart of some unseen archer, and has become totally cut off from the sights and sounds of the world, yet, who with all the accentuated cravings of his sealed spirit attains a "serene exaltation of mind"—these have been written of with genuine emotion. But the most touching account is the story told of a hare ruthlessly killed in a Factory by the workmen whom the old savage instinct of prey had stirred up into a demoniac state, and the appalling event seems to drive the author almost to the point of calling God's justice into question.

"The thought of the seemly fur stained and be-dabbled, the bright hazel eyes troubled with the fear of death, the silky ears, in which rang the horrid din of pursuit, rises before me as I write, and casts me back into the sad mood that makes one feel that the closer one gazes into the sorrowful texture of the world the more glad we may well be to depart."

Nothing delights the author more than to dwell upon the commonest things and then to start off trying to discover the secret that lies hidden behind them. Here is a passage from the chapter on the *Cuckoo*.

"It seems strange enough to think of the laws that govern the breeding nesting and nurture of birds at all, especially when one considers all the accidents that so often make the toil futile, like the stealing of eggs by other birds and the predatory incursions of foes. One would expect a law framed by omnipotence to be invariable, not hampered by all kinds of difficulties that omnipotence, one might have thought, could have provided against. And then comes this further variation in the law, in the case of this single family of birds, and the mystery thickens and deepens. And stranger than all is the existence of the questioning and unsatisfied human spirit that observes these things and classifies them, and that yet gets no nearer to the solution of the huge, fantastic patient plan ! To make a law as the creator seems to have done ; and then to make a hundred other laws that seem to make the first law inoperative ; to play this gigantic game century after ceutury ; and then to put into the hearts of our inquisitive race the desire to discover what it is all about ; and to leave the desire unsatisfied. What a labyrinthine mystery ! Depth beyond depth and circle beyond circle !"

The following lines from the *Diplodocus* will show the characteristic attitude of the writer :—

"I have had my imagination deeply thrilled lately by reading about the discovery in America of the bones of a fossil animal called the 'Diplodocus' . : . The creature was a reptile, a gigantic toad or lizard that lived, it is calculated, about three million years ago. It was in Canada that this particular creature lived... It was upwards of a hundred feet long, a vast inert creature with a tough black hide. .... Curiosity was aroused by the sight of this fragment of an unknown animal and bit by bit the great bones came to light ; some portions were missing but fnrther search, revealed the remains of three other specimens of the great lizard and a complete skeleton was put together.

"The mind positively reels before the story that is here revealed ; we, who are feebly accustomed to regard the course of recorded history as the crucial and critical period of the life of the world, must be sobered by the reflection that the whole of the known history of the human race is not the thousandth not the ten thousandth part of the history of the planet. What does this vast and incredible panorama mean to us ? What is it all about? This ghastly force at work, dealing with life and death on so incredible a scale, and yet guarding its secret so close ? ... Not the least amazing part of the history is that at length should have arisen a race of creatures, human beings, that should be able to reconstruct, however, faintly, by investigation, imagination and deduction a picture of the dead life of the world. It is this capacity for arriving at what has been, for tracing out the huge mystery of the work of God that appears to one the most wonderful thing of all."

This then is our position. Our reading of life and of the universe must be patient—our interpretation of the seeming inconsistencies and cruelties must not be in accordance with our petty vision and sufficiency. It is true that suffering at one point of creation cannot be remedial at some other point. Yet earth withholds, as has been remarked in connection with Mr. George Meredith's Philosophy, a mystery from man's knowledge which "inveterately he strains to see."

And ever that old task
Of reading what he is and whence he came
Wither to go, finds wilder letters flame
Across her mask.

We give below by way of conclusion an extract from the paper on Oxford which is almost on a level with Matthew Arnold's enchanted description in the Preface to the famous *Essays in Criticism* :—

And so it is that Oxford is in a sort a magnetic pole for England—a pole not perhaps of intellectual energy, or strenuous liberalism or clamorous aims or political ideas ; few perhaps of the sturdy forces that make England potently great, centre there. The greatness of England is, I suppose, made up by her breezy, loud-voiced sailors, her lively, plucky soldiers, her ardent undefeated merchants, her tranquil administrators ; by the stubborn adventurous spirit that makes itself at home everywhere, and finds it natural to assume responsibilities. But to Oxford set the currents of what may be called intellectual emotion, the ideals that may not make for immediate national greatness but which if delicately and faithfully nurtured, hold out at least a hope of affecting the intellectual and spiritual life of the world. There is something about Oxford which is not in the least typi-

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cal of England, but typical of the larger brotherhood that is independent of nationalities; that is akin to the spirit which in any land and in every age has produced imperishable monuments of the ardent human soul. . . It may be said that John Bull the sturdy angel of England, turns his back slightingly upon such influences; that he regards Oxford as an incidental ornament of his person, like a seal that jingles at his fob. But all generous and delicate spirits do her a secret homage as a place where the seeds of beauty and emotion, of wisdom and understanding are sown, as in a secret garden. "Hearts such as these ever whirling past that celestial city, among her poor suburbs, feel an inexpressible thrill at the sight of her towers and domes, her walls and groves. "*Quam dilecta sunt tabernacula*" they will say; and they will breathe a reverent prayer that there may be no leading into captivity and no complaining in her streets."

Who does not wish there were such a place in India with her immemorial usages and customs? Who of us amidst jarring creeds and diverse noises does not sigh for such an inspiring centre radiating light to the furthermost point—

"A Shining spot upon a shaggy map"?

HIRA LAL CHATTERJEE.

'The Inward Light'; by H. Fielding Hall. Macmillan and Co., London, 1908, Price 10s.

We confess to some disappointment in reading this last work bv Mr Fielding Hall. We are continually in sympathy with his point of view, but his style is annoying; it is vague and wordy; he seems always to be on the point of revealing some inward secret, of which in the end we do get some inkling, but always to fail to clearly express the thing he is trying to say. He often uses phrases which are not even sentences as our quotations show; constantly repeats himself and so forth. What he wishes to say is mainly this, and it might have been said in a much smaller book; that religion is not in the East, as it is in the West, a formula or a doctrine, but a way of looking at life, and includes all life, so that there is no division into sacred and profane: that it cannot be understood in any effective way by an unsympathetic study, or even by sympathetic study if of a purely intellectual or scholarly character.

"There is no ignorance so deep as that of the schooled European."

"Man's soul, his life, is not a kernel made fresh at birth and which in death is liberated and banished from the world. It has existed always and has won its way upwards. It is not an inherent quality of certain forms of matter as science would seem to tell us, it is a force that comes from God, and manifests itself in matter."

"We are the products of an evolution. Yes. Not our bodies only but our souls. As our bodies grew fitter to incarnate the higher life, so the life was added from above. . . . That is what the East believes and always has believed. It expressed it in its own dim way, but it understood always what it meant. The evolution of the scientific man which staggered the Churches of the West means only to the East that by great work and great research, through infinite weariness and trouble, the wise men of the West have learnt a little of what the East has always known."

And so on. For our part we agree, but think that the East has expressed it clearly enough in the more philosophical and intellectual way that the author disparages. We find more said, and more clearly said in Deussen's writings upon the Vedanta, than in vague generalisation like this.

Much better is the destructive criticism of the Western point of view, an easier task indeed. He tells the story of a Western man who grew to understand the East. He felt that the West was always in a hurry. The East was more leisured, and led a happier life.

"They wanted many things we have; they had something we have never possessed. They failed where we are strong, but they were strong where we are weak. They saw life more clearly and more whole. They had to learn from us, but that lesson was an obvious one, and could be seen and followed. For it was a lesson of externals—those things which pass. What we had to learn of them was of the inner life; the hidden, real, valuable things of life, that which endures—ourselves."

"'We do not fear' said the East 'It is you who fear. You live always in fear. You dare not live from day to day. You must make piles of wealth, for fear, for *fear*. You always look forward at a fear that lives on your horizon. We do not fear . . . . Think you that with all your science you are healthier than we are? Our sickly ones die quickly and their souls are freed, You keep yours chained. You answer that you save from death. No one can save from death, all that you can do is to postpone it . . . You are always struggling. You think you master fate, you cannot . . . Your view ends at death, but ours goes on. You want to be certain of earthly matters. Yet in such things there is no certainty. That which endures is will. You wish to control your bodies, we try to control our souls. You cultivate fear, we hope. Famines come and go, and so does pestilence and war and conquerors. Only the soul lasts on. Your souls grow weaker the more you shield them. You become more and more afraid. Your vision grows narrower and shorter day by day. You want to be certain. Unless you think that you can see the future very far ahead that it is safe, you fear. You will not have children now, because you fear for them and for yourselves. You say, 'The world is hard, and they may sink. Our wealth is small and they will want of it. We dare not face a lesser comfort' . . . You are afraid, we are not. You do not think that to do right will bring reward, we do. You are the real fatalists, not we. You think that man is the sport of outward things, of wealth, prosperity and strength. But we think that men rise above such things."

This much was of Indian religion before the Buddha came; to it he added the ideal of self-renunciation and self-denial.

"His disciples and his followers have found it true—a facet of the truth. . . . When it was first taught and men accepted it in millions they were wise and free and strong. Their ability to understand was based upon high civilisation, upon knowledge, upon freedom. Never in the history of the world have there been communities who in relation to their time have done so well with life; who had such broad and sound understanding, who were so varied in their abilities. Nature they understood, though not in detail, yet in principle. They had a subtle sympathy with it. They knew of evolution. In all the main things of life, two thousand five hundred years have added nothing except in detail. Therefore when Buddha taught, they understood. His teaching came as but a continuation of what they knew. He was to them no prophet, but a Darwin of the Soul, and they could follow what he said, and still more what he meant".

Only in later times

"This simple faith which is founded upon a view of the whole of life was supposed to be apart from life, was supposed to contradict life and deny it".

No questions are more vexed than those of personality, immortality, nirvana; perhaps they are made needlessly obscure. This is what Mr. Hall says of them.

"When men die everything passes but the effect of that which they have done. That is a Buddhist saying. It does not mean, as it is understood to mean, that when men die they disappear utterly, and that all that is left is the effect of their deeds upon the outer world. . . . When a man dies, his life may survive, his soul persists. In children may his life continue; and they in their bodies inherit the effect of some of their parents' deeds. The soul survives, and that in itself is greater or less as it has been cultivated in this life. But the soul in its further journeys does not carry with it attributes of the bodily life It has no memory—why should it treasure up remembrance of the past? It has within itself the effects, and that is more than any memory. It leaves behind the loves and hates and hopes and fears of life. In any future phase allied again to life it will assume with them these attributes. But they will be new ones, not brought with the soul. At death the duality of that body and that soul is divorced for ever. Each takes its burden forward, but with new companions. Each will reap what it has sown . . .

There are no material images in which to picture our hopes of heaven. Heaven is the broader life. It is the gathering of the rays of our souls, ourselves, that which is good in us, that which endures. Evil is temporary. Hell is but for time, but heaven is eternal. Hell is of the little personality in changing form, heaven is of the spirit that is in all the worlds. It is the meeting of our little souls with others, with all that is best, most true most beautiful in them. To be one with them as we can never be where shells of earth divide us. It is to be one with all the beauty of the world, with the sunshine on the hills, the majesty of the night, the laughter of the waters; with the nobility of noble deeds; the souls of all whom we have loved; with the great power which is all life. Such is Nirvana".

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Truly, Nirvana, or Moksha, is not annihilation; it is not a state in which Being is destroyed, for that is indestructible and eternal; but it is a state in which personality is transcended, the consciousness so enlarged that all is within and nothing any longer without.

With certain statements made on p. 172 we find ourselves in disagreement; the fundamental Hindu doctrine of non-attachment to the fruits of works seems to us to be ignored by Mr. Hall when he says that to the West alone could it seem fit to say 'do right for right's sake, indifferent to what the result may be.'

We have said enough, and quoted enough to show what Mr. Hall's book is like. It contains much that is true and beautiful and well said and newly said; but much also that is vague and much that is very far from well expressed.

A. K. C.

Transformed Hinduism—the Monotheistic Religion of Beauty. By the author of "God the Beautiful." 2 Vols. Cloth, gilt tops—Philip Wellby, London, 1908.

These two volumes are the works of a European artist who looks upon Hinduism from the standpoint of aesthetics. The author is a sympathetic student of Hinduism and with his artistic instinct has discovered in Hinduism the seed of a future religion of beauty. According to him Hinduism with proper modifications would supply the world with the religion that it wants. We can recommend the book to those who are seeking after the sublime and beautiful in Hinduism. There are several misprints in the book which we hope will be corrected in the next edition. The author, who appears not to have firsthand knowledge of India under the British rule, may be pardoned if he has fallen into the usual error that the British rule has been an unmixed blessing to Indians. Nor do we agree with the author in his theory that all the corruptions of modern Hinduism are attributable to the Dravidian influence over the Aryan civilization. The author is also mistaken where he says that the doctrines of Re-incarnation and *Karma* are Dravidian and Buddhistic in their origin and not Aryan.

The Industrial Conference, Surat.—G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Re. 1.

It is a handy volume containing all the papers read at and submitted to the Third Indian Industrial Conference that held its sittings at Surat in December last. The papers, which are eighteen in number, cover a wide field and deal with several industrial, commercial and agricultural problems, which are engaging the attention of the public. The publication under review contains also the full text of the Welcome Address to the Conference by Prof. T. K. Gajjar, the Presidential Address of Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Sakarlal Desai, and the resolutions passed at the Conference.

URDU.

"Sawaneh Umri Hazarat Muhammad Saheb Bani Islam," by Shraddheya Prakash Devji, Missionary, Brahma Samaj Lahore.

It is a very useful contribution to the religio-historical literature in the Urdu language. As far as religious belief and notion are concerned the learned author has marvellously succeeded in keeping perfect, harmony with the Moslim sentiments, and for giving historic events he seems to have called upon authentic sources. The work is one of the rare examples of noble and tolerant literature penetrating deeply into the life and life-work of great men and presenting it to the public impartially and honestly in the form of books and pamphlets.

It can well be expected that the book will achieve its object and the ignorance, misconceptions and misunderstandings that have been prevailing in certain quarters concerning the life and the life-work of Mohammad will be removed by this impartial and lucid exposition, and that "the truth shall begin to shine in its real colour." This little book can be recommended to both Musalmans and non-Muslims with the confidence that both will enjoy the reading of it, and all the credit should be given to the *Brahma Dharma* for producing such noble men who can carry themselves above mean jealousies and bigotries and can appreciate the life-work of such a Grand Benefactor of humanity as Mohammad undoubtedly was, without the least religious prejudice, bias or intolerance.

SHAIKH MUSHIR H. KIDWAI.

BENGALI.

Manjari, by Ramani Mohan Ghosh, (Kuntaline Press), pp. 109, One Rupee.

This volume of short poems is a pleasing revelation of the marked progress recently made in printing in Bengal. Type, paper, binding, and get-up are alike neat and beautiful. Many of the pieces are obviously exercises in the style and tone of Rabindranath Tagore, and we have been struck by the younger poet's marvellous fidelity and success in catching the various moods of the great Master. In a few passages (pp. 3, 5, 29, 70, 75), the imitation passes into direct plagiarism;—the charitable would ascribe it to the "unconscious cerebration" of a devout admirer. One series gives accurate studies of conjugal love in its various aspects, and indicates keen powers of observation and analysis of feelings. Two episodes from the *Mahabharat* have been happily rendered, and contain some noble lines. Some descriptive touches (pp. 33, 37, 61) are entitled to high praise. The weak parts of the volume are *Prabhati, Jauban Swapna,* and one or two other pieces.

The author has proved his mastery of style. But style is only a means to an end. That end is the *criticism of life.* For this he should make a serious and *sustained* effort. It is not enough to don the armour of Achilles; you must have Achilles's heart under it.

J. Sarkar.

GUJARATI.

Persian Prosody, being Part III of Rana Pingal by Ranchhodbhai Udayaram. Printed at the Bombay Education Society's Press, Bombay. Paper bound, pp. 348. Price Re 1-0-0. (1907).

Till now, we had never come across such a scholarly work in Gujarati on Persian prosody. In fact it was badly wanted, and many Gujarati scholars were now and then inquiring about the *Chhand Shastra* of the Persians. It is true there are compositions in Gujarati which closely follow some of the well known metres of the Persians, such as the *gazals* of Narmada Shankar,

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Manilal, Balashanker Derasari and Govardhanram. Excepting for one of them, *viz.*, Balashanker, none knew Persian and their verses were modelled on some Hindustani or Urdu prototypes. If they had come across such a work as this, for the composition of which a knowledge of Persian and Gujarati prosodies, is a *sine qua non*, we are sure they would have essayed some of the Persian metres, and enriched the language with their poems. Mr. Ranchhodbhai is himself a veteran in the field of literature. He is now in the autumn of his life, but the work which he is accomplishing in the shape of the several parts of his Ranapingal, betrays an energy and a determination which put to shame many a youthful worker. The book is a distinct and valuable addition to Gujarati and, being published in the Devanagari character, is readable all over India.

Ananda Mala, Part II. Written by Jagannath Jethabhai Raval. Published by the V. V. Mitra Mandal. Tattva Vivechak Press, Bombay. Cloth pp. 183. Price 0-5-0 (1908).

This is written by a schoolmaster in active service, knowing well what the requirements of the little ones in his charge are. It contains entertaining little stories from the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, and also from the popular folklore, to illustrate various subjects, like brotherly love, perseverance, reverence, faithfulness, and other virtues. It contains in addition several stories of wit and humour also, and is interspersed with poems which are easy to understand, being culled from well-known poets. On the whole, we find the book readable and very useful for the instruction of the juvenile class for whom it is intended.

K. M. J.

BOADECIA

On the left bank of the Thames by the side of West Minster Bridge, very near the Parliament House,—where Big Ben has been announcing the hour, for centuries and centuries, is situated the statue of Boadecia, the Queen of the Iceni, leading her army to battle with the Romans, in a chariot drawn by four fiey horses. She has her two daughters by her side—the same whom the Roman generals so grossly insulted. All of them were tall and warlike, and were mad with vengeance, at her own flogging and her daughters' insults, and were swooping like eagles upon their pray. Under the stone are carved Cowper's prophetic lines

"Regions Caesar never knew
Thy posterity shall sway."

The statue has been erected by a patriotic Englishman of the present day, to her memory. This is in the very heart of the town.

In another quarter, on a low eminence, at Hampstead-Heath, away from the haunts of men, is the place where the same British Queen who took her life with her own hands lies buried. That is the hilly tract in the north of London, with small lakes at the foot of the hills, where large white wild swans swim and cackle all day long; where high steeples of churches all around are looking out at a distance from the tops of green trees; where everything is solitary, calm and graceful. But the spot there, in which the Queen sleeps, is the most picturesque little spot on the surface of the Earth. The small area is fenced round with high iron railings, within which green and gray wild plants grow thick and high, with flowers and fruits in abundance,—food and shelter for the wild birds, where they feast and sing divine melody. At its centre there stands a long pole, which her people raised as her monument—a crude long trunk of a tall tree, standing heaven high, rough-hewn but a tower of strength these 2,000 years.

This history is as noble, as natural, as history can be, but it is also as significant of human nature, in all countries and all ages. Her husband King Prasutagus had given half of his kingdom to appease the Romans, and they took it; but after his death, having had an inch already, they wanted an ell.

Two hundred and thirty thousand Britons were routed by 10,000 well-desciplined Roman soldiers, by the same tacties as obtain among all half-civilized races—namely, treachery.

In such a patriotic war, in which even the priests and women took part, there were many renegade Britons who fought against Britain's liberty.

Then after a peaceful subjection of several centuries, that same virile race were unable to maintain their independence, against their northern enemies, the Picts and Scots, when they were left to themselves, by the Romans.

Since then, race after race, has come and settled, in that small island home, as conquerors of the land. But now the fusion is so complete, so thorough, that not a trace of race distinction can be made out. *This fusion is the cause of Englad's greatness.* And wherever, under such conditions, there has been no fusion, there has inevitably been seething discontent, and bitter race feeing, and profound degeneration among the people.

Of the principal causes of Britain's modern greatness, the following may be mentioned as the chief :—

First.—The bracing *climate* of the country, which is agreeably cold and changeful,—and always promotes activity.

Second.—The *stores of iron and coal* side by side, which lead to her *naval* and *commercial* greatness.

Third—The harmonious *fusion of blood* of different powerful conquering races,—contributing the greatest factor.

INDU MADHAB MALLIK.

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HISTORY OF THE SUGAR INDUSTRY

Sugar.—The term sugar is applied to a group of bodies resembling each other in a number of striking properties, partly physical and partly chemical, as follows:—(1) The sweet taste, (2) The ability to undergo the process of fermentation, (3) The identity or similarity in chemical composition and relations, (4) The power that aqueous solutions have of rotating the plane of polarized light, (5) The general resemblance in physical and chemical characteristics, such as solubility in water, insolubility in absolute alcohol or ether, facility of crystallization, etc.

The sweet taste is very distinctive of sugar and is possessed in a greater or less degree by nearly all sugars. There are some other bodies possessing a sweet taste, such as glycol, glycerine, also some metallic salts, notably the acetates of lead, etc. The sugars are mostly of vegetable origin, though a few, as inosite and dextrose, are found in animals.

History of Sugar.—Etymologically sugar would seem to be of Indian origin, the earliest forms of the word being *Sarkara* in Sanskrit and *Sakkara* in Prakrit. Thence it may be traced through many Aryan and Semitic languages, as *Shakkar* in Persian, *Sukkar* in Arabic, *Suicar* in Assyrian and Phœnician, *Saccharum* in Latin, *Azucar* in Spanish and Portuguese, *Zucchers* in Italian, *Sucre* in French, *Zucker* in German, *Sugar* in English, etc.

The precise product indicated by these various names is not always clear and probably not identical in all cases. The cultivation of the genuine sugar cane (*saccharum spp.*) appears to have been common in China and India in very remote times. Frequent mention of the 'sweet cane' occurs in the Scriptures but the plant referred to is doubtful. An Indian reed yielding honey is alluded to by Strabo, and a similar statement concerning an Egyptian reed is made by Theophrastus, while Dioscorides actually gives the name Saccharum to a kind of honey obtained from reeds in Arabia Felix and India. Both he and Pliny accurately describe the product as being white and brittle and of a saltlike consistence. Later it seems to have been generally termed 'Indian salt' among the Greeks and Romans, by whom it was obtained in small quantities at great cost from India and used medicinally.

The introduction of the sugarcane into the Mediterranean basis must have taken place at an early date, for it was found growing at Assouan on the Nile in 766 and was carried into Spain by the Moors in 714, while Sicily engaged in the culture about 1060-90. During the religious wars of the middle ages the sweet-honied reeds called Zucra which abounded in the meadows about Tripoli were consumed by the crusaders, and it is evident that sugar-making in that neighbourhood was conducted in a wholesale and systematic manner. From Cyprus and Madeira, the industry extended in 1500—1600 to most of the West Indies, where it was carried on by Spanish and British Colonists, but there is strong evidence in favour of the supposition that several kinds of sugarcane are indigenous both to the West Indies and to almost the whole Continent of South America.

From the extensive growth of sugar in the Western Tropics, there ensued large importations of the raw article into Europe and the introduction of tea and coffee about the same time created a general and wide demand for what had hitherto been regarded as a medicine rather than as a nutritive article of diet. Sugar refining appears to have been copied from Indians by Arabs and from them by the Venetians and refineries were established in England and Germany in the 16th century and in Holland soon after. Up to this time cane-sugar was the only kind known in commerce, but in 1747 Margraf demonstrated the existence of about 6 per cent. sugar in beet-root and in 1795 Achard manufactured beet-sugar on his farm in Silesia and presented loaves of refined sugar to Frederick William III of Prussia in 1799. About 10 years later Napoleon made experiments on grapes, plums, maize, sorghum, carrots, etc., to foster the production of native-grown sugar. The first French factory for making beet-sugar was founded at Lille in 1810 by Crespel Delisse.

The artificial conversion of starch into Glucose was first accomplished by Kirchoff of St. Petersburg in 1702. Of late years this industry has assumed important dimensions in Continental Europe, England and the United States of America.

As to the history of other sugars obtained from the maple, sorghum and various palms little definite information is available. The preparation of sugar or syrup from green maize stalks is due to the ancient Mexicans and has been carried on with varying success in Southern Europe and in the United States of America; the extraction of sugar from melons is an American innovation of the last few years and the separation of sugar from milk is essentially a Swiss industry. The saccharine secretion of bees and similar insects, as well as natural exudations such as manna, have probably been utilized from the very remotest ages and are the subject of no particular preparation or manipulation.

B.

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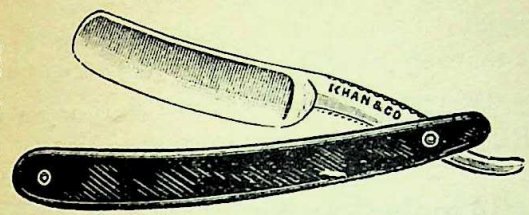

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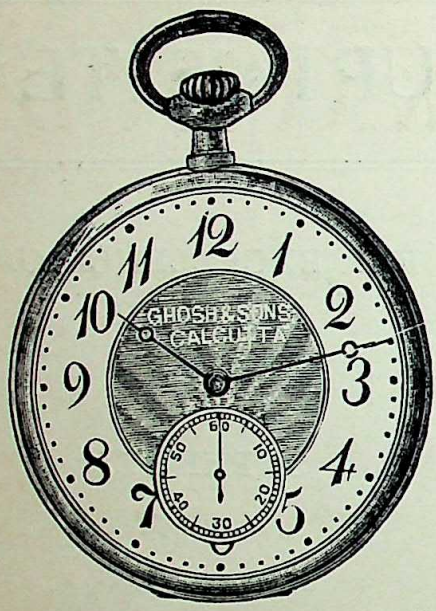

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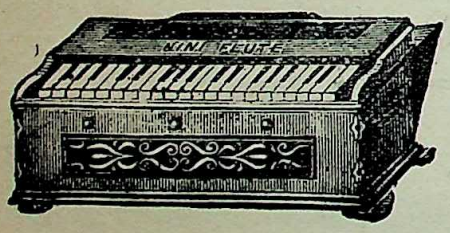

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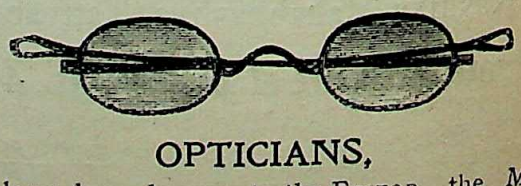

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OPINIONS OF THE PRESS ON THE MODERN REVIEW

The Review of Reviews :—

Nothing is more remarkable of late years than the improvement in the magazines edited and published by natives in India. *The Modern Review*, which is edited by Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee at Allahabad, has actually developed so far as to publish three admirable coloured illustrations. The February number contains an interesting article on the free influx of Englishmen into India, an article on pan-Islamism by a Mahomedan and a long statistical report embodying the leading facts and figures relating to the shipping and ship-building of India, the point of which is that the Indian ship-building trade is being ruined, whereas it was one of the most extensive and prosperous industries of the land.

The Empire :—

The "Modern Review" continues to justify its title by being turned out well up to date. Its April number is about the most interesting that has yet appeared. It touches all sides of Indian life, industrial, ethical, historical and artistic—and there is not a page in it that is not of abiding value. It is a very striking instance of what India can produce in the way of high class periodical literature.

The Hindoo Patriot :—

The April number of the "Modern Review" contains some very interesting articles. The first article is "The Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries," which the Government may well peruse so as to be convinced of the cause of the present miserable economic condition of the country. * * * And in the face of these incontrovertible proofs, it is asserted that the economic system in force is vastly benefiting us and scattering the seeds of prosperity all over the land! * * * Other important articles on industries in the number under notice are Professor Sedgwick's "Research and Industrial Development in India," Mr. James Imms' "Outlook of the Paper Industry in India, Mr. Prag. N. Bhargava's "The Metal Industry," Mr. Syed Hosein's "Dairy Industry in the U. P.," etc. All the articles are written by practical industrialists, and we mean to notice them in future issues. The current number of the magazine has some special merits, being more than usually instructive and suggestive. The illustrations, which are a unique feature of the magazine, are twenty in number.

The Indian Social Reformer :—

The *Modern Review* of Allahabad, edited by Mr. Ramananda Chatterji, although one of the comparatively recent ventures in journalism, has won its way to the front ranks of monthly reviews. Both in point of matter and the tasteful manner in which the journal is got up, combined with the scrupulously punctual issue of its monthly numbers, the review exhibits a laudable individuality of its own. The April issue which is just to hand maintains the usual level of excellence and contains more than a dozen articles of interest contributed by varied literary talent, both Eastern and Western.

The Arya Messenger :—

We have received a copy of the April number of *The Modern Review*, a monthly magazine published at Allahabad. It comprises about one hundred closely printed pages. The Editor, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, seems to have spared no pains to make the periodical really interesting and instructive. The various subjects dealt with in the current number of the Magazine are interesting not only to men of literary taste, but also to students of history. From what we have read in its columns, we can safely predict that the periodical will soon achieve the success which it rightly deserves. To say the least it is a very profitable reading from end to end.

The Sind Journal :—

The *Modern Review* continues to justify its title by being turned out well up to date. Its April number is about the most interesting that has yet appeared. It touches all sides of Indian life, industrial, ethical, historical and artistic—and there is not a page in it that is not of abiding value. It is a very striking instance of what India can produce in the way of high class periodical literature.

The Indian Messenger :—

The April number of the *Modern Review* is one of the strongest of the whole series. It is pre-eminently an industrial number. * * * Altogether the volume before us is very interesting and may prove of much practical importance.

The Phœnix :—

The April number of the *Modern Review* opens with a remarkable article on *"Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries"* which will be noticed in our leading article next time. Professor F. W. Sedwick, of the Roorkee Engineering College, writes an instructive article on *"Research and Industrial development in India."* Mr. J. Imms' paper on *Paper Industry* is equally practical, Mr. P. N. Bhargava points out the difficulties in the way of the *Metal Industry* and suggests what Government may do to help "honest Swadeshi" in this direction. Mr. Nihal Sing continues his article on *"Indians in America."* Mr. Sing is misinformed when he says that it was Mr. N. N. Dutt *alias* Swami Vivekananda who contributed most towards creating respect and winning admiration of Americans for India. True that his *Fakir's* garb satisfied the abnormal craving of the ordinary Yankee for sensation and mysticism and enabled him to raise some Rs. 80,000 for his Ashram, *Belur Mat*, near Calcutta. But it was

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Mr. P. C. Mozoomdar who succeeded in inspiring admiration for the civilization of India in the minds of thoughtful and intellectual Americans. A remarkable article on *Mustafa Kamel Pasha*, the Great Egyptian Nationalist, comes from the pen of a well-known Musalman Pan-Islamist. Sister Nivedita writes on *"Civic elements in Indian life."* Mr. Abinash Chandra Das, writing on *"The People in ancient India"*, shows from ancient Sanskrit literature what voice the Hindus had in the Government of their country in those days. Dr. Indu M. Mullick, M.A., M.D., writes a very interesting article on. "The Researches of Dr. J. C. Bose." Several other well-written articles on subjects of absorbing interest complete the April number, which is bound to keep up the reputation of the *Modern Review* as a first-class Indian Monthly. There is a large number of illustrations as usual—as many as twenty of them. Of these eleven are portraits of notable men and women.

* * The punctuality of the *Modern Review* is coming to be as proverbial as the puntuality of the London Cathedral Clock. But more remarkable than the punctuality of the current number of the Review is the unsigned article under the above heading which deservedly occupies the place of honour.

The Indian People :—

In the course of a paper which the Manager of the Lucknow Paper Mills contributed to the Industrial Conference and which is published in the last number of the "Modern Review" a suggestion is made which is worthy of consideration.

The West Coast Spectator :—

The April number of the *Modern Review* maintains the usual high level of excellence of this excellent Magazine. The opening article gives an account, supported by statistical tables, of how our British rulers managed to crush our industries and create in India a market for their goods. Prof. F. W. Sedgwick, M.A., of the Thomason Engineering College, Roorkee, writes a suggestive article on "Research and Industrial Development in India." Rider Haggard's story is continued. "The Negro Race in America" is another article. Mr. Saint Nihal Sing, in his second article on "Indians in America," notices the work done by many Indians during recent years to make India an honoured name in America. The article is illustrated with portraits of such men. But we hesitate to mention the many good articles in this excellent journal. They all deserve to be read and studied, and are on a large variety of highly useful subjects. The "Notes" are exquisite. In one of them the writer condemns Mrs. Besant's desire to secure a Royal Charter for the projected National University. He says :—"Those who are National Educators do not want a Royal Charter. It means control by aliens. It is a delusion and a snare. He who grants a boon, can also deal a blow. If the Emperor of India or those who rule in his name were flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone, a Royal Charter might not shackle our feet. But the facts being otherwise, a National University must do without royal favours." There are three very artistic illustrations in the current number—a picture by M. V. Dhurandhar of Sivaji liberating a captive Mussalman girl, one by Surendranath Ganguli of the sage Narada, and the third a most expressive painting of the "Sati" by Nanda Lal Bose.

The Parsi :—

Mr. Saint Nihal Singh's second paper on "Indians in America" is concerned with those who, like Swami Vivekananda and Pratab Chandra Mozumdar, have made the Hindu name respected in America. This is a very interesting article, extracts from which we have reproduced elsewhere.

The Sanjibani :—

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JUNE, 1908

27-08

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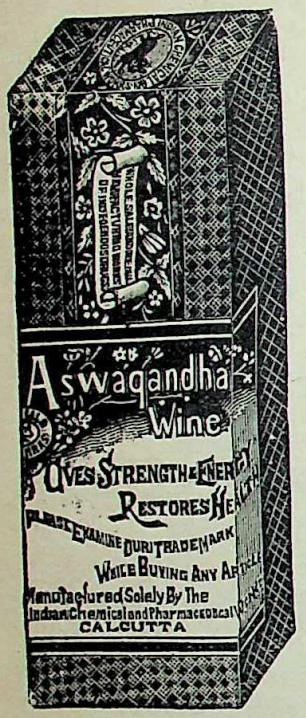

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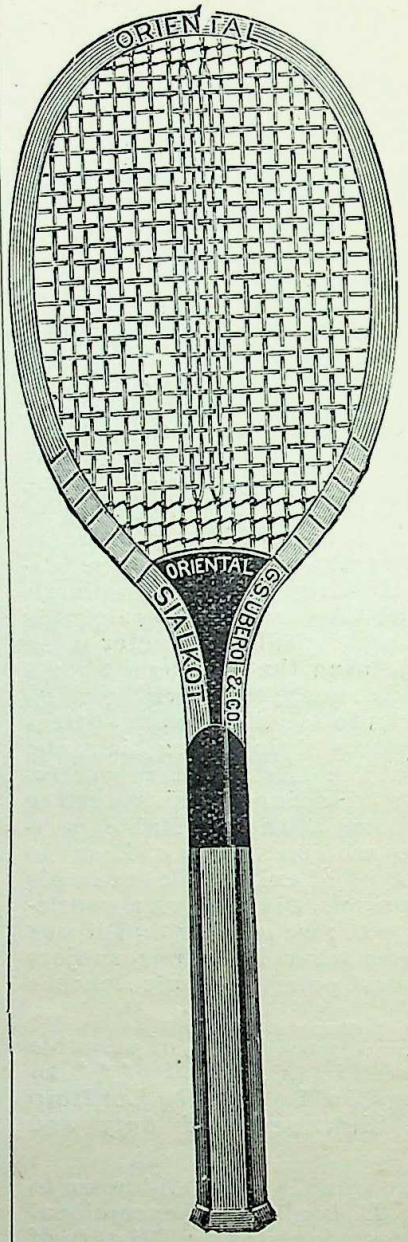

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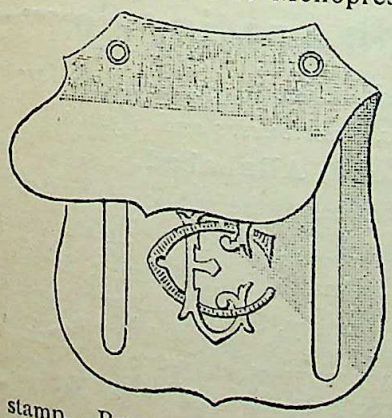

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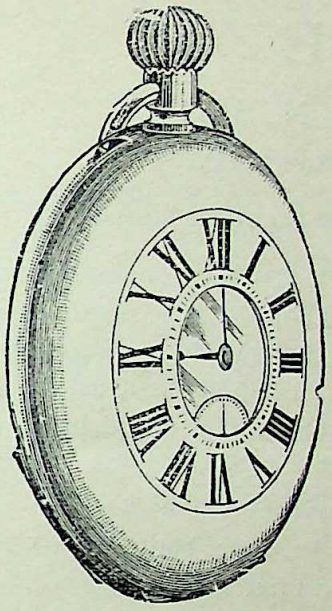

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8. **Essence of Rajanigandha:** Its scent is like a Rajanigandha flower and is swert and lasting.
9. **Essence of Violet:** Its scent is like a Violet flower and is lasting.

10. **Indian Bouquet:** It is in no way inferior to the Foreign Cashmere Bouquet and is lasting.
11. **Essence of Kashmir Flowers.**

The price of all of the above is 14 As., half oz. 10 As., per each phial.

12. **Lavender Water:** Small phial. **As. 7.**
13. **Do.** Large phial. Price **As. 14.**
14. **Moharaja Bakul Pomade:** It is scented like full-blown Bakul flower, which remains for a long time, Price **As. 10.**
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KING VIKRAMADITYA AND THE VETAL (A DEMON).

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RALPH WALDO EMERSON

BY J. T. SUNDERLAND, M.A.

THE most influential writer and thinker that America has yet produced is undoubtedly Ralph Waldo Emerson. Several other writers are more generally popular. Longfellow is much more widely read; indeed Longfellow is probably more read than any other modern poet,—surpassing Tennyson in the number of his readers even in England, and in all the leading countries of Europe being widely known and loved. But Emerson has obtained a more powerful hold upon the intellectual classes—those who influence the thought and life of the people—than any other author of the New World, past or present.

I was much interested, while in India, to find how widely Emerson had attracted the attention of leading minds there. Nor is it strange that he should do so, for he was a student and a lover of the old literature of India, and there is much in his thought that reminds one of the teachings of Indian philosophers and seers.

Emerson's influence is great in literature. But it is greater still in morals and religion.

His moral power lies in his moral insight. I think no other writer of the past century has seen with such clearness, and set forth with such a graphic pen, the great truth that all things in the Universe rest on a moral foundation—that through the Universe runs a moral order.

Emerson's religious power lies in his spiritual penetration. His spiritual vision pierces down to the deep heart of reality. Many religious teachers get tangled in externalities, and superficialities, and temporalities—that is, in ecclesiasticisms, parties, forms of expression of truth, creeds, symbols, attachment to particular prophets. Hence their teaching is local, temporal, moving on the surface of religion. In Emerson we have a teacher whose interest is in the universal, the spiritual, the eternal; and, hence, whose word has not merely ruffled the surface of the religious thinking of his time, but penetrated that thinking, like light—gone down to the roots of it, like rain—strangely stirred it at the very fountains of its deepest life. In this respect he is like the great religious teachers of India.

More than almost any man's of the modern world his has been a fresh voice from God! Yes, we need not hesitate to say it from God—speaking a living word of inspiration to men in our time.

And our time is praising him. Of course not the creedists—not the doctrinaires—not those interested in forms of truth more than in truth. No new word of God can come to such men now, as no word of fresh inspiration could come to the same class of men in the past. But the lowly listeners, the lovers of truth, the believers in a Living God whose inspiration is an ever-flowing fountain for every age to drink—such are hearing the deep and quiet, but the thrilling and the life-giving word of Emerson. Such recognise in him a prophet of the highest,

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speaking with authority—the eternal authority of truth, and insight, and love.

That we may understand the man and his message, let us first glance at his life and character; then at his literary work; and then consider the quality and significance of his moral and religious teaching.

Emerson was born in 1803, and died in 1882. The best blood of New England ran in his veins. He was educated in the Boston Schools and at Harvard College. Then he studied divinity for a time with the distinguished Dr. Channing, and settled as pastor of the Second Church (Unitarian) in Boston. In this position he remained only four years; by the end of that time having become convinced that his life-work was not to be that of a settled minister of a single church, but rather that of a writer and public lecturer. He wished still to devote his life to moral and religious teaching, but he believed he could do so best through his pen and on the public lecture-platform.

Accordingly, he went out to the little village of Concord, a quiet place, twenty miles or so from Boston, in the midst of sweet New England country scenery, and there made for himself a home, which he occupied for the rest of his life. For many years he continued to preach much, in the various towns and villages in the vicinity of his home, but he never accepted a stated charge; and more and more his writing and lecturing came to absorb his time and strength.

The reason he chose Concord as a place of residence seems to have been partly that this had been the home of some of his ancestors, and partly that it was a lovely and quiet spot, near enough to the metropolis to afford him easy access to the city's activities and privileges, and yet far enough away to give him the retirement and peace of the country.

Writing of his settlement here, he says: "I am by nature a poet, and, therefore, must live in the country." And how truly nature was his companion through all the well-nigh forty-five years of his residence amidst her fields and woods, her brooks and flowers and quiet paths, every reader of his books well knows.

Nature is to every human soul what that soul makes her to be. To the soul that can perceive it, she is an infinite wonder, a teacher whose lessons are new every morning and fresh every evening, a never-failing fountain of joy and inspiration. She was all this to Emerson, else he could never have given to the world such a wealth of poetry and wisdom drawn from nature's heart.

His love of nature was always very ardent. Some said it ate up his love of men. But such cannot know Emerson well. His friendships were always warm and hearty; his interest in his neighbours, even the poorest, was striking and beautiful. He used often to chat with the farmers at their work; he had personal acquaintance and friendship with the humblest day-labourers; he loved and was loved by the school children; he was a general favourite in the village. Everything that pertained to the welfare of the community he was interested in. Nor did his love of men stop with his personal friends, and neighbours, and the town where he resided. It reached out far—to all humanity, and especially to all who suffered or were wronged. Few genuine reforms of the fifty years preceding his death, from the anti-slavery cause to the movement to enlarge the sphere of woman, failed of his support. Never a politician, but always a patriot, he kept through all his years a warm and unflagging interest in the welfare of his native state and his native land. Few men of his generation spoke wiser, more sincere, or more weighty words upon any of the great subjects that deeply concerned the moral, religious, social, political, or even industrial life of his country and age.

To few spots in America, or in any other land, came so many noble spirits as to that simple Concord home. The wisest and best men and women of America were Emerson's friends, and loved to sit down at his fireside. Distinguished visitors from Europe eagerly sought him in his retreat. Few homes were so charming. But it was simplicity itself, as the man was all simplicity. Indeed, its simplicity and genuineness were its charm. Pretensions could not live within its walls. Truth and sincerity, sympathy and love, were the guardian spirits that habitually dwelt there. No wonder, therefore, that men and women, alike the humble and the great, loved to enter.

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It is hard to say whether Emerson is greatest as a poet or as a prose writer. Indeed, it is not always quite easy to tell just which of his writings are poetry and which are prose. In his verse, not unfrequently, his rhymes are faulty and his metres limp. But whether he writes in verse or prose, his thought is always that of the poet. It is pictured thought. It is thought transformed by a powerful imagination into forms of life.

In England and on the Continent of Europe, Emerson seems generally to be ranked as the greatest of America's prose writers, and as occupying a place at least among the greatest of her poets. This is the general verdict also in his own land. His poetry ranges from the simplest—as simple as anything in Longfellow or Burns—to the most profound—as profound as anything in Wordsworth, or Goethe, or Browning.

Turning to Emerson's prose writings, it may be noted that his Phi Beta Kappa Oration on "The American Scholar" has often been pointed to, and, perhaps, with good reason, as marking an era in American letters. Its effect at the time of its delivery was certainly great. It is hard to point to any other single utterance the influence of which has been so stimulating, so awakening, so creative. I should strongly advise any one who has not read Emerson, but who proposes to do so, to begin with this production.

Emerson has been called the American Carlyle, the American Coleridge, the American Wordsworth, the American Bacon, the American Goethe, the American Plato, according as men have looked at different aspects of his thought and literary work. He may well remind one of many men, yet is he as thoroughly himself, as wholly unique and individual, both in his thought and in the expression of his thought, as any modern writer. If originality may be said to belong to any author of our time, Emerson is original.

Emerson, like most other great thinkers, drew attention to himself only slowly, and was long in reaching any great degree of what we may call popularity. To one who wrote inviting him to the distant Western city of Cincinnati to deliver a lecture, he replied: "Why, my dear sir, you have not a hall in Cincinnati small enough to hold my audience!" His first book, "Nature," was twelve years in reaching a sale of five hundred copies! To-day the works of few writers, outside the realm of fiction, have so large or so steadily increasing a sale, and not only in America, but in England, and wherever the English language is spoken. Nor is even this all. They have been translated into nearly all the more important European tongues, and they are quietly creeping into the languages of Asia, and wherever they go they are attracting the attention of the wise and the thoughtful. Of no American writer is it so true, that he "comes to his own," and "his own sheep hear his voice." But the minds that receive him are the best minds. He teaches the teachers; he preaches to the preachers; he writes poetry for the poets; he thinks for the thinkers: and this in every land where his works are read.

Is it possible, in a few words, to paint the leading characteristics of his writings? As already intimated, he is above all else a seer. His conception of truth is the poetical conception. Hence, his expression is enunciation, not argument. He cares little for logic. His effort is not to prove, but to show. It follows that his writings are never controversial. They are remarkable for their affirmations. True, he can deny if there is need for it. His books contain many a vigorous negation. But the thing he loves is to affirm—to affirm without reference to any one else's opinion. He never answers his critics or reviewers.

There is a mystic vein in Emerson. In his earlier years men called him a transcendentalist. He changed perceptibly in his later life, leaving much of his transcendentalism behind. Yet he always retained a trace of the mystic. Perhaps, without this he could not have been a poet. But all was admirably balanced and held in poise by a large element of keen, clear, practical wisdom that runs through his writings. If he has wings and soars, he also has feet and stands firm upon the solid earth. If he is a mystic, or a transcendentalist, he is at the same time a practical "Yankee," with a large development of that saving element which men call "common-sense." If he loves poetical insights, so, too, he dearly loves facts. One has said of him—"He

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hugs his fact." One of the causes of his seeming illogicalness is his abundance of detail. He fairly revels in allusions, side-glances, illustrations drawn from every imaginable source, remote or near, erudite, homely, beautiful, quaint, always telling, always flashing unexpected light upon the subject in hand.

In all his thinking and writing Emerson is independent, out-spoken, the bravest of the brave,—yet with no bluster. With all his boldness, he is sincere and modest, tender and reverent. He has in him at once the soul of a warrior and the soul of a woman.

Both his prose and his poetry are wonderfully full of sententious lines, short, apt, pregnant sentences, which fasten in men's minds and are rapidly becoming current coin of quotation. No other American writer, perhaps, no other writer in the English language, with the single exception of Shakespeare, is quoted so much. If Emerson's mind is less many-sided than Shakespeare's, his spiritual insight, his grasp on great moral principles, and his power to condense his thought so as to pack a volume into a dozen striking words, is beyond that of Shakespeare—I believe it is beyond that of any other writer, living or dead. To make quotations from his writings illustrating this, is a very easy task. One has scarcely more to do than to open any one of his volumes, prose or verse, at any random page, and read. Here is a little handful of pearls and diamonds, such as lie scattered all through his rich pages. I give them merely as specimens, choosing such as are most familiar and mainly from his poems:—

"If eyes were made for seeing,
Then beauty is its own excuse for being."

"The conscious stone to beauty grew."

"He that feeds men serveth few;
He serves all who dares be true."

"To the poet, to the philosopher, to the saint, all things are sacred, all events profitable, all days holy, all men divine."

"So nigh is grandeur to our dust,
So near is God to man,
When duty whispers low, 'Thou must,'
The youth replies, 'I can.'"

"The highest compact we can make with our fellow is, 'Let there be truth between us two for evermore.'"

"Go, put your creed into your deed,
Nor speak with double tongue."

"For he that worketh high and wise,
Nor pauses in his plan,
Will take the stars out of the skies
Ere freedom out of man."

"Men of character are the conscience of the society to which they belong."

"What is excellent,
As God lives, is permanent"

Where shall we stop? As well ask where to stop when we begin counting the stars of the night-sky, or gathering flowers from the endless meadows of May!

I now come to Emerson in his supreme capacity, namely, that of teacher of ethics and religion. No man of our age is more essentially an ethical teacher—none more truly a teacher of religion.

But, in order that this may appear, we must understand what is meant by religion and ethics. Emerson teaches no system of ethics; he teaches no formulated theology. His ethics is the ethics of the Golden Rule; of the normal, happy, right life; of natural, needful, and, therefore, beneficent retributions, here and hereafter. It is the ethics of the soul, of the conscience, of moral intuition.

In the same way his religion is a thing of life and not of forms or creeds. If he can enunciate a moral principle, or a religious truth, so as to make men feel its power, so as to cause it to commend itself to men's minds, and consciences, and spiritual nature, then he counts his task well done. But if persons do not instinctively recognise a religious utterance the moment it comes to them, he holds that all arguing about it, or trying to prove its validity, is time thrown away. Hence, his search, not for arguments, but for deeper and more penetrating and fresher thoughts, and imagery, and new and living forms of expression.

Emerson's religion is *Natural* religion.

"Out of the heart of Nature rolled,
The burdens of the Bible old,"

he sings. True religion is not un-nature, or anti-nature, or even super-nature, but *Nature*—just the deepest, holiest, divinest outcome of Nature. It is natural, not unnatural, for man to hope; it is natural for him to love; it is natural for him to worship; it is natural to believe in a Power, a Wisdom, a Justice, and a Goodness, above him and at the heart of all things, and to desire to be in harmony with the same.

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The reason why any intelligent and thoughtful man finds it hard to believe in religion is because it is presented to him in distorted or inadequate forms. "There shall, some time, be made a statement of religion," Emerson declares, "which will render all scepticism absurd." The religious instinct is as natural as anything else in man, and what is wanted is not to change man's nature, or to destroy it, but to guide, and train, and perfect it. Just in so far as the great religions of mankind conform to Natural Religion they are true and eternal. Just in so far as they depart from Natural Religion and are based upon the artificialities of *ipse dixits*, or external authorities, or miracles, of supposed special revelations, they are transient. Jesus was a religious teacher for all time, because he taught Natural Religion.

From all this it follows that Emerson's religion is *Universal* Religion. He cannot believe in a partial God—one who can choose out a single nation of the earth for his favour and his salvation, and leave all the rest in darkness and death. He cannot believe revelation to be confined to one book. Rather is it too large a thing for all books that ever have been or ever will be written.

Inspiration is not confined to thirty ancient Hebrews, more or less. It is the very breath of life of all souls on the earth. As Christians we love our own Bible, he says,—Let us sacredly cherish all its noble teachings, all its holy associations. But other peoples of the world have their Bibles too. And if we say that God speaks through our Bible, let us not be bigots and deny the like claim made by other races, that God speaks also through the Bibles which he has given them. Let us not think that Christian saints and Jewish saints exhaust all the sainthood of the world. If we put the shoes from off our feet in the presence of Moses and Jesus, let us uncover our heads in the presence of Confucius and Buddha, and may another great teacher, remembering that God hath not left Himself without witness in any land or among any people.

Emerson was a profound believer in science. He followed its wonderful discoveries with deepest interest. He saw in it a new, and marvellous, and many-sided and ever-growing revelation of God. But, of course, he saw it all with the eyes of the seer, the thinker, the poet, and he interpreted its teachings and deductions in the light of his own idealism. He would have science a living, not a dead thing. He would have it vivified and glorified by creative insight, by imagination, by poetry, by religion. While he honoured scientists above most men, yet for those scientists who begin with matter and end with matter, who investigate matter and contend that that is all there is, he had little respect. To scientists he said :—

"Bring on your facts: the more the better. I bow reverently before every one. But I beg of you, gentlemen, do not study one-half of the universe alone, and that the lower and poorer half. Bring me facts and deductions about souls as well as about bodies, about spirit as well as matter. Is not a man more important than a fossil, and the mighty mind of man that can weigh and measure the stars than a bug?"

To Emerson nature, life, science, law, everything is ethical. "Heaven kindly gave our blood a moral flow." "Things are saturated," he writes, "with the moral law. There is no escape from it. Violets and grass preach it; every change, every course in nature, is nothing but a disguised missionary."

Because nature culminates in the ethical, therefore it culminates in man. Emerson's sense of the dignity of humanity is scarcely less than that of Channing. To Emerson man is not something apart from nature, but the best expression of nature's deep meaning—the crowning product of nature's divine life. Ever nature struggles upward —the lower toward the higher, the higher toward the highest; and in man the highest is reached. In one of his poems Emerson represents nature as saying :—

"I travel in pain for him [man].
Let war and trade, and creeds and song,
Blend, ripen race on race,
The sunburnt world a man shall breed
Of all the zones and countless days."

No writer holds higher ideas of what it is to be a man than Emerson. No one exposes more unflinchingly than he, the counterfeits which pass current for manhood. Robert Burns' lines—

"Gie foos their gowd
And a' that,
The rank is but the guinea's stamp,
The man's the gowd
For a' that"

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are quite matched by Emerson's couplet:—

"A ruddy drop of manly blood
The surging seas outweigh."

According to Emerson, there can be no final disaster to man.

"Man is born to a priceless heritage that no threescore-and-ten years of failure here may rob him of. There may be aberration, as of a star, but the soul will come again into its constant orbit."

Ever is Emerson on the alert against that besetting sin of all the ages—the sinking of religion in mere theological beliefs and outward observances. "Anything," he says, "but losing hold of the moral intuitions, as betrayed in the clinging to the form of devotion, or a theological dogma; as if it were the liturgy or the chapel that was sacred, and not justice and humility, and the loving heart and serving hand." Ever does he plead for reality in religion—life, not semblance of life. Just as a thousand echoes of a voice do not make a voice, and just as ten thousand shadows of an object do not make an object, so all the paraphernalia of religion in the world have no power to give us a particle of real religion. He is a remorseless stabber of theological conceit and ecclesiastical pretence. How he impales upon dagger-pointed words all vicarious redemptions, and schemes of make-believe salvations, whereby men who have no desert are by sham-shows of pretended justice gotten into heaven, while men of real desert are sent to hell on theological technicalities unworthy of a police court! A large part of what currently passes to-day for Christianity he will have nothing to do with. He believes it to be falsehood, superstition, a dark veil to shut out light, a chain to bind minds which were made for freedom. He does not believe this to be the Christianity of Christ. In the teachings of the great Prophet of Nazareth he sees ethical and spiritual truth at its purest and best,—something therefore, of priceless value, something which gave a great moral and religious uplift to the world. The religion of Jesus he gladly accepts; the theology of Christianity he, for the most part, rejects.

Emerson has no sympathy with the cry so popular in many quarters that we live in an infidel age. He believes that there was never before so much faith, and never so much faithfulness, in the world, as now. Faith in truth, faith in justice, faith in reality, are faith in God. Real faith dares to question. That is only blind credulity which accepts without inquiry. Tennyson's couplet:—

"There lives more faith in honest doubt,
Believe me, than in half the creeds,"

might well be Emerson's, so truly does it express his thought. For a man in a creed-ridden, priest-ridden time to be denounced as sceptical signifies nothing. As Emerson more than once points out, in all nations and ages prophets and teachers of religion in advance of their time have been cast out as sceptics, blasphemers, atheists. This is because the ignorant and the superstitious so easily mistake theological dogmas and ecclesiastical forms for religion—the shadow for the substance. Emerson sees in much of the so-called infidelity of society to-day an honest, earnest, and essentially devout effort to find reality—to pierce down through the conventional in search for the eternally true.

Emerson has done much to make atheism impossible by helping our age to a more reasonable and satisfactory view of God. To minds influenced by science the idea of an absentee God, a "magnified and non-natural man," sitting on his throne in a far away heaven, creating the world in six days by his arbitrary fiat, and ruling it as an earthly monarch might rule an empire from a distant capital, is no longer credible. Emerson has seen its incredibility, and has done an invaluable service to his age by presenting to men a conception of God incomparably more rational and infinitely more spiritual, which at once harmonizes with science and enriches religion. To Emerson the throne of God is not in some local far-off world, but here, everywhere, in every flower that blooms, in every ray of light that streams through space, especially in every thought and aspiration and heart-throb of man. As St. Paul says, "In Him we live, and move, and have our being." He is the Power and Centre of all the on-goings of the universe, the Intelligence that guides all, the Justice that works out its great ends in human history, the Eternal Love that blossoms forth in all our human affection.

"Ever fresh the broad creation—
A divine improvisation,
From the heart of God proceeds,
A single will, a million deeds.
Once slept the world, an egg of stone,
And pulse and throb and light was none:

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And God said, throb, and there was motion,
And the vast mass became vast ocean.
Onward and on, the Eternal Pan,
Who layeth the world's incessant plan,
Halteth never in one shape,
But forever doth escape,
Like wave or flame, into new forms
Of gem and air, of plants and worms.
The world is the ring of His spells,
The play of His miracles.
This vault, which glows immense with light,
Is the inn where He lodges for a night.
He is the axis of the star;
He is the sparkle of the spar;
He is the heart of every creature,
He is the meaning of each feature,
And His mind is the sky,
Than all it holds more deep, more high."

All this is only another way of saying that God is the soul and life of all things. His presence binds the worlds together. The universe is one, because He is One. Nature is the flowing robe in which He clothes himself. Stars shine with His light. Roses are beautiful with His beauty. Our dear ones love us with a love which they did not create, but which must have come from a Divine Source higher than themselves. Thus is God not far removed from us, but central in our lives, the Fountain of our day, the Light of all our seeing—nearer to us, if possible, than we are to ourselves. Such a thought of God as this, an intelligent age can no more reject than it can reject gravitation, or its own rationality.

What is Emerson's view of miracles? The question is really answered by what has been said of his conception of God. With God central in all the on-goings of nature, where is there room for miracle? If the sun moves through the heavens by the power of God, what need is there for that luminary to "stand still" in order to prove God's presence! That would rather prove his absence. In the case of an absentee God, ruling the world by arbitrary fiat, there might be room for miracles, but not in the case of a God present everywhere, and ruling by law. To Emerson miracles are infinitely petty things, he is indifferent to them; nay he despises them, because they belittle God and religion. Shall the Infinite Power, who created all the fig trees in the world, curse one of the number to prove that he is God? Men adduce miracles as proofs of religion. But where is the proof of the miracles? It is a thousand times easier to prove the validity of religion than of these tales of the miraculous that come to us out of the dim past. Religion is something which stands firm on its own basis of human nature and needs no artificial support. When you undertake to prop it up by miracles, you do the same kind of thing as when you attempt to make the earth firm by placing an imaginary elephant beneath it. Your elephant does not help matters. The earth rests more secure in the mighty unseen hand of that Power which science calls Gravitation, but which religion calls by the greater name of God, than it could rest upon ten thousand elephants.

To Emerson miracles furnish no credentials to religious teachers. He says:—

"If you are childish and exhibit your saint as a worker of wonders, a thaumaturgist, I am repelled. That claim takes his teaching out of nature, and permits official and arbitrary senses to be grafted on the teachings. It is to the praise of our New Testament that its teachings go to the honour and benefit of humanity; that no better lesson has been taught or incarnated. Let it stand, beautiful and wholesome, with whatever is most like it in the teachings and practice of men; but do not attempt to elevate it out of humanity by saying 'this is not a man'—for, then you confound it with the fables of every popular religion; and my distrust of the story makes me distrust the doctrine as soon as it differs from my own belief. Whoever thinks a story gains by the prodigious, by adding something out of nature, robs it more than he adds. It is no longer an example, a model; no longer a heart-stirring hero, but an exhibition, a wonder, an anomaly, removed out of the range of influence with thoughtful men."

Emerson would not throw away the institutions of religion, as some religious radicals do. He would not even be indifferent to such institutions. He saw clearly their limitations and defects. But he also saw clearly their necessity and value. What he would do, therefore, was to improve them; he would remove their limitations; he would make them broader, more human, more practical; he would adapt them to changing times and to the growing needs of men.

"We are all sensible of the feeling," he writes, "that the Churches [as they at present exist] are outgrown; that the creeds are outgrown; that the technical theology no longer suits us. * * * The Church is not large enough for man; it cannot inspire the enthusiasm which is the parent of everything good in history, which makes the romance of history. For that enthusiasm you must have something greater than yourselves, not less." "There will be a new Church, founded on moral science, at first cold and naked, a babe in a manger again, * * * the Church of men to come, without *shawm* or *sackbut*, or psaltery;

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but it will have heaven and earth for its beams and rafters; science for symbol and illustration; and it will fast enough gather beauty, music, picture, poetry."

In the Christian Sunday, Emerson recognised a priceless blessing. He had no sympathy with the Puritan idea of the day, which would banish all light and beauty and joy from it, and devote it to the solemnities of an artificial and cruel religion. His conception of it was rather that of Jesus. "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath." He would make it not only pre-eminently the worship-day of the week, but also pre-eminently the light day, the love day, the joy day. He would open wide the doors of all churches and religious institutions on that day, but he would also open wide the doors and gates of museums, libraries, concert halls, galleries of art, public parks and gardens, where nature, and art, and beauty, and literature, and music may minister to the higher wants of man. Such a Sunday he saw would have simply an infinite value, and to all classes, rich and poor. "Sunday is the core of our civilization," he declares, "dedicated to thought and reverence. It invites to the noblest solitude and to the noblest society."

Indeed, all that was true and good in Church, in Sunday, in worship, in all the institutions of religion, Emerson would conserve. Severely as charges of religious vandalism have been urged against him, he was infinitely removed from anything of the kind. He would destroy only that, connected with religion, which is outgrown, superstitious, degrading to the character of God, or injurious to men. While he would cast out the dross, the gold he would guard with a miser's care.

Some have said that Emerson would minimize, and limit, and impoverish religion. On the contrary, his effort ever was to magnify it, enrich it, make it great. His plea was for more religion, not for less; for a deeper religion, not for a shallower; for a religion not confined to Sunday, and the Church, and acts calling themselves religious, but a religion including and pervading all life. If he would have men pray and read their sacred Scriptures in the religious spirit, he would also have them plow, and build rail-roads, and calculate eclipses, and sing lullabys to babes, and make laws for nations, and buy and sell, in the religious spirit—that is, in the spirit of gentleness and justice, of fidelity, truth and love.

How the world needs such a religion as this! How such a religion would transform human society, and build on the earth a heaven more beautiful than seer or prophet ever saw in ecstatic vision! Such a religion Emerson preached, by tongue and pen, all his days. Best of all, such a religion be *lived*.

Emerson's life was a long one. Seventy-nine summers smiled on him, seventy-nine winters frowned! But it was one long summer of light, and love, and peace in his heart. The years could make his body old, but not his soul. He always lived simply and naturally; he did not hasten; he took time as he went along, to think, to feel, to love, to worship, to watch all the silent processes of nature and learn her infinite patience and her joy. Friends were dear; his home was full of love and sincerity; his heart was always open to children; he stood forever facing the sunrise.

He widened the intellectual horizon of his time, but especially he helped men to a firmer hold upon moral principles, and a deeper insight into spiritual laws. He wrought for toleration, for charity, for human brotherhood, for philanthropies and reforms of many kinds, for a religion of love, for all genuine and sincere heart pieties. Reason in religion never had a braver champion. The Christianity of the Golden Rule and the Beatitudes never, since its author fell asleep, has found a nobler teacher, whether by word or by life. His character was spotless; his personality was powerful; his writings are classics in the English tongue; his influence as an apostle of "sweetness and light" is exceeded by that of no man of his century. The most cosmopolitan son of the New World, his thought and work were not for America alone, but for all lands, and, I believe, for all times.

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THE SO-CALLED INFERIORITY OF THE COLOURED RACES

THERE are three modes of accounting for the origin of the human race, adopted by three different schools of ethnology. Polygenesis considers each race as a distinct species, created in the place of its original home. Evolution represents the races as belonging to a common species, but as having sprung from separate stocks or centres of that species. Monogenesis derives the races not from a common species only, but from a single human pair. The theory of monogenesis is naturally distasteful to those white people in whom the prejudice against the coloured races is strong. Besides being the simplest, it seems, however to be the most probable theory regarding the origin of mankind, and no valid objection has yet been urged against it. The Evolutionist derives the complex human organism, with all the differences of form and colour, from a single pair of cells; so on the ground of analogy, it should be admitted that the various races have developed from a single pair of human beings. It has been objected that the monogenist school have not succeeded in explaining how the sons of one father dwelling in close proximity, and whose descendants would be constantly intermarrying, came to have such distinct progenies. But at an early stage of multiplication the progeny of the common ancestor must have separated, and isolation, precipitated by linguistic diversity and encouraged by distance, would have checked the mixture of the groups and helped the preservation of race-traits. In support, however of the separate origin of races, ethnologists of the first two schools adduce certain proofs, based upon physical peculiarities. They assert that between the fair and the dark races there are *radical* physical distinctions which indicate in the case of the dark races, mental and moral inferiority, and they also allege a tendency to sterility in the case of procreation between the dark and fair races. The reader of the following lines, if free from preconceived bias in favour of the whiteskinned races, will have no difficulty in discovering the more or less mythical character of these proofs and allegations.

I shall begin by quoting a passage from Dr. Scholes' *Glimpses of the Ages*, a book on which I have mainly drawn, in which he first states a fact well-known to us, and then gives the reasoning by which it is sought to be justified by the colourless races. Dr. Scholes says :—

"After the colourless race had imposed its rule upon the coloured races, it sought by means of its languages, its literatures, religion, philosophy, science, and its laws to consolidate the power which it had established by force. But strange as the fact may appear, when the seeds of law, religion, literature, etc., so industriously sown by the fair race, began to yield the fruits of uniformity, proximity, concord between it and its clients—the fair race, filled with alarm, strives to destroy the harvest. Here, then, is found, not the enemy sowing with tares the field of the slumbering husbandman, but the husbandman, himself awake, and professing great wisdom, sowing with tares his own field.

Nor is the psychological condition which has driven this mother—if I may change the metaphor—to attempt the life of her own offspring due to the sudden seizure of puerperal insanity, but rather to the mature conviction of serene deliberation. Thus the fair race alleges that its feeling of antipathy towards the dark races, and its endeavour to prevent them rising beyond a low stage, are justifiable on historic and scientific grounds. Science, it avers, by demonstrating the presence of certain peculiarities—physical, mental and moral—as being common to all the coloured races, peculiarities accounting for the secondary rank, which, instead of a primary rank, they uniformly take in the march of the world's progress, not only proves the impracticability of those coloured races co-operating with the fair race, on terms of political and social equality, but proves also that such a co-operation, by exposing the fair race to deterioration, and thereby menacing the causes of order and of progress, would be destructive no less to the coloured races themselves than to the fair race."

Some of these peculiarities, appealed to in the name of science, will be examined in this paper. The historical grounds upon

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which this argument is based will be reserved for another article.

The most prominent physical peculiarity to which 'science' points, lies of course, in the crime of colour. It is therefore necessary to examine the colour theory in some detail. Mankind is usually divided into three varieties according to the colour of the skin —the melanous, the leucous and the xanthous. The melanous comprises people with dark or black skins, black hair, and black eyes. The xanthous pertains to people with yellow or yellowish hair, bluish or grey eyes, and fair complexion. The leucous, relates to people who are abnormally white, such as the albinos. The albinos, as is well-known, are found in every race and clime. The xanthous complexion too appears in people of the melanous variety. Occasionally among Indians one meets with persons who would pass as fair in comparison with an Italian or Spaniard. The melanous variety of colour is also to be found in every xanthous race, as for instance, in the skin of the brunette of western Europe. Colour is the product of a substance called melanin, or black pigment; its chief seats are the skin, the hair of the head and the eye. Among all races, the three varieties of colour may be found, though one of the three varieties usually predominates.* Moreover, in the red or brown hair and the blue or grey eyes of the white races, if not in their skin, melanin is present. Thus the presence of the black pigment in their organism cannot be regarded as a peculiarity of the dark races nor can it be advanced as an argument in support of their alleged inferiority to the European races and against the theory that all the races, whatever their colour, have sprung from one stock of one and the same species.

It is a favourite doctrine with a certain class of ethnologists that the deposition of melanin in the skin is post-natal, due to climate influences operating through many generations. The mental endowment of a race is thus associated, not only with its colour, but also with its habitat. The historian Buckle is responsible for the popularity of this theory. About his theories I may have something to say in a future article, but for the present the following considerations will, I trust, suffice to demonstrate the utter futility of this doctrine. (1) Melanin is only one of a group of colouring matter derived from the blood and there are at least six other such substances, which are deposited before birth. Being of the same nature as all the other members of this group of pigment, and like them, being derived from the blood, the logical conclusion would be that it too has been deposited before birth. (2) It is known that melanin is deposited in the eye and the hair of the head before birth; we should therefore conclude that the same is the case with its deposition in the skin. (3) If these cutaneous variations in different races be due to climate, then to what are the variations in the colour of the hair of the head and eyes, among peoples in Europe who have lived for ages in the same localities, due? (4) If colour be due to climate, how again do you account for the class of animals, for example, the bear, which has brown or black skin, but whose habitat is the Polar Circle? (5) The bronzing of the white artisan through exposure to the sun or of the white tourist in hot countries, which have been referred to as illustrations of the influence of climate on colour, does not affect the argument, for the bronzed complexion is not maintained after the employment is abandoned by the artisan or the tourist returns to his home, and in any case this acquired colour is never transmitted from generation to generation. (6) Finally, pigment granules have been found by actual investigation in the skin of Negro fœtuses.

It is no doubt true that pigment tempers the solar heat, and that is the probable function of colour. The monogenists hold that each race, people or tribe, according to its cutaneous equipment, chose the climate that best harmonised with its dermal idiosyncrasy, and in this way explain the migration of the races. Circumstances of a political or economic nature may have forced a coloured people like the Esquimaux now and then to migrate beyond the subtropical zones to which they were adapted by nature.

The second physical peculiarity on which ethnologists love to dwell is cranial variation. The study of skull-measure-

* The fair complexion of the shell-cutting Shankaris of Dacca, referred to by Sir H. Risley, was noticed as early as 1839 by Dr. Taylor who in his Topography of Dacca (Chapter VIII) speaks of them as follows :—

"Most of them are of a fairer complexion than natives in general, and in some of their families there are a few Albinos."

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ments has been raised to the dignity of a science, and is called craniology; the whole series of race-distinctions, based on the shape of the cranium, the colour of the skin, the projection of the face, and stature, being given the name of anthropometry. The division of races into Caucasian, Mongolian, etc., had the disadvantage of placing the Hindu, the Persian, and the Egyptian in the same category with the Teuton or the Latin races. Herein lay the value of craniology. For, in its name, one of the high priests of that 'science,' Dr. Nott, is able to tell the world :—

"What reason is there to suppose that...the Hindu [has descended] from the same stock as the Teuton? The Hindu is almost as far removed in structure from the Teuton as is the Hottentot, and we might just as well classify the reindeer and gazelles together as the Teuton and Hindu....."

As a result of his anthropometric survey, Sir Herbert Risley* has divided the people of India into eight distinctive types. His investigations have led him to hold that the Dravidians were the aboriginal people of India, that the Indo-Aryan type, of which dolicho-cephaly (long-head) is one of the chief characteristics, is confined to Rajputana, Kashmir and the Punjab, that the Mahratta Brahmins are Scytho-Dravidians, and the Bengal Brahmins Mongolo-Dravidians, with probably 'a strain of Indo-Aryan blood.' Elsewhere, Sir Herbert alludes to the Adisur tradition which is said to be borne out to a substantial degree by the measurements of the Brahmin and Kayastha head forms of Bengal, inasmuch as among them, 'notwithstanding the uncompromising breadth of the head,' the finer nose-forms predominate. Sir Herbert is, however, modest enough to admit that the conclusions which he had 'ventured to put forward are necessarily provisional, and will be of use mainly as a guide to research....'

One cannot help sympathising with the poor craniologist in the difficulties which beset his path. No sooner did Dr. Nott conclude from his investigations that the negroes had shorter heads than the Europeans, than he burst forth into the following triumphant pæan :—

"It is mind, and mind alone, which constitutes the proudest prerogative of man, whose excellence should be measured by his intelligence and virtue. The negro and other unintellectual types have been shown...to possess heads much smaller, by actual measurement in cubic inches, than the white races; and although a metaphysician may dispute about the causes which may have debased their intellects or precluded their expansion, it cannot be denied that the dark races are, in this particular, greatly inferior to the others of fairer complexion."

Sir Herbert's difficulty lay elsewhere. He could not deny the mental superiority of the Bengalis, whom he, for that very reason, helped in reducing to a minority in each of the divided halves of Bengal. So he alludes to their intellectual eminence with as little grace as possible, speaks of 'their remarkable aptitude for clerical pursuits,' and proceeds to derive what consolation he may by denying the intellectual Bengali and the pugnacious Marhatta racial affinity with the Imperial Briton through descent from a common Aryan stock.

Let us now examine the value of the science of craniology, as estimated by ethnologists who are themselves polygenists or evolutionists. Prof. Brinton says :—

"Ethnologists who are merely anatomists have made too much of this science...and have given it a prominence it does not deserve.....Within the limits of the same people...the most different skulls are found and even the pure-blooded natives of some small islands in the Pacific Ocean present widely various forms."

Professor Keane, continuing his remarks with reference to the scientific value of cranial measurements, says :—

"The result has shown that craniology alone cannot be depended upon to supply sufficient, or even altogether trustworthy materials for distinguishing the main divisions of mankind. Its chief elements, such as dolichocephaly, brachicephaly, orthognathism, and prognathism† are not constant in any given group, and in many cases the most surprising diversity prevails, where some degree of uniformity might be expected."

According to Dr. Vogt, the measurements of Retzius and Broca revealed the dolichocephalic and the other two types of head in every race. Sir Herbert Risley, who must now be counted among the *pundits* of anthropometry, has to admit that 'long, broad and medium heads are

* See Census of India, 1901, Vol. I., Chapter XI.

† I should explain the meaning of these pompous words, coined by the Swedish naturalist Anders Retzius in 1842, for the benefit of the uninitiated. The first two refer to the size of the head, and mean 'long-head,' 'short-head,' the last two refer to the projection of the face, and mean 'conforming to the human standard,' 'conforming to the standard of the brute.'

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met with in varying degrees of preponderance among white, black and yellow races.' And yet, with curious inconsistency, he asserts, almost immediately after, that 'all authorities agree in regarding the form of the head as an extremely constant and persistent character, which resists the influence of climate and physical surroundings.' Further on, warming to his subject, Sir Herbert grows more positive: 'on the whole, therefore, the form of the head, specially when combined with other characters, is a good test of racial affinity.' But in the next sentence he makes the following important reservation which practically amounts to giving his case away. 'It may be added that neither the shape nor the size of the head seems to bear any direct relation to intellectual capacity. People with long [dolichocephalic] heads cannot be said to be cleverer or more advanced in culture than people with short [brachycephalic] heads.'

Were the measurements, upon which the conclusions of the anthropometrists are based, taken from a mass of skulls gathered from a wide area? Let us see. 'It must be admitted' says Vogt, "that Retzius' measurements were confined to a few skulls which he selected as typical, and that he estimated the cranial shape rather from the general impression of the aspect of the skulls than by exact measurements.' Dr. Marton, another craniologist, based his observations on the Teutonic group of races on the measurement of thirty Teutonic skulls. Topinard determined the nasal index of the Gallic race by measuring the noses of sixty-eight Parisians. Professor Aeby of Berne had less than six hundred skulls for the classification of all mankind. Sir Herbert Risley took the measurements of "nearly six thousand persons representing eighty-nine of the leading castes and tribes in Northern India, from the Bay of Bengal to the frontiers of Afganistan;"* that is to say, he based his generalisations regarding the races of India on the examination of less than seventy heads for each tribal or caste group. Dr. Vogt based his observations on the head form of the Ethiopian on the examination of six skulls only! And quite in keeping with the above, he laid down the proposition that the brain of a Negro had a less number of convolutions than a white man's brain, thus indicating racial inferiority, from the observation of the cast of a Hottentot woman's brain. Dr. Scholes most truly observes :—

"The brain of a solitary Hottentot female, and not even the brain, but only the model of that brain, is made to supply the facts for a generalisation concerning the brain-structure and the brain-capacity of some 212 millions of the human race. Is a greater travesty of scientific research possible? And yet, of this particular department, the sample now furnished represents...the quality of the facts habitually served up to the world by the wholesale and retail traffickers in the popular wares of Negro aspersion."

It is well to mention here that craniologists are not even agreed as to the broad results of their investigations. For among them, there are persons—such as Drs. Deniker and Tiedmann—according to whom both in size, as well as in internal capacity, the the skull of the Caucasian is not one whit larger than that of the coloured races.

Thus we find that the cranium is no guide to the origin of races; that the crania examined are too few to establish any theory concerning the predominance of a certain cranial type in each race; that the three different types of crania are all three found in each race; and that hence, on the ground of cranial peculiarity no justification exists for applying to one race the term 'superior' and to another race the term 'inferior'; and that as far as cranial variation is concerned, there is nothing against the probability of there being to the Caucasian, Mongolian and Negro races a common origin.

And yet, to what uses has this *psuedo-science* of craniology been put, will appear from the following extracts from two well-known newspapers, the *Referee* and the *Spectator*. One of the articles was based on the incident of the invitation of Booker Washington to dinner at the White House, and the other was written in 1907 when the ethnological survey of India was about to be undertaken.

The Referee says :—

"[The Negro] will have to redress the facial angle, and he will have to grow a more spacious cranium before he can come into brotherhood with the more advanced nations of mankind."

The Spectator writes :—

"In education in particular, and even in administration, we underrate the extreme variety of origin among

* Tribes and Castes of Bengal (1891), by H. H. Risley, Introd.

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the peoples of India....and are apt to proceed as if they were all Aryans, that is, persons with receptive brains, instead of recognising that divisions of them, perhaps a fourth of the population, are Australoids or aboriginal Mongols, whose brains need preparation before they can understand, much less assimilate, Western ideas."

Here is Dr. Scholes' vigorous criticism of the above :—

"No doubt, by those unacquainted with the ingredients—in the form of facts—of which these extracts are made up, they will have been imbibed, as other nostrums of the same class are being imbibed as vintages of the choicest brand ; thereby giving point to the maxim that "where ignorance is bliss it is folly to be wise"—"Redressing the facial angle," "growing a more spacious cranium," "longheads," "shortheads". How imposing they look ! How erudite they sound ! But of the inhabitants of Central and Northern Europe, what was the character of their "facial angle" at the time of the Roman Conquest ? And when was it redressed ? In those days were there only "shortheads ?" If there were not, what has become of the "longheads ?" Such, then, is the manner wherein these fallacies of ethnology, introduced thirty or forty years ago, are to-day being masqueraded in our current literature."

And now the reader will be prepared for the following passage, taken from the introduction to Dr. Scholes' book :—

"Christendom at the present time suffers from a plethora of lies.....truth is spoken only within the limitations prescribed by politics. Politics is the *summum genus* of the *species* civilised institutions—municipal administration, social life, education, law, commerce, religion, literature, science, philanthropy—all in practice, of course not in theory, end in, and are regulated by, political considerations. And as the "interests" of politics frequently demand the total suppression, or the partial statement only of truth, these institutions are found accordingly harmonising truth with the exigencies of politics. Let me furnish a single example. Nearly fifty years ago certain ethnologists and anthropologists, upon the most ludicrously inadequate data, taught that, among the coloured races, there were certain anatomical peculiarities present, which not only distinguished these races from the white race, but made them physically, morally and mentally the inferiors of the white race. For many years after its announcement this theory, in almost every quarter, found little or no credence. But when some thirty years ago the Euro-American, desiring to retain in his own hands all political power, resolved to oust the Afro-American from politics, and later, when Englishmen followed more or less by others of the European colonising States, for the same reason as that which prompted the Euro-American, resolved, in like manner, to effectively bar the progress of their coloured fellow subjects towards political enfranchisement, this theory was exhumed from the grave of its oblivion, was galvanised into life, and by religion, commerce, literature, and all the other institutions of civilisation, has since then been employed to hold in serfdom the larger section of mankind. It must be observed, that during the nearly fifty years that have intervened since these hypothetical, anatomical peculiarities were published, a great accumulation of facts—the result of increased anatomical knowledge, of better acquaintance with the environments and habits of primitive peoples, and most of all, the result of the progress of numerous coloured communities under western culture—has been available.

"These facts,...are overwhelming in their disproof of the reported anatomical peculiarities of the coloured races. Yet how have such facts been received ? They have been modified, ignored, or repressed, in order that the discredited assertions made forty or fifty years ago may be brought into harmony with the dictates of politics, and that in consequence, the coloured races may, with some show of reason, be held in the semi-bondage of pupilage. ...And with respect to science, whereas in other departments, including religion, science demands for its researches, independence, and for its findings, free speech, here where the "interests" of politics are involved, worse even than being muzzled, science prevaricates."

How deserved the above scathing observations are, will further appear from the fact that not only the head and the face, but even other parts of the Negro's organism have been found fault with. Vogt asserts that his belly is relaxed and pendulous, he rarely stands upright, his knees are usually bent and the legs frequently bandy and so on. The vocabulary of abuse was hardly sufficient to meet the requirements of this scientist's description of the negro anatomy.* Dr. Scholes, with the experience gained from his prolonged residence in Africa, answers him thus :—

"With the solitary exception of Dr. Vogt, all the world knows that but for his magnificent physique, equalled by few, if any, but surpassed by none, the Ethiopian could never have successfully encountered, and profitably survived, the rigour and ravages of a remorseless and relentless servitude."

But among ethnologists themselves there are persons who are capable of taking a saner view, and two of them are quoted below.

Dr. Prichard says :—

"From a consideration of the facts which belong to this department of inquiry, and a comparison of different tribes with each other, an inference appeared to result that all diversities of anatomical structures that are known to characterise the different tribes of men are mere varieties, and do not amount to specific differences."

Blumenbach makes the following emphatic observation :—

"'God's image he too,' as Fuller says, 'although made out of ebony.' This has been doubted some-

* Readers of 'In India' by the late Mr. Steevens, the brilliant correspondent of the *London Daily Mail*, will recall certain similar utterances regarding the Bengalis, for which there was about equal justification, as he stood observing them pass before him on the Hughly Bridge at Calcutta.

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times, and on the contrary it has been asserted that the negroes are specifically different in their bodily structure from other men, and must be placed considerably in the rear, from the condition of their obtuse mental capacities. Personal observation, combined with the accounts of trustworthy and unprejudiced witnesses, has, however, long since convinced me of the want of foundation in both these assertions...I am acquainted with no single distinctive bodily character which is at once peculiar to the negro and which cannot be found to exist in many other and distant nations; none which is in the like way common to the negroes, and in which they do not again come in contact with other nations through imperceptible passages, just as every other variety of man runs into the neighbouring populations."

Another argument which remains to be examined is that mulattoes who are the offspring of the African and the Teuton, intermarrying among themselves, tend to become sterile. Dr. Nott, the author of this proposition, however admits that the offspring of the Latin and the African races are quite prolific.

Between the mulattoes of the slave states of the American Union and the blacks, constant intermarriages take place and hence the census statistics of the United States afford no data for studying the prolificacy of the mulattoes *among themselves*. But the social position of the mulatto in the West Indies is one of comparative isolation from both white and black. Comparing the increase of population in Jamaica with that of England and Wales between the years 1834-1881, we find that whereas in England and Wales there has been an increase of 49 p.c., among the mulatto population of Jamaica, for the same period, the increase was 63 p.c. That is to say, during forty-seven years the prolificacy of mulattoes of Anglo-African descent in Jamaica among themselves was 14 p.c. more than that of the population of England and Wales during the same period. And thus the attempt, by means of the assumed infertility among the offspring of Anglo-African parentage, to prove the difference of origin of the races, has also failed.

The last proposition which has been advanced against the theory of monogenesis may be illustrated by another newspaper quotation. The following is an extract from a leading article in the *London Daily News* of July 4th, 1902, on the centenary of Dumas :—

"To-day is the centenary of the birth of the most striking and graphic writer of prose fiction which the whole range of literature presents—Alexander Dumas pere, who, July 4th, 1802, began a stormful life of brilliant genius and ungovernable propensities. His father was a Creole. And the son exhibited some but not all of the characteristics which usually result from the blending of the blood of the white man with that of the Negro. Often, if not generally, that result is a union of the worst qualities of both races, or descendants in whom the quicker intelligence of the white race seems only to animate and excite the lower propensities of the Negro.... The offspring of such unions often prove what are called 'sports,' and there is a chance of such being a genius, as Dumas undoubtedly was..... He lived his life furiously and recklessly, squandering his amazing gifts on husks of literature and the world. He was without principle and without self-respect."

I shall conclude the present article with Dr. Scholes' criticism of this specious theory :

"Thus, seeing that Oliver Goldsmith, Robert Burns, and Lord Byron, like Dumas, were geniuses, and also, like him, suffered from laxity of morals, we must conclude that they too had Negre blood in their veins, which was accountable for their moral obliquity.

"But if these three men had not Negro blood in their veins and yet were geniuses and at the same time transgressors in morals, then there is no ground for attributing Dumas' moral transgession to his mixed parentage. Again, if these three men had no mixed blood and yet were moral delinquents, then the *Daily News*, in attributing Dumas' irregularities to his African bood, is guilty of the logical fallacy of irrelevant conclusion. Such, then, is another of the proofs by which the statement, that the children of mixed unions inherit the bad qualities of both races, is supported.

"Besides, the propagators of this theory lay themselves under the obligation of accounting for the bad qualities of the criminal classes of Europe and America; for the criminal classes of the latter place, who are not mulattoes."

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THE YELLOW GOD

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By H. Rider Haggard,
Author of "King Solomon's Mines," "She," "The Brethren," "Benita," &c.

CHAPTER IX.

THE DWARF TALKS.

IT was dawn at last. All night it had rained as it can rain in West Africa, falling on the wide river with a hissing splash, sullen and continuous. Now, towards morning, the rain had ceased and everywhere rose a soft and pearly mist that clung to the face of the waters and seemed to entangle itself like strands of wool among the branches of the bordering trees. On the bank of the river, at a spot that had been cleared of bush, stood a tent, and out of this tent emerged a white man wearing a sun helmet and grey flannel shirt and trousers. It was Alan Vernon, who in these surroundings looked larger and more commanding than he had done at the London office, or even in his own house of Yarleys. Perhaps the moustache and short brown beard which he had grown, or his skin, already altered and tanned by the tropics, had changed his appearance for the better. At any rate it was changed. So were his manner and bearing whereof all the diffidence had gone. Now they were those of a man accustomed to command who found himself in his right place.

"Jeeki," he called, "wake up those fellows and come and light the oil stove. I want my coffee."

Thereon a deep voice was heard speaking in some native tongue and saying,

"Cease your snorings, you black hogs, and arouse yourselves, for your lord calls you," an invocation that was followed by the sound of kicks, thumps and muttered curses.

A minute or two later Jeeki himself appeared, and he also was much changed in appearance, for now instead of his smart, European clothes, he wore a white robe and sandals that gave him an air at once dignified and patriarchal.

"Good morning, Major," he said cheerfully, "I hope you sleep well, Major, in this low-lying and accursed situation, which is more than we do in boat that half full of water, to say nothing of smell of black man and mosquito. But the rain is over and gone, and presently the sun shine out, so might be much worse, no cause at all complain."

"I don't know," answered Alan with a shiver. "I believe that I am fever proof, but otherwise I should have caught it last night, and just give me the quinine, I will take five grains for luck."

"Yes, yes, for luck" answered Jeeki as he opened the medicine chest and found the quinine, at the same time glancing anxiously out of the corner of his eye at his master's face, for he knew that the spot where they had slept was deadly to white men at this season of the year. "You not catch fever; Little Bonsa," here he dropped his voice and looked down at a box which had served Alan for a pillow, "see to that. But quinine give you appetite for breakfast. Very good chop this morning. Which you like best? Cold buck, or fish, or one of them ducks you shoot yesterday?"

"Oh! some of the cold meat, I think. Give the ducks to the boatmen, I don't fancy them in this hot place. By the way, Jeeki, we leave the Qua River here, don't we?"

"Yes, yes, Major, just here. I 'member spot well, for your uncle he pray on it one whole hour; I pretend pray too, but in heart give thanks to Little Bonsa, for I heathen in those days, quite different now, This morning we begin walk through forest where it rather dark and cool and comfortable, that is if we no meet dwarf people, from whom good Lord deliver us," and he bowed towards the box containing Little Bonsa!

"Will those four porters come with us through the forest, Jeeki, as they promised?"

"Yes, yes, they come. Last night they say

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they not come, too much afraid of dwarf, But I settle their hash. I tell them I save up bits of their hair and toe nails when they no thinking, and I mix it with medicine, and if they not come, they die every one before they get home. They think me great doctor and they believe. P'r'aps they die if they go on. If so, I tell them that because they want show white feather, and they think me greater doctor still. Oh! they come, they come, no fear, or else Jeeki know reason why. Now here coffee, Major. Drink him hot before you take tub, but keep in shallow water, because crocodile, he very early riser."

Alan laughed, and departed to "take tub." Notwithstanding the mosquitoes that buzzed round him in clouds, the water was cool and pleasant by comparison with the hot, sticky air, and the feel of it seemed to rid him of the langour resulting from his disturbed night.

A month had passed since he had left Old Calabar, and owing to the incessant rains the journeying had been hard. Indeed the white men there thought that he was mad to attempt to go up the river at this season. Of course he had said nothing to them of the objects of his expedition, hinting only that he wished to explore and shoot, and perhaps prospect for mines. But knowing as they did, that he was an Engineer officer with a good record and much African experience, they soon made up their minds that he had been sent by Government upon some secret mission that for reasons of his own he preferred to keep to himself. This conclusion, which Jeeki zealously fostered behind his back, in fact did Alan a good turn, since owing to it he obtained boatmen and servants at a season when, had he been supposed to be but a private person, these would scarcely have been forthcoming at any price. Hitherto his journey had been one long record of mud, mosquitoes and misery, but otherwise devoid of incident, except the eating of one of his boatmen by a crocodile which was a particularly "early riser," for it had pulled the poor fellow out of the canoe in which he lay asleep at night. Now, however, the real dangers were about to begin; since at this spot he left the great river and started forward through the forest on foot with Jeeki and the four bearers whom he had paid highly to accompany him.

He could not conceal from himself that the enterprise seemed somewhat desperate. But of this he said nothing in the long lettter he had written to Barbara on the previous night, sighing as he sealed it, at the thought that it might well be the last which would ever reach her from him, even if the boatmen got safely back to Calabar and remembered to put it in the post. The enterprise had been begun and must be carried through, until it ended in success—or death.

An hour later they started. First walked Alan as leader of the expedition, carrying a double-barrelled gun that could be used either for ball or shot, about fifty cartridges with brass cases to protect them from the damp, a revolver, a hunting-knife, a cloth mackintosh, and lastly, strapped upon his back like a knapsack, a tin box containing the fetish, Little Bonsa, which was too precious to be trusted to anyone else. It was quite a sufficient load for any white man in that climate, but being very wiry, Alan did not feel its weight, at any rate at first.

After him in single file came the four porters, laden with a small tent, some tinned provisions and brandy, ammunition, a box containing beads, watches, etc., for presents, blankets, spare clothing, and so forth. These were stalwart fellows enough, who knew the forest, but their dejected air showed that now they had come face to face with its dangers, they heartily wished themselves anywhere else. Indeed, notwithstanding their terror of Jeeki's medicine, at the last moment they threw down their loads intending to make a wild rush for the departing boat, only to be met by Jeeki himself, who, anticipating some such move, was waiting for them on the bank with a shot-gun, where he remained until the canoe was too far out in the stream for them to reach it by swimming. Then he asked them if they wished to sit and starve there with the devils he would leave them for company, or if they would carry out their bargain like honest men?

The end of it was they took up their loads again and marched, while behind them walked the terrible and gigantic Jeeki, the barrels of the shot-gun, which he carried at full cock and occasionally used to prod them, pointing directly at their backs. A strange object he looked truly, for in addition to the weapons with which he bristled, several cook-

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ing-pots were slung about him, to say nothing of a cork mattress and a mackintosh sheet tied to his shoulders beneath his robe, a box containing medicines and food, which he carried on his head, and fastened to the top of it, with string, like a helmet on a coffin, an enormous solar-tope stuffed full of mosquito netting, of which the ends fell about him like a green veil. When Alan remonstrated with him as to the cork mattress, suggesting that it should be thrown away as too hot to wear, Jeeki replied that he had been cold for thirty years, and wished to get warm again. Guessing that his real reason for declining to part with the article was that his master should have something to lie on, other than the damp ground, Alan said no more at the time, which, as will be seen, was fortunate for Jeeki.

For a mile or more their road ran through fantastic-looking mangrove trees, rooted in the mud, that in the mist resembled, Alan thought, many-legged arboreal octopi feeling for their food, and tall reeds, on the top of which sat crowds of chattering finches. Then just as the sun broke out strongly, cheering them with its warmth and sucking up the vapours, they entered sparse bush with palms and great cotton trees growing here and there, and so at length came to the borders of the mighty forest.

Oh! dark, dark was that forest; he who entered it from the cheerful sunshine felt as though suddenly and without preparation he had wandered out of the light we know into some dim Hades such as the old Greek fancy painted, where strengthless ghosts flit aimlessly, mourning the lost light. Everywhere the giant boles of trees shooting the height of a church tower into the air without a branch; great rib-rooted trees, and beneath them a fierce and hungry growth of creepers. Where a tree had fallen within the last century or so, these creepers ramped upwards in luxuriance, their stems thick as the body of a man, drinking the shafts of light that pierced downwards, drinking it with eagerness ere the boughs above met again and starved them. Where no tree had fallen the creepers were thin and weak; from year to year they lived on feebly, biding their time, but still they lived, knowing that some day it would come. And always it was coming to those expectant parasites, since from minute to minute, somewhere in the vast depths, miles and miles away perhaps, a great crash echoed in the stillness, the crash of a tree that, sown when the Saxon ruled in England, or perhaps before Cleopatra bewitched Antony, came to its end at last.

On the second day of their march in the forest Alan chanced to see such a tree fall, and the sight was one that he never could forget. As it happened, owing to the vast spread of its branches, which had killed out all rivals beneath, for in its day it had been a very successful tree endued with an excellent constitution by its parent, it stood somewhat alone, so that from several hundred yards away, as these six human beings crept towards it like ants towards a sapling in a cornfield, its mighty girth and bulk set upon a little mound of the luxuriant greenness of its far-reaching boughs made a kind of landmark. Then in the hot noon, when no breath stirred, suddenly came the end. Suddenly that mighty bole seemed to crumble, suddenly those far-reaching arms were thrown together as their support vanished, gripping at each other like living things, flogging the air, screaming in their last agony, and then, with an awful wailing groan, sinking, a tumbled ruin, to the earth.

Silence again, and in the midst of the silence Jeeki's cheerful voice.

"Old tree go flop. Glad he no flop on us, thanks be to Little Bonsa. Get on, you lazy nigger dog. Who pay you stand there and snivel? Get on, or I blow out your stupid skull," and he brought the muzzle of the full cocked, double-barrelled gun into sharp contact with that part of a terrified porter's anatomy.

Such was the forest. Of their march through it for the first four days, there is nothing to tell. Its depths seemed to be devoid of life, although occasionally they heard the screaming of parrots in the tree-tops a couple of hundred feet above, or caught sight of the dim shapes of monkeys swinging themselves from bough to bough. That was in the daytime, when although they could not see it, they knew that the sun was shining somewhere. But at night they heard nothing, since beasts of prey do not come where there is no food. What puzzled Alan was that all through these impenetrable recesses there ran a distinct road, which they followed. To the right and left

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rose a wall of creepers, but between them ran this road; an ancient road, for nothing grew on it, and it only turned aside to avoid the biggest of the trees, which must have stood there from time immemorial, such a tree as that which he had seen fall; indeed, it was one of those round which the road ran.

He asked Jeeki who made the road.

"People who come out Noah's Ark," answered Jeeki, "I think they run up here to get out of way of water, and sent them two elephants ahead to make path. Or perhaps dwarf people make it. Or perhaps those who go up to Asiki-land to do sacrifice like old Jews."

"You mean you don't know," said Alan.

"No, of course don't know. Who know about forest roads made before beginning of world? You ask question, Major, I answer. More lively answer than to shake head and roll eyes like them silly fool porters."

It was on the fourth night that the trouble began. As usual they had lit a huge fire, made of the fallen boughs and rotting tree trunks that lay about in plenty. There was no reason why the fire should be so large, since they had little to cook and the air was hot, but they made it so for the same reason that Jeeki answered questions, for the sake of cheerfulness. At least it gave light in the darkness, leaping up in red tongues of flame twenty or thirty feet high, and its roar and crackle were welcome in the primeval silence.

Alan lay upon the cork mattress in the open, for here there was no need to pitch the tent; if any rain fell above, the canopy of leaves absorbed it. He was amusing himself while he smoked his pipe with watching the reflection of the fire-light against a patch of darkness caused probably by some bush about twenty yards away, and by picturing in his own mind the face of Barbara—that strong, pleasant English face—as it might appear on such a background. Suddenly there, on the identical spot, he did see a face, though one of a very different character. It was round and small and hideous, resembling in its general outline that of a bloated child. At this distance he could not distinguish the features, except the lips, which were large and pendulous, and between them the flash of white teeth.

"Look there," he whispered to Jeeki in English; and Jeeky looked, then without saying a word lifted the shot gun that lay at his side and fired straight into the bush. Instantly there rose a squeaking noise, such as might be made by a wounded animal, and the four porters sprang up in alarm.

"Sit down," said Jeeki to them in their own tongue, "a leopard was stalking us and I fired to frighten it away. Don't go near the place as it may be wounded and angry, but drag up some boughs and make a fence round the fire, for fear of others."

The men, who dreaded leopards, looking on these animals, indeed, with superstitious reverence, obeyed readily enough, and as there was plenty of wood lying within a few yards, soon constructed a boma fence that, rough as it was, would serve for protection.

"Jeeki," said Alan presently as they laboured at the fence, "that was not a leopard, it was a man."

"No, no, Majar, not man, little dwarf devil, him that have poisoned arrow. I shoot at once to make him sit up. Think he no come back to-night, too much afraid of shot fetish. But to-morrow, can't say. Not tell those fellows anything," and he nodded towards the porters, "or perhaps they bolt."

"I think you would have done better to leave the dwarf alone," said Alan, "and they might have left us alone. Now they will have a blood feud against us."

"Not agree, Major, only chance for us put him in blue funk. If I not shoot, presently he shoot," and he made a sound that resembled the whistling of an arrow, then added, "Now you go sleep. I not tired, I watch, my eyes see in dark better than yours. Only two more days of this damn forest, then open land with tree here and there, where dwarf no come, because he afraid of lion and cannibal man who like eat him."

As there was nothing else to be done Alan took Jeeki's advice and in time fell fast asleep, nor did he wake again until the faint light which for the want of a better name they called dawn, was filtering down to them through the canopy of boughs.

"Been to look," said Jeeki, as he handed him his coffee. "Hit that dwarf man, see his blood, but think others carry him away. Jeeki very good shot; stone, spear, arrow or gun all same to him. Now get off as quick as we can before porters smell rat. You eat chop, Major, I pack."

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Presently they started on their trudge through those endless trees, with Fear for a companion. Even the porters who had been told nothing, seemed more afraid than usual, though whether this was because they what Jeeki called "smell rat," or owing to the progressive breakdown of their nervous systems, Alan did not know. About midday they stopped to eat because the men were too tired to walk further without rest. For an hour or more they had been looking for a comparatively open place, but as it chanced could find none, so were obliged to halt in dense forest. Just as they had finished their meal and were preparing to proceed, that which they had feared happened, since from somewhere behind the tree boles came a volley of reed arrows. One struck a porter in the neck, one fixed itself in Alan's helmet without touching him, and no less than three, hit Jeeki on the back and stuck there, providentially enough in the substance of the cork mattress that he still carried on his shoulders, which the feeble shafts had not the strength to pierce.

Everybody sprang up and with a curious fascination, instead of attempting to do anything, watched the porter who had been hit in the neck somewhere in the region of the jugular vein. The poor man rose to his feet with great deliberation, reminding Alan in some grotesque way of a speaker who has suddenly been called on to address a meeting and seeks to gain time for the gathering of his thoughts. Then he turned towards that vast audience of tress, stretched out his hand with a declamatory gesture, said something in a composed voice, and fell upon his face stone dead! The swift poison had reached his heart and done its work.

His three companions looked at him for a moment, and the next, with a yell of terror, rushed off into the forest, hurling down their loads as they ran. What became of them Alan never learned, for he saw them no more and the dwarf people keep their secrets. At the time, indeed, he scarcely noticed their departure, for he was otherwise engaged.

One of their hideous little assailants, made bold by success, ventured to run across an open space between two trees, showing himself for a moment. Alan had a gun in his hand, and mad with rage at what had happened, he raised it and swung on him as he would upon a rabbit. He was a quick and practised shot, and his skill did not fail him now, for just as the dwarf was vanishing behind a tree, the bullet caught him and next instant he was seen rolling over and over upon its further side.

"That very nice," said Jeeki reflectively, "very nice indeed, but I think we best move out of this."

"Aren't you hurt?" gasped Alan. "Your back is full of arrows."

"Don't feel nothing, Major," he answered, "best cork mattress, 25s. 3d. at Stores, very good for poisoned arrow, but leave him behind now, because perhaps points work through as I run; one scratch do trick," and as he spoke Jeeki untied a string or several strings, letting the little mattress fall to the ground.

"Great pity leave all those goods," said Jeeki, surveying the loads that the porters had cast away, "but what says Book? 'Life more than raiment.' Also, 'take no thought for morrow.' Dwarf people do that for us. Come, Major, make tracks," and dashing at a bag of cartridges which he cast about his neck, a trifling addition to his other impedimenta, and a small case of potted meats that he hitched under his arm, he poked his master in the back with the muzzle of his full cocked gun as a signal that it was time to start.

"Keep that cursed thing off me," said Alan furiously. "How often have I told you never to carry a gun at full cock?"

"About one thousand times, Major," answered Jeeki imperturbably, "but on such occasion forget discreetness. My ma just same, it run in family, but story too long tell you now. Cut, Major, cut like hell. Them dwarfs be back soon, but," he puffed, "I think, I think Little Bonsa come square with them one day."

So Alan "cut" and the huge Jeeki blundered along after him, the paraphernalia with which he was hung about rattling like the hoofs of a galloping giraffe. Not for all his load did he ever turn a hair. Whether it were fear within, or a desire to save his master, or a belief in the virtues of Little Bonsa, or that his foot was, as it were, once more upon his native heath, the fact remained that notwithstanding the fifty years, almost, that had whitened his wool, Jeeki was absolutely inexhaustible. At least at the end of that fearful chase, which lasted

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all the day, and through the night also, for they dared not camp, he appeared to be nearly as fresh as when he started from Old Calabar, nor did his spirits fail him for one moment. When the light came on the following morning, however, they perceived by many signs and tokens that the dwarf people were all about them. Some arrows were shot even, but these fell short.

"Pooh!" said Jeeki, "all right now, they much afraid. Still, no time for coffee, we best get on."

So they got on as they could, till towards midday the forest began to thin out. Now as the light grew stronger they could see the dwarfs, of whom there appeared to be several hundreds, keeping a parallel course to their own on either side of them at what they thought to be a safe distance.

"Try one shot, I think," said Jeeki, kneeling down and letting fly at a clump of the little men, which scattered like a covey of partridges, leaving one of its number kicking on the ground. "Ah! my boy," shouted Jeeki in derision, "how you like bullet in tummy? You not know Paradox guaranteed flat trajectory 250 yard. You remember that next time, Sonny?" Then off they went again up a long rise.

"River other side of that rise," said Jeeki. "Think those tree monkeys no follow us there."

But the "monkeys" appeared to be angry and determined. They would not come any more within the range of the Paradox, but they still marched on either side of the two fugitives, knowing well that at last their strength must fail and they would be able to creep up and murder them. So the chase went on till Alan began to wonder whether it would not be better to face the end at once.

"No, no, if say die, can't change mind tomorrow morning," gasped Jeeki in a hoarse voice. "Here top rise, much nearer than I thought. Oh, my aunt! who those?" and he pointed to several hundreds of big men armed with spears who were marching up the further side of the hill from the river that ran below.

At the same moment these savages, who were not more than two hundred yards away, caught sight of them, and of their pursuers who just then appeared on the ridge to the right and left. The dwarfs on perceiving these strangers, uttered a shrill yell of terror, and wheeled about to fly to their fastnesses in the forest, which evidently they regretted ever having left. It was too late. With an answering shout the spearmen, who were extended in a long line, apparently hunting for game, charged after them at full speed. They were fresh and their legs were long. Therefore very soon they overtook the dwarfs and even got in front of them, heading them off from the forest. The end may be guessed—save a few whom they reserved alive,, they killed them mercilessly, and almost without loss to themselves, since the little forest folk were too terrified and exhausted to shoot at them with their poisoned arrows, and they had no other weapons.

In fact, as Alan discovered afterwards, for generations there had been war between them, since all the other tribes hate the dwarfs, whom they look upon as dangerous human monkeys, and never before had the big men found such a chance of squaring their account. When Jeeki saw this fearful-looking company, for the first time his spirits seemed to fail him.

"Ogula!" he exclaimed with a groan, and sat himself upon a flat rock, pulling Alan down beside him. "Ogula! Know them by hair and spears," he repeated. "Up gum tree now, say good-night."

"Why? Who are they?" gasped Alan.

"Great cannibal, Major, eat man, eat us to-night, or perhaps to-morrow morning when we nice and cool. Say prayers, Major, say 'em quick, no time waste."

"I think I will shoot an Ogula or two first," said Alan grimly, as he stood up and lifted his gun.

"No, not shoot, no good. Pretend not be afraid, best chance. Let Jeeki think, let Jeeki think," and he slapped his forehead with his great hand.

Apparently the action brought inspiration, for next instant he grabbed his master by the arm and dragged him back behind the shelter of a great boulder which they had just passed. Then with really marvellous swiftness he cut the straps of the tin box that Alan wore upon his back, and since there was no time to find the key and unlock it, seized the little padlock with which it was fastened between his finger and thumb and putting out his great strength with a single

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"What are you——" began Alan.

"Hold tongue," he answered savagely, "make you god, I priest. Ogula know Little Bonsa. Quick, quick!"

In a minue it was done, the golden mask was clapped on Alan's head and the leather thongs were fastened, Moreover, Jeeki himself was arrayed in the solar-tope, to which all this while he had clung, allowing streams of green mosquito netting to hang down over his white robe.

"Come out now, Major," he said, "and play god. You whistle, I do palaver,"

Then hand in hand they walked from behind the rock. By this time the particular company of the cannibals that was opposite to them, which happened to include their chief, had climbed the steep slope of the hill and arrived within a distance of twenty yards. Having seen the two men and guessed that they had taken refuge behind the rock, their spears were lifted to kill them, since when he beholds anything strange the first impulse of a savage is to bring it to its death. They looked, they saw. Of a sudden down went the raised spears. Some of those who held them fell upon their faces, while others turned to fly, appalled by the vision of this strangely clad man with the head of gold. Only their chief, a great yellow-toothed fellow who wore a necklace of baboon claws, remained erect, staring at them with open mouth.

Alan blew the whistle that was set between the lips of the mask, and they shivered. Then Jeeki spoke to them in some tongue which they understood, saying,

"Do you, O Ogula, dare to offer violence to Little Bonsa and her priests? Say now, why should we not strike you dead with the magic of the god which she has borrowed from the white man?" and he tapped the gun he held.

"This is witchcraft," answered the chief. "We saw two men running hunted by the dwarfs not three minutes ago, and now we see—what we see," and he put his hand before his eyes, then after a pause went on, "As for Little Bonsa, she left this country in my father's day. He gave her passage upon the head of a white man, and the Asiki wizards have mourned her ever since, or so I hear."

"Fool," answered Jeeki, "as she went, so she returns, on the head of a white man. Yonder I see an elder with grey hair who doubtless knew of Little Bonsa in his youth. Let him come up and look and say whether or no this is the god."

"Yes, yes," exclaimed the chief, "go up, old man, go up," and he jobbed at him with his spear until, unwillingly enough, he went.

The elder arrived, making obeisance, and when he was near, Alan blew the whistle in his face, whereon he fell to his knees.

"It is Little Bonsa," he said in a trembling voice, "Little Bonsa, without a doubt. I should know, as my father and my elder brother were sacrificed to her, and I only escaped because she rejected me. Down on your face, chief, and do honour to the Yellow God before she slay you."

Instantly every man within hearing prostrated himself and lay still. Then Jeeki strode up and down among them shouting out,

"Little Bonsa has come back and brought to you, Man-eaters, a fat offering, an offering of the dwarf people whom you hate, of the treacherous dwarf people who when you walk the ancient forest path, murder you with their poisoned arrows. Praise Little Bonsa who delivers you from your foes, and hearken to her bidding. Send on messengers to the Asiki saying that Little Bonsa comes home again from across the Black Water bringing the White Preacher, whom she led away in the day of their fathers. Say to them that Asika must send out a company, that Little Bonsa and the Magician with whom she ran away may be escorted back to her house with the state which has been hers from the beginning of time. Say to them also that they must prepare a great offering of pure gold out of their store, as much gold as fifty strong men can carry, not one handful less, to be given to the White Magician who brings back the Small Swimming Head, for if they withhold such an offering, he and Little Bonsa will vanish never to be seen again, and curses and desolation will fall upon their land. Rise and obey, Chief of the Ogula."

Then the man scrambled to his feet and answered,

"It shall be done, O Priest of the Yellow God. To-morrow at the dawn swift messengers will start for the Gold House of the Asiki. To-night they cannot leave as we are all very hungry and must eat."

"What must you eat?" asked Jeeki suspiciously.

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"O Priest," answered the chief with a deprecatory gesture, "when first we saw you we hoped that it would be the white man and yourself, for we have never tasted white man. But now we fear that you will not consent to this, and as you are holy and the guardian of the god, we cannot eat you without your own consent. Therefore fat dwarf must be our food, of which, however, there will be plenty for you as well as us."

"You dog!" exclaimed Jeeki in a voice of furious indignation. "Do you think that white men and their high-born companions, such as myself, were made to fill your vile stomachs? I tell you that a meal of the Deadly Bean would agree better with you, for if you dare so much as to look on us, or on any of the white race with hunger, agony shall seize your vitals and you and all your tribe shall die as though by poison. Moreover, we do not touch the flesh of men nor will we see it eaten. It is our "*Orunda*," it is consecrate to us, it must not pass our lips nor may our eyes behold it. Therefore we will camp apart from you further up the stream and find our own food. But to-morrow at the dawn the messengers must leave as we have commanded. Also you shall provide strong men and a large canoe to bear Little Bonsa forward towards her own home until she finds her people coming out to greet her."

"It shall be done," answered the chief humbly. "Everything shall be done according to the will of Little Bonsa spoken by her priest, that she may leave a blessing and not a curse upon the heads of the tribe of the Ogula. Say where you wish to camp and men shall run to build a house of reeds for the god to dwell in."

(*To be continued*).

"EDUCATION THAT EDUCATES" AT HAMPTON NORMAL AND AGRICULTURAL INSTITUTE, HAMPTON, VIRGINIA, U. S. A.

SIR Lepel Griffin is credited with the statement that since England has no educational system for herself, she cannot give one to India. Hindostan has woefully suffered in educational matters, not only because the English ideals and methods of education were faulty; but also because schools were first established in India merely to furnish cheap clerks to assist a company of greedy English merchants to exploit the resources and men of the country. It is well-known that England has employed every means, fair and foul, in her power, to throttle the industries of India for the benefit of industrial England. This self-interest in part is responsible for there being no provision worthy of mention to teach Indian boys and girls modern methods of farming and other industries. The tendency of the education imparted in the school-house has been rather toward making a fop of the pupil, investing him with a hatred for manual work and awakening within him the desire to seek ill-paid clerical positions; and also toward pampering the physique of the student and imparting to him a false and unnatural standard for gauging his own abilities and viewing the work-a-day world. Nor has the instruction given in the school exerted an influence to produce patriotic men and women.

India is just commencing to seriously realize that the educational policy as administered by the British Bureaucracy is pitifully inadequate so far as mass education is concerned; and criminally negligent in regard to preparing the boy and the girl for life. Indian patriots are now awakening to the necessity of making provision on an extensive scale for education that will implant within the minds of the pupils "the germ of the up-to-date" and will inspire them to be willing and earnest workers in the cause of their country.

"What man has done, man can do," de-

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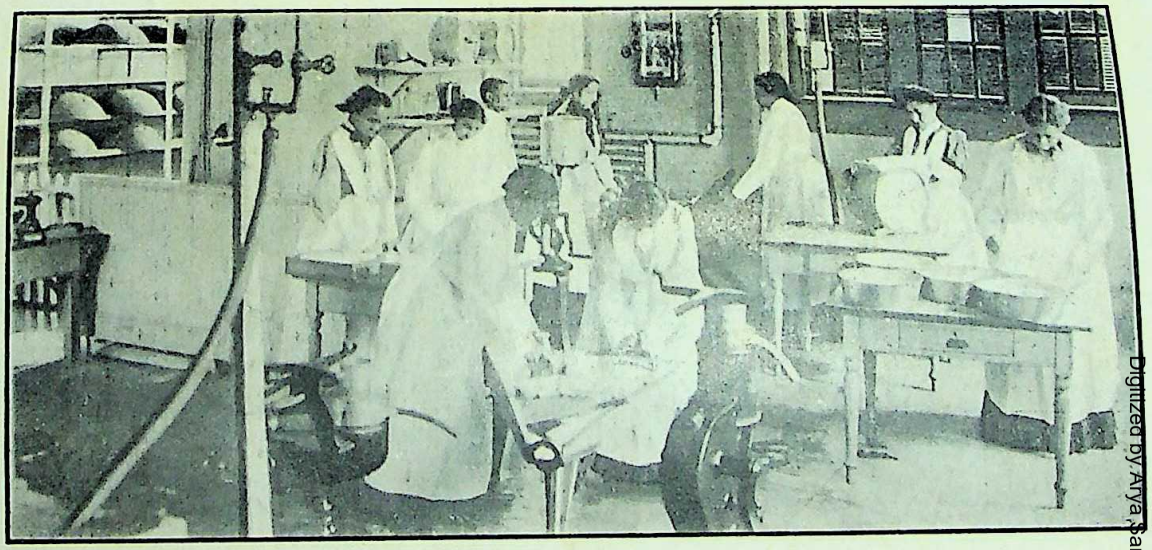
Hampton Girls Planting Lettuce In Cold Frames.



In the Dairy—Hampton Institute.

Little Housekeepers in the Kindergarten at Hampton Institute.

Creating Patriots at Hampton Institute.

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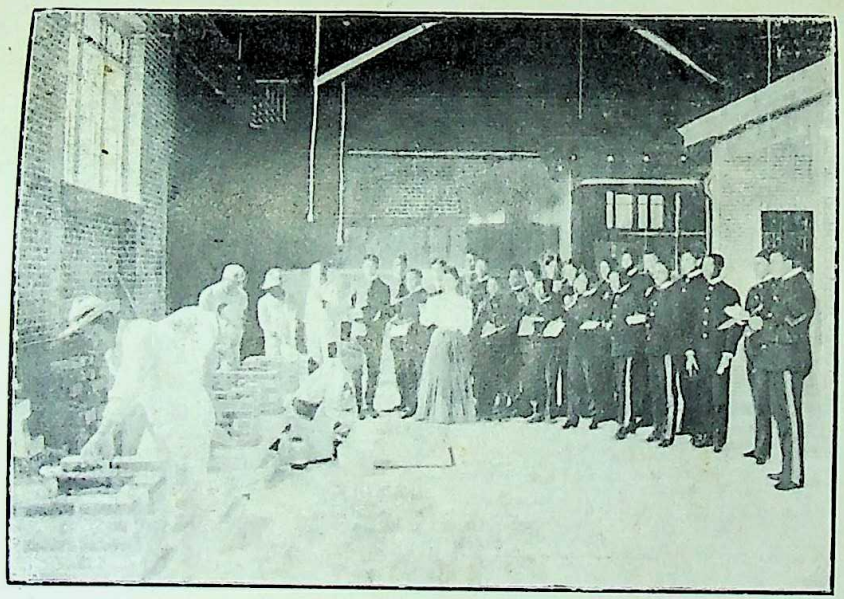
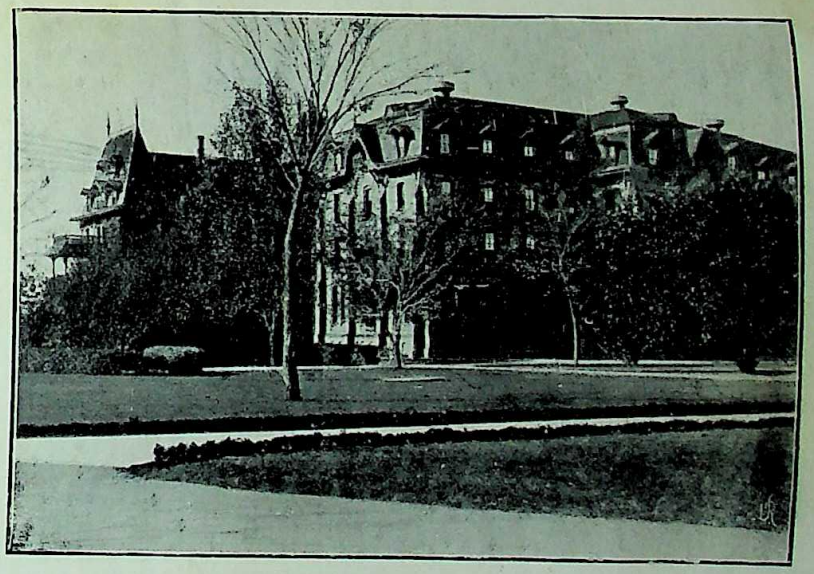
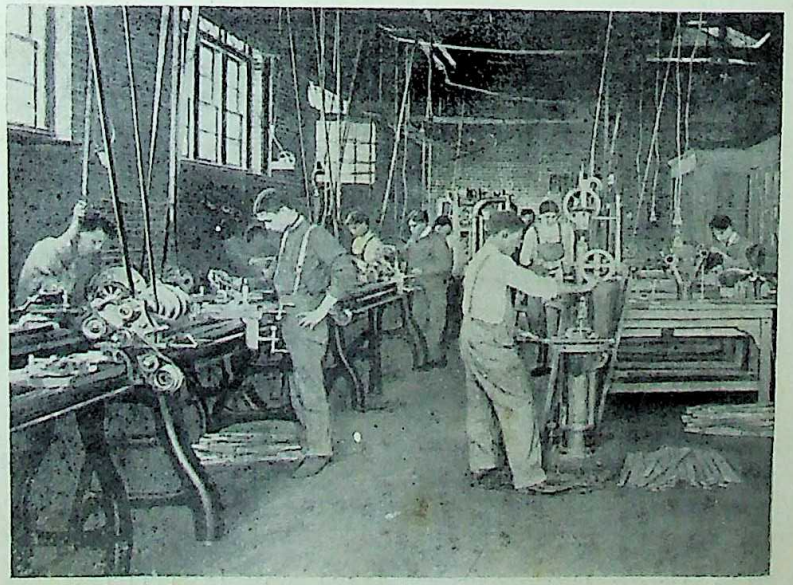


A CLASS IN BRICKLAYING AT HAMPTON INSTITUTE.



GIRLS' DORMITORIES—HAMPTON INSTITUTE.



A CORNER OF THE MACHINE SHOP, HAMPTON INSTITUTE.

CARPENTER SHOP, HAMPTON INSTITUTE.

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clares the old adage. The leaders in India, though confronted with countless complex problems, ought to be optimistic regarding India's future. They have before their eyes the examples of many nations which have emerged from the bottomless pit into prosperity. What is needed is a careful study and judicious application of the methods which have contributed to the success of other peoples.

In the subjoined article an attempt is made to describe how the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute of Hampton, Virginia, the United States of America, is helping to modernize and evolve the American Negro, who less than fifty years ago was held in slavery. This is to be followed by another paper in which the unique ideals and successful methods of the Negro educator, Booker T. Washington, a product of Hampton Institute, will be outlined. India knows that a little more than forty years ago the Afro-American was a slave. To-day he is fast evolving. Already many American Negroes have achieved worldwide reputation in science, art and literature. They are constantly pushing forward. In the present and following article an effort is made to show the methods of the institutions which have helped the Negro to make such marvellous progress. In the first, the purpose is to show what the "white" man did for the Afro-American; in the second, what the Negro did for himself. The first ought to stimulate the "white" man in India, who in season and out of season blatantly boasts of the wonderful manner in which he is discharging his burden; the second to inspire the people of Hindostan to more intensive and extensive efforts for India's regeneration.

"Whoever could make two ears of corn or two blades of grass to grow upon a spot of ground where only one grew before, deserves better of mankind and does more essential service to his country than the whole race of politicians."—*Dean Swift—"Gulliver's Travels."*

"He who from the soil he cultivates draws forth one additional sheaf of corn serves mankind more than he who presents them with a book."—*Hernandino St. Pierre—"Paul and Virginia."*

Nowhere in the world is more organized effort made with better success to reduce these sentiments expressed by Dean Swift and Hernandino St. Pierre into fruitful practice than at an institution conducted in the interests of Negroes and North American Indians at the historical town of Hampton, Virginia, U, S. A. At this institute the effort is made to produce useful, well-balanced and clean-cut young men and women who will go out into the community and by right living or actual teaching, influence the masses to lead healthier and better lives. The pupil is discouraged from considering book-learning an achievement in itself rather than a mere means to an end. Industrial and agricultural training are employed, not only with a view to render the young men and women self-supporting and dependable citizens; but "learning by *doing*" is also utilized as a beneficent and powerful instrument of brain-culture and character-forming.

Hampton Institute was founded by General Samuel Chapman Armstrong five years after the emancipation of the American Negro. The General had fought in many pitched battles to help free the Negroes who were held in bondage in many of the States belonging to the United States. Being a man of large sympathies and endowed with shrewd common-sense, he realized that the liberation of the Negro slaves did not absolve the United States from responsibility regarding their welfare. The white man had acknowledged the injustice and cupidity involved in forcibly expatriating the African from his native continent, transporting him to America, holding his body in bondage and his mind in midnight darkness. He undertook to free the Negroes whom he had held in slavery; and pledged never again to enslave them: but this was not all that was needed. In addition some sort of reparation had to be made to the aggrieved "black" man. A little over four million people had been set free; but the bondage of many decades had so enfeebled their minds and clouded their intellects that they were more like weak and half-witted children, ruthlessly cast adrift, than grown-up men and women who had come into their own. Something had to be done for these helpless people—and done at once.

The native genius of General Armstrong combined with his large-heartedness, led him to resolve that he would devote his life to continuing the work of Negro emancipation which had liberated the persons of the coloured people, by setting free their minds

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and producing leaders amongst them who would make it their aim and ambition to use their abilities in the work of civilizing and modernizing their race. Both sexes would be taught how to live and work in order to do the maximum good to themselves and their community.

It was this peculiar situation which inspired the founder of Hampton Institute to establish a school which would make its sole purpose *to put wits into the fingers as well as the minds* of the pupils. Until then education was purely intellectual. Pupils studied from books only, and the education offered in Colleges was entirely literary. It was the education of the head alone—not an "integral" education, that is to say, the education of the whole man—head, heart and hand. General Armstrong protested against this system of education. Enforced labour on the plantation, done in some instances under the most bestial conditions, with the lash constantly held over their head, had led the Negroes to feel that physical work and slavery were synonymous —that labor in the field and workshop was the curse of Cain rather than a potent agency for good. And mere literary education would doubtless have accentuated this hatred for manual work in the newly-freed African. In founding the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute the General sought to produce men and women who would constitute an actual pillar of strength to the community and whose direct as well as indirect influence would evermore tend toward making the Negro, young and old, rich and poor, realize that all labor is worthwhile, holy and conducive to the coloured man's real well-being. It is hard to determine whether or not the kind-hearted veteran of the American Civil War foresaw that he was establishing an institution which would show the weak-sighted educator his crudeness of conception and faultiness of method, and thus eventually work a revolution in educational ideals and methods; but it is certain that this man realized the value of preparing the Negro boy and girl for life, while at school, and used every means in his power to perfect the machinery which would translate this ideal into an actuality.

The seed was sown in the year 1868. To give a palpable and concrete form to the principle upon which the school was founded, the Institute adopted a seal which vividly portrayed the correlation of the work

of brain and brawn. Sheaves of wheat, a plow resting against a pile of books on which stood a globular model of the world, in the fore-ground of the seal, graphically symbolized the interdependence of muscle and mind. In the background the sum of knowledge was shown rising over the mountains of ignorance and shedding its pristine glory over a wide expanse of blue waters whereon steamboats were proudly moving. A teacher's table and tools of industry further emphasized the true intent of the institution.

It would have defeated the object for which the school was founded to make it lean heavily on Governmental crutches, or even to make it denominational or sectarian; nor would it have been consonant with the object, the institution was to fulfill, to go to the other extreme and let the Negro children grow up as soulless materialists and conscienceless money-grabbers. The ideal of the Institute was to produce, not sectarian men and women, but to graduate pupils who would lead wholesome and normal lives and endeavor in a kind, sympathetic manner, to train other members of the race to live in a healthy, frugal, industrious and useful way; to so saturate the hearts of the male and female students with moral training that through catholicity of spirit they would voluntarily do genuine missionary work among their less fortunate fellows.

Eighty-five or ninety per cent. of the Negroes resided in villages and in one way or another derived their livelihood from the farm. A course in scientific

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and modern methods of agriculture and allied branches was therefore an imperative necessity. The pupils had to be shown the use of up-to-date farm machinery; initiated into the mysteries of employing scientific fertilizers; instructed in the art of stock and poultry raising and making dairy products. The folly of such superstitions as the effect of the moon on the crops had to be instilled into them. The boys had to be taught the best ways of wheel-wrighting, carpentry, blacksmithing, putting up frame-houses and other industries and trades vital to their future well-being. Those who wished larger opportunity and wanted to reside in the cities had to be coached in mechanical and electrical engineering, the modern methods of office work, and the latest devices employed in commercialism and industrialism.

Educating the male and neglecting the training of the female portion of the community would have been more prejudicial than the training of the brain without the developement of the hand. Improving the sterner sex without providing equal opportunities for "the other half" would have produced a "fiasco" in the home. The unlettered wife and mother would exert direct and indirect influence to hold back the modernized male members of the family. The hands of the clock of progress would not only be set back by uneducated Negro women, but the unequal culture of the two sexes would cause friction and disharmony, great stress and storm in the home. The pre-natal and post-natal effects upon the children would prove baneful and in a measure mar the usefulness of the rising generation. The institution would have signally failed in accomplishing its initial object unless it had sought to provide for the enlightened men it had produced, women who would, in the truest sense of the word, be their helpmates, comrades and counsellors. The Institute had to recognize that the man and the woman were the complements of each other; that neither was the superior of the other; that the evolution of one meant the uplift of the other. It was evident that the preponderance of either element would lead to a lop-sided development of society.

The institution had, therefore, to be co-educational—that is, provision was to be made for imparting learning by doing to both boys and girls. Means had to be devised and the system of co-education had to be planned in such a manner that it would tend toward the progression of the two sexes and not endanger or wreck the moral lives of the students. It was necessary to institute a humane though a strict system of discipline to regulate the lives of boys and girls in the class-room as well as the boarding houses, so that the sexes would come in contact with each other to exercise a potent force for good and not evil. Furthermore, care had to be exercised that the Institute would not make the girls into men. The school would have failed in its primary ambition had it allowed the training of women to proceed along lines identical with those of the men. It would have meant steering directly against the united forces of nature if the institution had failed to recognize the special domain of woman and provide instruction along lines that would fit her to become a force in her own sphere of work.

General Armstrong's idea was to establish an institute that would enable the girl student to develop skill in the arts, trades and industries for which she was peculiarly designed. He aimed to make a good housekeeper of the coloured girl, to teach her how to care for the house and furniture, keep it clean and dust-free, sanitary and healthy; to economically and effectually manage her kitchen; to teach her to cook not only savoury and tempting but wholesome and healthy meals. The ideal was to prepare the girl for the duties of wifehood and motherhood. The instruction was so modelled that it would develop the initiative and decision of character of the girl so that she would be capable of performing any natural tasks that might be entrusted to her. The General recognized that as a nurse woman was the superior of man. Therefore, she should be educated to take care of the sick. He also realized that by heredity, temperament and inclination, the woman was, par excellence, the trainer of character and the educator of the child. Arrangements were therefore to be made so that the institute would render the woman capable of bringing up her own children and successfully directing the education of other people's boys and girls. The school was to take in hand the educa-

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tion of the Negro girl, not only with a view to enable her to do her own cooking, sewing and housekeeping in an improved way so that she would not look upon these tasks as drudgery; but also to so develop her natural talents and faculties that she would be able to render the community the maximum of good by employing herself in the channels for which Providence had intended her.

General Armstrong was a deep student of human nature and knew the bane of forcing a child through a stereotyped and inflexible groove. He was not like the old-time doctor who endeavoured to cure multifarious diseases by means of a solitary specific. His knowledge of the human plant was so extensive and intensive that he knew positive injury would result by unintelligently forcing it to develop in diametrically the opposite direction from that in which Nature intended it to grow. The enforcement of a fixed, unrelenting curriculum represented to General Armstrong as much of a concentrated and obvious folly as the endeavour to make a plant grow with its roots upward. To him the education of a child necessarily meant the recognition of its individuality. His aim was to study the child, find out its special inclinations and then to treat it as a human being with special rights and privileges of its own and not a mere piece of metal to be hammered into a shape after a stereotyped model. He reasoned that an unyielding curriculum was as bad as an endeavour to make water run up hill. He felt that the first aim of the educator ought to be to find out the bent of mind of the pupil. His knowledge of the world assured him that there was no use whatever, in fact, there was positive harm, in endeavouring to run counter to Nature's laws. He knew that the only way which science has demonstrated was to conform to Nature's forces, that the way of evolution consisted in proceeding along the lines of least resistance and not frittering away vital energy and producing friction by an effort to subvert the natural law. He therefore set out, not to break the will of the child, but to strengthen it,—not to conform conditions to his theories, but rather to study conditions and then make an honest effort to meet and master them.

These ideals of Samuel Chapman Armstrong have now been widely disseminated and the world has begun to prize him as one of the greatest educators it has produced. His ideals have vitalized and modernized the generally accepted methods of education and made them saner, more practical and more useful. But the General was not a mere day-dreamer. He was an intensely practical man. He founded the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in 1868 and died in 1893, after living long enough to see the little slip he had planted develop into a colossal, full-grown tree, and commence to furnish many sliplets to reproduce its own kind.

The Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute was started in a very humble and unostentatious manner. On opening, fifteen pupils were enrolled on the books of the institution. It began like a stream, in an unpretentious way, gaining more volume and strength as it went along. The institution was built on the faith that the principles which led to its establishment were vital and would appeal to the innate goodness of humanity and lead to voluntary co-operation. General Armstrong was not only a great man; he was also a good man. He was a man of large faith. He was very magnetic. His personality was such that wherever he went and whoever he met, he enlisted their sympathies in the cause which was dearest to his heart. It is said about him that he had such a plus personality, such a manly, genuine manner of talk, such a noble and open forehead and face, that to see him once was to remember him always and to become his friend. There was something about his stately figure, courtly countenance, soldierly courage, silver tongue and earnest, incisive talk that men with much money and even men with limited resources volunteered to to share with him the privilege of helping to set on their feet a race of people which had been profoundly wronged by greedy and conscienceless white men.

This does not mean, however, that the brave soul had an easy time of it—that money flowed so easily that the work of the Institute could be carried on smoothly and without the loss of a night's sleep. Neither in the early portion of the Institute's life nor now has it suffered from a plethora of resources. The need for money is always

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acute and has been so throughout the annals of the institution. In fact, at the present time the principal of the Institute spends the major portion of his time out campaigning and canvassing for funds.

The school is as much alive to-day as it was when General Armstrong first breathed the breath of life into it. One essential sign of life, unless, like the starvation-stricken masses of India, it is below the poverty line, —is that it shows constant growth. Life and growth may be said to be synonymous. Hampton Institute has been so alive that it has constantly been expanding, evolving and reaching out. Every year some new addition has been made. A new building has been raised, a new printing press installed, some new department added. New furniture has been bought to replace what has been rendered unserviceable by time and use.

The evolution of Hampton Institute has established the fact that Providence looks after institutions started and conducted by unselfish men and women to promote the welfare of society. In the life history of this school the money always has come whenever the need for it was pressing. At times and often the founder of Hampton and his corps of co-operators passed many anxious days and restless nights, not knowing how urgent bills were to be met; but they always have been paid, the money always has come for their liquidation—many times it has come in a way as if the earth parted in two and deep down from its womb threw up into the air a rich treasure of gold and then the partition hermetically sealed itself again. It reads more like a romance than a *de facto* description, the way tradespeople and businessmen have trusted General Armstrong and his helpers. Even the young boys and girls studying in the Institute have shown such an intelligent appreciation of what was being done for them that they have voluntarily foresworn the necessities of life so that a cog would not stop the revolution of the institution's wheels. It is related that a few years after the establishment of the institution the influx of students became so strong that the boarding accommodation was too narrow for them. As a temporary measure the General pitched tents and many of the older boys volunteered to sleep and live in them. One of these volunteers, was Mr. Booker T. Washington, who has since grown to be an educationalist of world-wide reputation, a reformer who stands probably head and shoulders above others of his race. He states that one cold night a gust of wind blew away the tent and left its inmates without shelter. But, with a justifiable pride, he points out that none of the occupants of the tent was heard making complaints. Everyone was eager to accommodate the General and so genuine was his interest that none of the students ever tired of making all manner of sacrifices for him and for the principles he represented.

A great secret of General Armstrong's success was that he did not attempt to "domineer." His unusual humility always caused him to call what would usually be called his "assistants" or "subordinates", his "helpers". He always looked upon them as his comrades, his brothers. He always treated them as his peers. He was never known to issue any "orders." He merely made "suggestions." He made no distinction between the "white" and "black" helpers; nor did he have any "favourites." All found favour in his sight. All he endeavoured to utilize. All he talked with candidly. All he loved affectionately. The General was a man who got along with everyone beautifully. Never was he known to have quarreled or quibbled.

Another secret of General Armstrong's success was that he never attempted to do "too much" himself. Whatever somebody else could do just as well, he did not try to do. He recognized and worked on the principle of "division of labour." His constant aim was not to make himself the pivotal point of the institution, not to make it so dependent on himself that if he chose to pull away from it the school would fall to the ground. He made every effort to gradually eliminate himself. He aimed at and succeeded in producing other men who would shoulder the wheel when he was gone, and his successor, Dr. Hollis Burke Frissell, D.D., LL.D., a white man of unusual talents and rare administrative powers, has ever since the General's demise been the principal of the Institute and kept it evolving on the lines laid down by the founder.

Thus the ball set rolling by a single person is being not only kept in perpetual motion, but its velocity is constantly increased by a large number of white as well

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as Negro men and women vitally interested in the movement. The General has been dead for fifteen years or more; but his work is being carried on by others, not in a half-hearted, listless, drawling sort of manner, but with an increasing impetus and enthusiasm.

The most vital principle on which the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute is founded is that it not only endeavours to create leaders and self-supporting men and women, but it is conducted on such practical and helpful lines that the willing student can go through the entire course without investing much money of his own. The Institute makes use of the students' labour and allows them its full value which goes towards liquidating the expenses of the boy or girl pupil.

The school comprises to-day 100 buildings which stand on a plantation of 188 acres. Many of these buildings were "sung up"—that is to say, built by the students while pleasantly singing. Most of them are built of bricks made by the scholars on the grounds. Much of the equipment used in the class rooms, such as tables, chairs, benches, upholsteries and furnishings, were made in the workshops and factories of the Institute. In several of the buildings almost everything but galvanized roofing was supplied by the trade shops connected with the school.

The Institute employs over 120 officers and teachers and has an average attendance of 1,200 students who come from all parts of the United States. The cost of the running expenses of the Institution is slightly over Rs. 6,00,000 a year. The permanent endowment fund amounts to Rs. 45,00,000. Since the year 1878, provision has been made to teach young men and women belonging to the race of North American Indians. Ninety-eight Indian boys and girls were in the Institute during 1907. The United States Government, through an annual Congressional appropriation, expends Rs. 501 for each of the "red" Indians that it sends to the School. The General Government also, through the State of Virginia, assists the school to the extent of Rs. 30,000 annual interests on $\frac{1}{3}$rd of the land-scrip fund of Virginia, appropriated to the school towards the agricultural and military training of its students. Besides these sources of income, Rs. 3,00,000 have to be raised annually to meet the deficit in expenses. The school buildings are valued at Rs. 18,00,000 and are all paid for and free from debt.

The school holds sessions both in the daytime and during evenings. In the day training is given in trades, agriculture and the academic and normal courses. Academic studies are also taught in the evening to those who are at work with their hands during the day pursuing practical studies where they actually learn to turn out first-class work of commercial value; by this means they not only become expert teachers, skilled farmers and workmen, but earn sufficient money to pay all or most of their expenses.

Blacksmithing, bricklaying, plastering, cabinet-making, carpentry, machine work, painting, printing, shoe-making, steam fitting, plumbing, tailoring, tinsmithing, upholstery, and wheel-wrighting are the trade courses wherein complete and up-to-date instruction is imparted and an effort made to produce skilled artisans. The boys receive complete instruction in all branches of agriculture. Young men and women are also educated in business, library methods and teacher's training course. The girls are also taught domestic science and domestic art and are given the matron's course if they desire it.

The instruction imparted is intensely practical. The teachers know what they are about and therefore are not obliged to have recourse to hide under technical and grandiloquent verbiage, their insufficient information regarding the subject they are teaching.

Manual training for the girls endeavours to teach them how to make good, nice-looking, comfortable and healthy homes, and prepares them for industrial teaching. Their manual training time is equally divided between cooking and sewing for the first three years. Besides the class work all the housework in the girls' boarding houses and teachers' rooms, which includes chamber work, sweeping, dusting, mopping and scrubbing the floors, is performed by the girl students. In the school laundry, which is fitted with steam apparatus and is in every respect modern, the girls are required to wash and iron the clothes of the students' and teachers' boarding department. The

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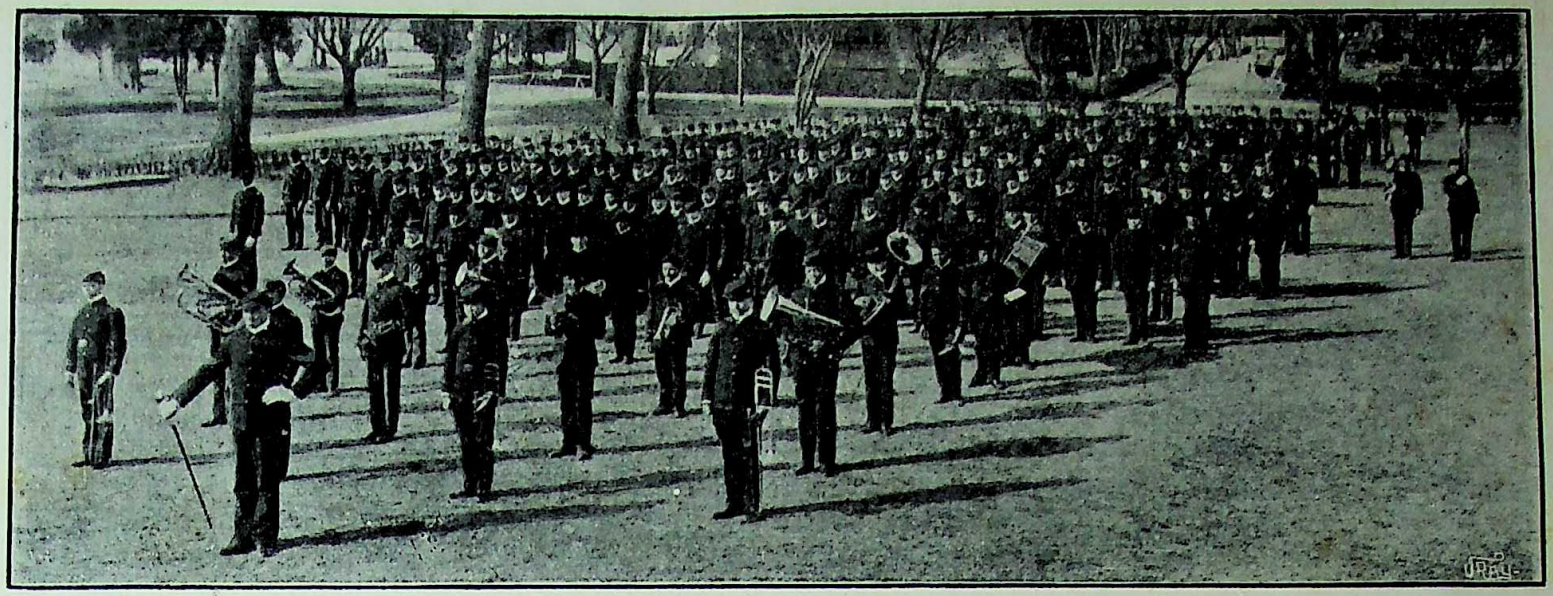
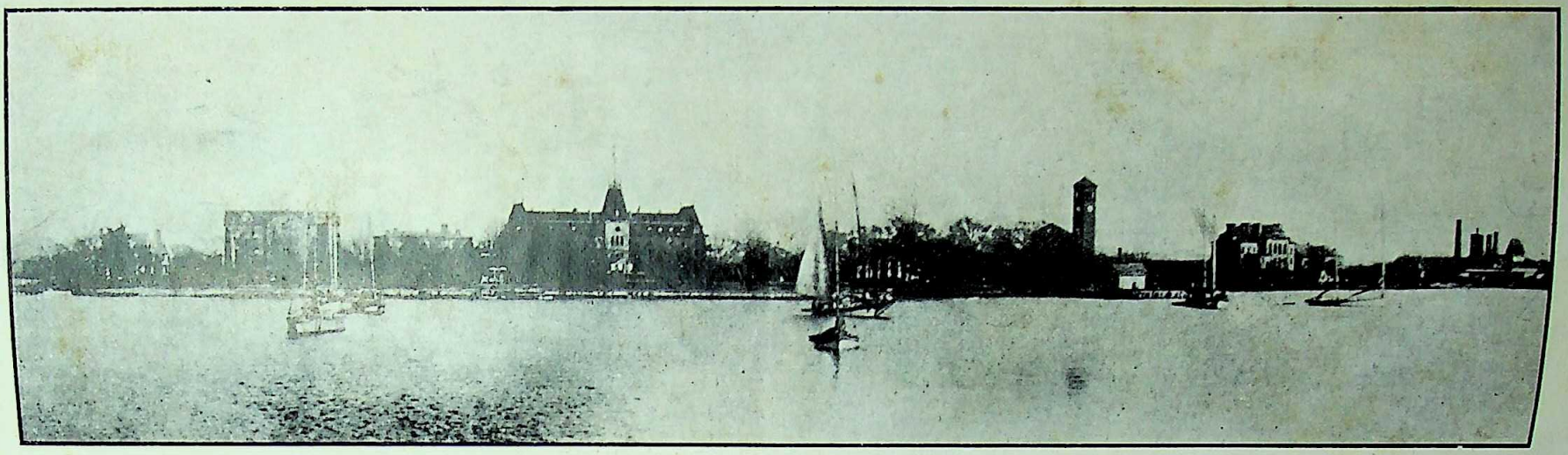


THE SCHOOL BATTALION AT HAMPTON INSTITUTE.



THE BUILDINGS OF HAMPTON INSTITUTE FRONTING HAMPTON ROADS.

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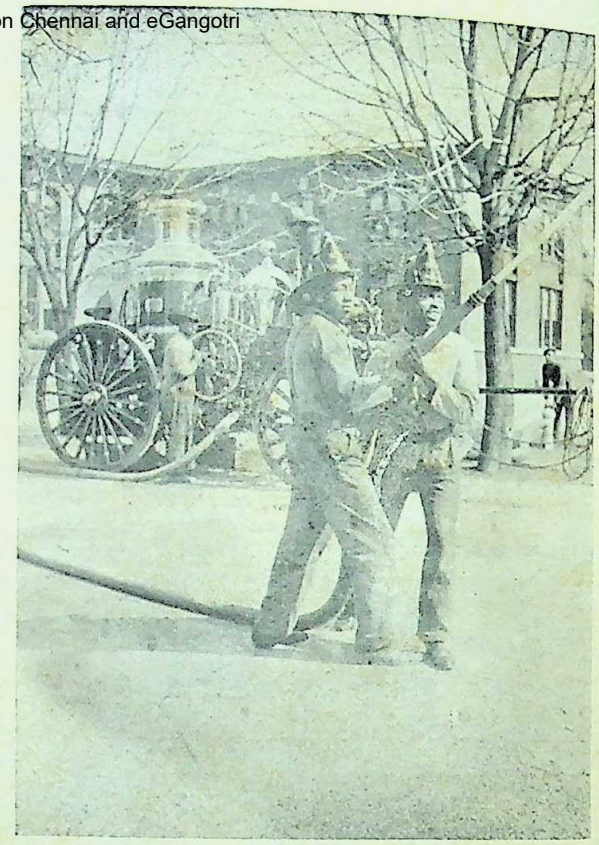
General Armstrong, the Founder of Hampton Institute.



Training Boys to Fight Fire at Hampton Institute.

In the Cooking Class, Hampton Institute.

A Lesson in Polishing at Hampton Institute.

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laundry department also teaches the girls by chemical analysis the constituents of soaps and cleaning materials. They are taught, besides, how to mix the ingredients and make soap. The effort is made to render them capable of washing and ironing all kinds of clothes, both by hand and machinery.

The course in sewing includes basting, running, backstitching, overcasting, overhauling, hemming, cat-stitching, feather-stitching and the use of these stitches on all kinds of garments. They are taught to make button holes, patch, darn, and finish seams by different methods. By graduated steps they are taught to use sewing machines. Eventually they learn to make dresses of all kinds and to trim hats. Each woman is so efficiently instructed in sewing that she can draught, cut and make her own and children's clothing.

Instruction in household work aims to teach the best methods of sweeping and dusting, care of rooms, brushes and dusters; floor scrubbing; window cleaning; silver polishing; care of dining room, bath room and bed room; care of lamps, etc. Lessons are given in mattressing, the caning of chairs and other branches of upholstery so that the students will be able to repair various articles of household furniture. Instruction is also given in simple carpentry, chair-caning, cobbling, glazing, whitewashing, painting, and papering with the view of making the woman capable of doing the repairing and remodelling needed in a home.

The cooking classes teach the cooking of cereals, vegetables, eggs, meats, making of soups, beverages, breads, pies and desserts. The teachers in cookery instruct the pupils by qualitative and quantitative chemical analysis, how to test the purity of milk and also teach them how to make their concoctions not only appetizing but properly "balanced." The girl is made to learn the different constituents of foods and trained so that she will use such proportions of these as will provide the maximum amount of nutrition and entail the minimum work on the part of the digestive organs. Canning of fruits and making of pickles are also taught, as well as the serving of the family dinner and the duties of waitresses.

Ventilation and the laws of health are taught with special care. Lessons are given in first aid in illness and injury, in bandaging, adjusting splints, making tourniquets, and restoring respiration. The influence of heredity and drink are demonstrated; lessons in prevention of tuberculosis imparted; preparation and use of domestic remedies and disinfectants and the sanitary care of the home are taught. Lessons are given in pictorial, decorative, and historic art to develop creative power and good taste and encourage their use to beautify the home.

The Swedish system of gymnastics is taught in the Gymnasium, which is fitted up with Swedish apparatus. The gymnastic drill includes "floor" work, exercises with apparatus and gymnastic games and enables the students to train their muscles and figures by going through all the fundamental positions of the body such as bending, twisting, jumping, running, marching, and by breathing exercises. Bars and benches, straight ropes, double bombs, jumping standards, and balance beams are used to make the students alert in body and mind and at the same time afford them relaxation. No attempt is made to make amazons of the girls or to develop athletes. A careful record is kept of the physical condition of each student and the gymnastic instructors and resident doctor look after the welfare of the pupil with intelligent care and parental solicitude.

In teaching trades to the boys, besides giving a thorough course in the particular line of work chosen by the pupil, training is provided in allied trades. For instance, wheelwrighting and blacksmithing are allowed to overlap each other; also carpentry, bricklaying, plastering and painting; the aim of the teacher is not only to fulfil the letter of the law, but to produce a skilled workman and therefore he endeavours to not only teach the mechanical processes but also the whys and wherefores of them. The work in horse-shoeing, for instance, includes lectures on the anatomy of hoofs, diseases of the feet and making of special shoes to overcome such defects as corns and cracks. The course in agronomy, horticulture and vegetable culture, like the rest, is thorough and practical. Instruction is given in the principal parts of plants and the uses of these parts to man; how the leaves and flowers grow and perform their functions; the conditions necessary for

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their proper development; how to bring about these conditions on the farm. The students are taught the physical, chemical and biological properties of the soil; their relation to the fertility of the soil; how to distinguish light from heavy soils, porous from compact soils and those that bake readily. The relation of soils to plants; sand, clay, humus; how soils are made; work of sun, water, ice, air, plants and earth worms in making soils; soil conditions which attract plant growth; relation of water, heat and air to soil; plant food in the soil; how to bring about and maintain soil conditions which favour plant growth are also taught. Instruction is provided in judging the capacity of different soils for holding moisture and the conservation of soil moisture. Lessons in tillage teach the purpose of plowing, the objects of harrowing, the use of different kinds of plows and harrows and of rollers, and also instruct the pupil in after-cultivation of crops. The instruction given in manures and commercial fertilizers is very valuable, precise and practical. It includes courses in stable manure; how to prevent losses by leaching and fermentation; composts; green crop manures; sources of nitrogen, potash and phosphoric acid; kind and amount of such to use for commercial fertilizers and their application. With particular care the principles of applying water to growing plants and indications of the need of drainage, kinds of drains and reasons for and general rules regarding rotation of crops are taught.

The horticultural course teaches plant propagation by seeds, buds, cuttings, layers, bulbs, grafts. The principles and methods of pruning small trees, plants and shrubs are imparted. Instruction is provided in plant diseases and the general structure, metamorphosis and habits of sucking and biting insects and also how to cure plant diseases and kill insects by spraying, etc.

The girls as well as the boys are taught how to prepare, plant and take general care of gardens. They are also taught how to make and care for lawns and arrange and plant shrubs about home and school buildings for ornamental purposes.

Instruction is also provided in animal husbandry. Breeding, care and management of plow and wagon horses, dairy cattle, sheep, swine and poultry; dairying, including care and testing of milk, methods of cleaning, ripening, churning, making cheese and butter, etc. are taught.

The Institute teaches the students the value of economy, and gives them instruction in the transaction necessary to the acquiring of land, houses, livestock, etc. Account books are kept by every student showing monthly receipts and expenditures and every care is taken to inculcate the value of continuing such a habit through life.

In the teaching of farm work two things are kept in mind. The student is shown the most up-to-date and scientific methods of doing things on the farm and of using modern machinery. He is also taught how to do without expensive machinery so that he will be able to adjust his knowledge to the amount of money he has at his command. Hampton's ideal is not to produce men learned in agronomy and allied subjects, but to give them such education as they can immediately employ to advantage in agricultural, horticultural and dairy work. The school has about 200 acres of land adjoining it and another lot of 600 acres six miles away from the main buildings.

The aim of the school being to show the ordinary boys and girls how to live under existing conditions and make a success of themselves while assisting others to do the same, a practical course of instruction is given the student from the very start. In the training department of Hampton Institute, for instance, little girls and boys of five and six, are taught to sweep floors, dust furniture, wash and iron clothes, make beds and grow vegetables and vines in their little garden plots. Not for a minute do the teachers forget the conditions under which these boys and girls, on attaining majority, will spend their lives, and by means of object lessons they provide for them cheerful yet useful instruction. In the school repellent drudgery is excluded and yet even in the kindergarten the little boys and girls use actual washtubs and soapsuds and real irons for washing and ironing purposes; use real brooms and dustpans for sweeping; and grow real vegetables and flowers. The tiny little creatures would not at all be more happy if exclusively indulged in playing with dolls; but their

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employment in healthy, bright and interesting occupations not only keeps them amused but gives them the right kind of education as well. From the very beginning they are schooled to look upon manual labour as healthy and taught that there is an essential relation between cleanliness and civilization, hard work, frugality, abstemiousness and successful lives. The value of such a training department is enhanced by the fact that the pupil-teachers are afforded the opportunity of learning how to become really capable teachers. Hampton being an institution which aims to teach teachers, it is essential that they should be instructed how to impart the art of successful living.

From the very beginning the effort is made to install patriotism in the hearts of pupils. Each morning each little child in the training department of the school salutes the flag and repeats the following formula :

"I pledge allegiance to my flag and to the republic for which it stands—one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

In addition to teaching them patriotism, the institution gives the boys military training.

Over 100 students go out on Sundays to the cabins, jail, poor-house and Sunday School and read and comfort and instruct the sick, the old and the poor. They frequently mend fences or cabins or make gardens for the helpless. The King's Daughters prepare Christmas boxes for country schools and make clothing for orphans and old people. By these and various other means the missionary spirit is cultivated in both the male and female students.

The Institute issues an excellent illustrated magazine called "The Southern Workman." It is a monthly periodical and an exponent of sound policies and reliable information on the condition and progress of backward races. Constant effort is made to improve the general character of the magazine, which has a large circulation throughout the Southern States.

The publication department of the Institute publishes from time to time leaflets on topics vital to the evolution of the Negro people. A vast number of subjects are treated in a lucid and simple style. Closely connected with the work of the publication office is that of the Hampton Negro Conference, which meets at the institution every summer. Five hundred teachers and and prominent business and professional men club together to discuss questions appertaining to the morals, health, economic welfare and educational conditions among the Afro-Americans.

The proof of the school is in its pupils. Out of the 6,000 graduates and undergraduates that the Institute has sent out, only two have been recorded as criminals. The rest are engaged in useful work in the schools, factories, shops, farms and homes of the country. Space precludes going into detail about the wonderful work which Hampton men and women are doing for their communities; but in the next article "A Negro Educator's Unique Ideals and Successful Methods," an effort will be made to describe the work of Mr. Booker T. Washington, a graduate from the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute.

SAINT NIHAL SING.

INDIA TO ENGLAND

You sing of your battles for Freedom ;
You tell of your struggles for Right ;
Your praise is for men of your blood who have fought
For the standard of Justice 'gainst Might.
You boast of your glorious lineage,
And tell of the crushing of Wrong
By your sons who have given the best of their stock—
This is your ever-loud song.

But what to us are these doings.
Or Freedom ?—A word that we hear !
A "freeman" to you is a tyrant to us
Whose pathway to "Freedom" is Fear !
Though your flag be the emblem of Victory,
Though your rule be the rule o'er the waves—
How can you be a nation of Justice and Right
While we are a nation of slaves ?

London, Dec. 28, 1906. FRANK J. MAYER.

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THE GREAT WAR IN BENGAL, 1658-1660

(Based on original Persian Sources.)

CHAPTER V.

THE FLIGHT AND THE PURSUIT.

Mir Jumla to pursue Shuja.

After the victory Aurangzib marched through Shuja's camp, near the tank of the village of Khajwah, and halted for the night on the other side of it. To give the enemy no time to rally, he despatched a pursuing column under Prince Muhammad that very afternoon. Supplies, including horses, dress and arms, were given to him from the Imperial stores, as all his property had been plundered by Jaswant in the morning. Reinforcements were soon afterwards despatched under Mir Jumla, as joint Commander-in-Chief, raising the pursuing force to 30,000 men.*

Shuja's flight

The unhappy pretender to the throne rode away 30 miles from the fatal field, before he halted to give repose to his exhausted body and drooping spirits. After four days of flight he crossed the Ganges and encamped at Jhusi, opposite Allahabad. Dara's commandant of Allahabad shut the fort-gates in his face, and invited the Imperialists to come and take delivery of the fortress, (which was done on the 12th. January.)†

to Bahadurpur,

On reaching Bahadurpur, east of Benares, Shuja stopped for some days, repaired the wall and trenches round his former camp, and thought of making a stand there against his pursuers. If the worst came to the worst, he could retreat in his flotilla, which lay moored at hand. Seven large guns were brought away from Chunar and mounted on the ramparts. ‡ Sultan Muhammad, who had no boats, could not cross the flooded Ganges near Bahadurpur; so he marched back upstream, forded the river near Allahabad, and marching by way of Kheri and Kuntit arrived two stages from Chunar.‖

to Patna,

This fact, joined to the news that Fidai Khan, another officer of Aurangzib, was marching from Gorakhpur towards Patna, north of the Ganges, alarmed Shuja, and he fled precipitately to Patna, arriving at the garden of Jáfar Khan in its suburbs on the 10th. February, 1659.¶ Here some precious days were wasted in marrying his son Zainuddin to the daughter of the old and retired officer Zulfiqar Khan Qaramanlu, in the vain hope of thus buttressing up his fallen fortunes. Meantime the enemy arrived within 20 miles of the town, and there was another rapid flight to Mungir, which was reached on the 19th. Sultan Muhammad arrived at Patna about the 22nd, eight days after Shuja had left it,. and was joined by Fidai Khan.§

to Mungir,

At Mungir Shuja made a longer stand (Feb. 19th—March 6th.) The ground favoured the defence against an invader from the west. The city of Mungir stands in a narrow plain, 2½ miles wide, bounded by the Ganges on the west and the Khargpur hills on the east. Along this plain runs the most convenient road from Patna to Bengal. If it were blocked, the invader would have to make a long detour through the desolate hills and jungles of the Sonthal Parganahs and Birbhum, far away from the Ganges and its populous cities, and strike the river again only after reaching Murshidabad.

Where he blocks the road.

During the period of Afghan rule, a wall and moat had been run in front of Mungir, from the hill to the river-bank, for the defence of the town. Last year, when opposing Sulaiman Shikoh, Shuja had repaired these old defences, raised towers every 30 yards along the wall, and connected the ditch with the stream. Guns were now landed from the boats and mounted on the walls, the trenches were regularly manned by his soldiers,

* *'Alamgirnamah*, 265-269, 'Aqil Kh, 91.
† *'Alamgirnamah*, 285 & 286, Masum, 105, *b.*
‡ *'Alamgirnamah*, 492 & 493.
‖ 'Aqil Kh, 91. *Kheree* is in the Khyragarh Dist. *Kuntit* is near Bindhachal, 10 miles west of Mirzapur. *(Indian Atlas*, sh. 88.)

¶ 'Aqil Kh 91 & 92, *'Alamgirnamah*, 493.
§ 'Aqil Kh, 92.

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and Rajah Bahroz, the *Zemindar* of Khargpur, undertook to guard the southern hills, through which ran a difficult path to Rajmahal.*

Mir Jumla's turning movement through the hills

Early in March Mir Jumla approached Mungir, and finding the main road barred, did not waste his time in attempting the siege of the town, but bought over Rajah Bahroz. Under the Rajah's guidance the Imperial army marched through the hills and jungles of Khargpur, and making a detour round Mungir, threatened to seize Shuja's rear.† That prince, on hearing of Bahroz's desertion and the unexpected movement of his enemies, fled from Mungir on the 6th. March. At this, Mir Jumla, who had reached Pialapur, 40 miles east of Mungir, left part of his army there under Prince Muhammad, while he himself hastened westwards to Mungir,‡ to take possession of it and appoint governors on behalf of the Emperor.

Shuja at Sahibganj.

At Sahibganj || Shuja made another halt of 15 days (March 10th. to 24th), built a wall from the river to the southern hill, barring the narrow plain through which the road ran. He had mistaken Mir Jumla's westward March from Pialapur as a sign that the Imperialists were tired of crossing the hills and jungles, and would now pursue his track along the southern bank of the Ganges. So he hoped to detain them long before his wall at Sahibganj. His right was protected by the river, his left by the Rajmahal hills stretching southwards in a long line from the Ganges to Birbhum. To guard against the Imperialists again turning his left flank by making a detour through the hills, he sent his follower Mir Isfandiar Mamuri to Khawajah Kamal Afghan, the *Zemindar* of Birbhum and Chatnagar, with orders to oppose such a move and close the path on the south.

Mir Jumla's detour through Birbhum.

But again the gold of the Imperialists upset his plans. As at Mungir so here too, Mir Jumla won over the trusted *Zemindar* and purchased a safe passage through his lands. After twelve days of toilsome march through the hills south-east of the Mungir District, in which Rajah Bahroz acted as guide and provided rations and fodder, the Imperialists emerged from the jungles ¶ and entered the *Zemindari* of Birbhum. The chief town, Suri, was passed on the 28th March.

Rumour of Aurangzib's defeat.

Here a strange mishap damped the ardour of the Imperialists and weakened their strength. It had been known that Dara Shikoh had again made head in Guzerat, and that the Emperor had hastened thither to oppose him. On the 13th March, 1659, the two armies clashed together near Ajmir, Dara's power was destroyed for ever, and he was fleeing helplessly with the Imperialists close on his heels. But rumour, with her usual love of falsehood, wafted to the Mughal army at Pialapur the news that Aurangzib had been routed at Ajmir and had fled to the Deccan abandoning everything. Distance magnified the extent of the disaster, and the tale received many embellishments as it flew from mouth to mouth. The whole army was thrown into alarm and confusion. Mir Jumla's flanking movement through the hills was suspected to be not an attack on Shuja's rear, but a covert design to flee with the Prince to the Deccan by the unfrequented route of Chota Nagpur and Orissa!

The Rajput Contingent alarmed

The Rajput Contingent was particularly upset. As high-caste Hindus they would have to undergo untold hardships regarding food and drink in a several months' march through an unbroken wilderness. Their homes in the far west were exposed to the victorious enemies of Aurangzib. The wrath of Dara would descend heaviest on the house of Jaipur, as Jai Singh had deserted Sulaiman Shikoh and won over Jaswant Singh to Aurangzib's side, and both he and his son Ram Singh had done signal service to the Emperor. This march through the hills was bad enough, but the outlook before them was worse still. What could they expect on reaching the Deccan, even if the march were safely accomplished? To join

* *'Alamgirnamah*, 493 and 494.

† *Ibid*, 494 & 495, 'Aqil Kh 92, Masum 113 *b*. *Khargpur* is due south of Mungir (*Indian Atlas*, sh. 112).

‡ There is a *Pialapur*, 4 miles south of the Pir Pointy Station on the E. I. R. Loop Line, and 11 miles east of Colgong. It is much more than forty miles east of Mungir. *Yarrapur* 6 miles due east of Khargpur in Rennell's Atlas, sh. 2, exactly corresponds to the description in the text. But the form *Pialapur* is given too often to be mistaken for a copyist's error for *Yarapur*.

|| *'Alamgirnamah*, 495, gives "*Rangamati*, 33 *kos* from Mungir and 15 *kos* from Rajmahal." 'Aqil Kh (92) gives *Garhi i.e.*, Tellagarhi. The place meant is undoubtedly *Lalmati*, half a mile south of the Sahibganj station on the E. I. R. Loop Line (*Indian Atlas*, sh. 112). It is situated midway between Teliagarhi and Sikrigali.

¶ *'Alamgirnamah* 496 and 497, 'Aqil Kh. p. 92.

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the broken ranks of a defeated pretender to the throne, and to be for ever exiled from home and chased hither and thither with the fugitive Aurangzib! Better return west through Patna and Allahabad and make peace with Dara, or at least push on to Rajputana in time to guard it.

And leave Mir Jumla to return home.

The Rajputs brooded over the matter and slowly made up their minds. Some days after leaving Pialapur they stopped waiting on the Prince, like other officers, at the times of his starting and dismounting. Then on the 26th March, after the day's advance they did not occupy the respective quarters marked out for them in the encampment, but all the Rajputs of the different divisions collected together and took up a position behind the camp. Next day they followed the main army at some distance, keeping their tents and baggage with themselves. On the 30th March, two stages beyond Birbhum, the Rajput contingent, 4,000 strong, seceded from the army and set out on their return towards Agra.* Mir Jumla did not waste any time in trying to dissuade them or even to punish their desertion, but pushed steadily on towards his objective. He had still some 25,000 troopers† with him, four times the strength of Shuja,‡ and every moment was precious to him if he hoped to cut off the enemy's retreat to Dacca.

Shuja's retreat to Tanda.

Shuja, hearing that the Imperialists had gained a passage through Birbhum, evacuated Sahibganj and hastened to Rajmahal (about the 27th March.) But he could not find safety anywhere on the right (western) bank of the Ganges. Therefore, leaving Rajmahal, he planned to cross the river at Dogachi (a few miles south of the town), remove his family and army to Tanda (4 miles west of the Fort of Gaur), and prolong the struggle with the help of his powerful flotilla, against which Mir Jumla's purely land force could make no head.

Plot of Alawardi Khan to desert him

But treachery was brewing in his ranks. The advance of the Imperial army in his rear destroyed his last chance of success; their arrival at Belghata, 30 miles from his position, supplied his wavering followers with protectors close at hand in case they deserted. Fidelity to Shuja now meant only a choice between two miseries, *viz.*, slaughter by the overwhelmingly superior Imperial army, and voluntary exile to the dreadful land of the savage Arracanese. "Many of his old and trusted followers" now conspired to desert him. The leader of the malcontents was Alawardi Khan, a noble who had governed Bihar in the closing years of Shah Jahan's reign, and joined Shuja's standard at Patna when that Prince made his first attempt for the throne in 1657. Shuja had promoted him to the rank of his chief adviser, used to call him *Khan Bhai* ('My noble brother'), and had recently created him *Amir-ul-umara* 'Premier noble.'‖

The plan of the traitors was to lag behind at Rajmahal after Shuja had gone to the ferry, and to slip away to the Imperial camp when he would be across the river. Shuja certainly went to the ferry of Dogachi (1st April, 1659), but a storm prevented his embarkation that night, and he had to return to his tent, 5 miles from the river. The conspirators had not foreseen this delay.

Detected

The plot had already got wind. Shuja heard of it at the end of the night, and acted with unwonted promptitude and decision. He had left two officers at Rajmahal to superintend the transport of the men and stores that were to follow him.

Next morning (2nd April), he galloped from his tent to the city, a distance of 10 miles, and alighted in his garden in the suburbs.¶ He was in a towering rage and kept shouting to his officers to bring Alawardi Khan. Man after man was sent on this errand. Meantime Alawardi Khan was guarding his house with his own retainers, against an attack. Shuja's officers came in rapid succession and gathered round his house with their troops, waiting for the Prince's order to storm it. At this Alawardi lost heart; his partisans were cowed down. So, when the *diwan*, Mirza Sarajuddin Muhammad Jabri, arrived to fetch him, he

* *Alamgirnamah* 497 & 498. Aqil Kh, 93, gives the inner meaning of the Rajput defection. Masum 115 *b* & 116 *a* is very meagre.

† The Rajput contingent that seceded is numbered 4,000 men by Aqil Kh. Masum's estimate of "about 10 or 12 thousand troopers" represents the exaggeration made by distance and rumour. *All* the Rajputs did not return, Rajah Indra-dyumna remained. Aqil Khan says that two Muhammadan officers accompanied the deserters.

‡ Masum (116 *a*) says that Shuja had not more than 5 or 6 thousand men.

‖ For the affair of Alawardi Khan see *Alamgirnamah* 421, 422, 499-501, Masum 114*a* 115*b*. Aqil Khan, p. 94, merely mentions the execution.

¶ Was it the *Nageswar Bag* garden given in Rennell, sheets 2 and 15?

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easily consented to leave his stronghold and accompany him to the Prince.*

And the leaders beheaded.

Alawardi, with his younger son Saifullah, was taken to the Prince outside the city. They were immediately seized and handcuffed by the loyal soldiers, placed on an elephant, and carried back to the city with Shuja. Here at the palace-gate they were beheaded publicly. Two other *mansabdars*, who had joined the plot, shared the same fate.

Mir Jumla occupies Rajmahal.

After passing three more days at Rajmahal, Shuja, on the 4th April, crossed the Ganges at Dogachi, and encamped at Baqarpur on the opposite bank, with the flotilla guarding his front. The Imperial army after leaving Birbhum, had turned to the N. E., wishing to strike the Ganges above Murshidabad and block Shuja's line of retreat to Dacca. It had reached Belghatta† when it heard of Shuja's evacuation of Rajmahal, and immediately made a dash northwards to seize that town. The van, under Zulfiqar Khan, entered it on the 13th April, and established their own government there. Some 4,000 of Shuja's soldiers, having failed to get boats at Dogachi, returned helplessly to Rajmahal and submitted to the Imperialists. Thus the whole country west of the Ganges, from Rajmahal to Hughli, passed out of Shuja's hands.‡

CHAPTER VI.

The River War.

The River Ganges, after flowing due east for several hundred miles from Allahabad, takes a sudden turn to the right below Sikrigali and sweeps southwards for about 80 miles to Bhagwangola, where it again turns to the east. East of this stretch of the river lies the District of Maldah with the ruins of Gaur, on the west stands Rajmahal, and, south of it the District of Murshidabad.

The Scene of War.

In its upper courses the rocky soil, as at Chunar, Benares, Mungir, and Telia-garhi, confines the river to a fixed bed. But after leaving Sikrigali, it flows through a softer ground and gives free play to its fondness for changing its bed or splitting up into many streams. Thus the valley of the Ganges, between the Rajmahal hills on the west and the upland of Barendra at the back of Maldah on the east, is intersected by countless thin serpentine brooks and nullahs, dry sandy deposits marking the deserted beds of the river, and the one or more streams of the Ganges and the Mahanada. "The earth is as water" here and travelling is extremely difficult. On the north of this tract, the main artery of the Ganges received many straggling branches of the lower Kushi, on the east the Kalindi, the Mahanada (the river of Maldah), and several of its own ramifications. On the south, a little east of Suti, the original Ganges branches off in a thin tortuous stream, which still bears the name of Bhagirathi or the Holy Ganges, and flows, past Mursidabad, Nadia, and Calcutta, to the sea. But the main current flows eastwards by Rajshahi and Goalundo in a vast volume of water known as the Padma.

Full of water courses.

During the rains much of this valley is flooded. As the rains stop and the flood subsides, innumerable water-courses (nullahs) and lakes are found to intersect the land. Only a few of the nullahs carry off running water; all the others first grow stagnant, then their ends dry up, and they form slimy pools and soft morasses. Only in their last stage, in the hottest part of summer, do they present the solid land again, but immensely changed from its last year's configuration. This process goes on year after year, making fantastic variations in the surface of the ground.

Shuja's naval power.

Shuja had a hopeless inferiority of troops. He had brought back about 10,000 men from Khajwah. Of these some had been lost by desertion, and many others had been intercepted by the Mughal capture of Rajmahal.‖ On land he could not have made an hour's stand against the Imperialists. But he had an artillery of big pieces admirably served by

* The official history accuses Shuja of having induced Alawardi to come out of his house by a false promise of safety, and then treacherously executed him. (*Alamgirnamah*, 500). But the *Tarikh-i-Shuia* does not support the charge. It says, "Mirza Sarajuddin Muhammad, a confidential servant of the Prince, offered to bring Alawardi, went to the latter, and told him all the case (*haqiqat-i-hal*). The latter had no help but to come with one or two mansabdars engaged in the same plot," (*f.* 115, *a*). I have accepted this account as more likely to be true under the circumstances. Alawardi had no chance of escape if he resisted arrest.

† *Belgotta* in Rennell, Sh. 2, about 2 miles west of Jangipur and 4 miles south of the battle field of Gheria.

‡ *Alamgirnamah*, 501 & 344, Aqil Kh. 94.

‖ Aqil Kh, 95. For the state of the deserted Shujaites in Rajmahal, see Masum 116 *b* and 126 *a*.

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European and half-caste gunners. He was also strong in an arm peculiarly suited to the theatre of the war, an arm in which Bengal, of all the provinces of the empire, enjoyed a notable superiority, and the lack of which paralysed his enemy's efforts. Bengal is the land of water-ways, and its *subahdar* (viceroy) used to get a large assignment on the revenue *(tankhah)* and extensive *jagirs* (fiefs) for maintaining a flotilla (*nawwara*)* to patrol the rivers, convey officers and troops, and resist the pirates of Sondip and Chatgaon. The Mughals were proverbially bad seamen. Expert cavaliers, they were powerless on board a ship. The deep had unknown terrors for them, and even a voyage down a river was a penance to be gone through with set teeth and breathless expectation of its end, when they would touch solid land again!

Mir Jumla's weakness.

Mir Jumla's army was a purely land force. He had not brought a single boat with himself, nor could he get any in Bengal, as Shuja had anticipated him by seizing and sinking all the private boats in this part of the country. For want of water-transport Mir Jumla was confined to his bank, unable to cross over and attack the enemy, or advance on Dacca as many rivers intersected his path. Shuja, on the other hand, could mount his guns and men on his boats and employ this extremely mobile force any where he pleased along the entire Mughal line from Rajmahal to Suti. But he was too weak in troops to take the offensive against an enemy so overwhelmingly superior on land. The Bengali nursery-tale of the duel between the alligator and the tiger aptly typifies this stage of the war.

Strategy of the War.

After a council of war with his generals, headed by Mirza Jan Beg, Shuja had decided to evacuate the western bank of the Ganges, to remove his headquarters and family to Tanda, (where he would be protected by the Ganges and the labyrinth of nullahs on the west,) to resist the hostile movements of the Imperialists, and to utilise the precious months thus gained through the enemy's want of a fleet in "recruiting his shattered power."† The plan was the best under the circumstances; but it failed through Mir Jumla's wonderful activity in procuring boats from remote places, the Emperor's fine strategy in sending another army under the Governor of Patna to make a diversion on the left bank of the Ganges and turn Shuja's right, and lastly through both the roads for the arrival of hardy recruits from Oudh, Allahabad and Bihar being closed to Shuja by the Mughal occupation of Rajmahal and all the country west of the Ganges.

The positions of the two armies.

Shuja, making Tanda his base, entrenched on the eastern bank at various places opposite the entire Mughal front, which stretched from Rajmahal to Suti, on the western bank. On his own side Mir Jumla placed pickets at every ferry and road to prevent Shuja's men at Rajmahal from crossing over to him. After the occupation of Rajmahal (13th April, 1659), his first object was to get boats, without which he could not take one step forward. By persistent efforts for a fortnight he succeeded in securing a few,—*kosas*, *khaluahs*, and *ráhwáras*, from distant or obscure places.‡

Mir Jumla's first *coup*.

Taking up his quarters at Dogachi,‖ 10 miles south of Rajmahal, he carried out his first bold and well-planned stroke. In midstream opposite his post there was a high island, which formed a half-way house to the other bank. A detachment from Shuja's army had already occupied it, and began to entrench and erect batteries, in order to molest the Imperial camp in co-operation with their flotilla. Mir Jumla resolved to wrest it from them. Under his careful arrangement and personal supervision, his few boats made several silent and secret trips after midnight transporting to the island 2,000 soldiers under Zulfiqar Khan and other high officers, with 22 hatchet-men and a few guns. The morning discovered their arrival to the enemy, who fled away in their boats, carrying off their guns. The Imperialists occupied the deserted position and hastily entrenched. Next day they repelled a formidable attack by Shuja's entire flotilla, sinking some of the boats.

* See *Journal and Proceedings*, A. S. B. June 1906 and June 1907.

† Masum 116 *a* and *b*.

‡ Masum, 118 *a*.

‖ *Dogachi* is given in the Indian Atlas, sh. 112, about 13 miles south of Rajmahal. There is another Dogachi, 14 miles further south; but that is *not* the place meant in this history. Dunapur is given on the same sheet as *Dugnapur* (near the S. E. corner.)

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A party of the enemy that had landed on one side of the island and was trying to throw up entrenchments, was gallantly charged by a body of Afghans under Taj Niazi and driven out after a severe and bloody struggle. A second attempt of the enemy's combined forces to recover the island was defeated two days later, and the Imperialists were left in undisturbed possession of the captured post.*

Shuja vigilant.

But here their success ended. Shuja, warned by the past, now guarded his defences carefully, his flotilla daily cruised up and down the river exchanging fire with the Mughals on the western bank, and his army and guns were massed opposite Dogachi. It was hopeless for Mir Jumla with his half dozen boats to carry his army across in small bodies or effect a landing by surprise at this point in the face of such a powerful and vigilant enemy.

Mughal army distributed on the right bank.

So, he made other arrangements and bided his time. The Imperial army was distributed along the entire western bank: Muhammad Murad Beg was left in command at Rajmahal in the extreme north; the Prince with Zulfiqar Khan, Islam Khan, Fidai Khan, and the bulk of the army, remained at Dogachi 10 miles southwards, facing Shuja. At Dunapur, some 8 miles further south, Ali Quli Khan was posted, while Mir Jumla himself with six or seven thousand troops occupied Suti, the southernmost point of the Mughal line, 28 miles south of Rajmahal.†

Mir Jumla's second *coup*.

Here he collected about a hundred boats of sorts, and daily watched for an opportunity to land on the other bank by surprise. The enemy had erected a high battery of eight large guns opposite him, which did great damage to his followers and cattle on the river side. An expedition sent one night in ten boats was detected by the enemy and repulsed. Next day the attempt was repeated, and succeeded by its very audacity. In the broad glare of noon, when the wind had freshened and the enemy were off their guard, he embarked 20 Imperial troopers and some of his own retainers and sent them over. Quickly going across with the help of the wind, they fell on the battery, drove nails into the port-holes of the two largest guns and carried of the other six without any loss. This splendid feat struck terror into the enemy's heart. Shuja's general, Nurul Hasan, who had been thus caught napping, was removed from his command.‡

His third *coup*

But Mir Jumla was soon to learn the fickleness of Fortune. Encouraged by the success of his first two *coups*, he planned another on a much grander scale. But this time Shuja was on the alert. His able and devoted officer Syed Alam of Barha with a picked force now commanded at this point. He left the trenches and batteries on the riverside scantily guarded as before, but posted his troops and fierce war-elephants behind them in ambushes cleverly masked in front. Mir Jumla had either not taken the precaution to reconnoitre and ascertain the enemy's strength there (as Masum says), or he had committed the fatal mistake of despising his enemy. But he was destined to get a lesson which made him extremely cautious and even slow for the rest of the campaign.

At dawn (3rd May) when the first two or three boats of the expedition sent by Mir Jumla reached the opposite bank, Ihtamam Khan landed with some men, assaulted the enemy's trenches, driving them out and planting the Imperial banner there. Then Syed Alam issued from his ambush and fell upon this small party which gallantly defended itself in the captured redoubt. Some of the boats were busy trying to land their men; most others had not yet reached the bank; these lost heart at the sudden appearance of the enemy and rowed back to their own side; only six boats were left behind. The enemy growing bolder turned aside from the redoubt to attack the boats, leading two elephants with them. The Imperialists were perplexed; of many the horses had not yet landed, and even those few who were mounted could not gallop on the loose sand. To complete their misery, some of the enemy's fast boats (*kosas*) now surrounded them, and a confused naval battle began in which the odds were against them. Zabardast Khan, though wounded, cut his way through the

* *Alamgirnamah*, 501—503.

† *Alamgirnamah*, 503 and 504.

‡ *Ibid*, 505.

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ring of the enemy. His brothers and nephews in another boat, were trying to disembark and aid Ihtamam Khan, when another party of the enemy, 200 strong, with a furious elephant (a noted fighter, named Kokah), fell on them. It gored Shahbaz Khan with its tusk and sank two or three boats. Two other captains were slain. Of the common soldiers, "many were drowned or slain, and the wounded were made prisoners."

Falls with heavy loss.

After disposing of the boats, Syed Alam turned upon Ihtamam Khan, who was helplessly cooped up in the redoubt. The Khan fell fighting, with many of his men; the rest surrendered. "The very pick of the Imperial Army thus perished miserably; 500 of them were taken prisoner, and some of these were afterwards put to death by order of Shuja."*

Meantime Mir Jumla had been a helpless spectator of this reverse from the western bank. In vain did he command and entreat his fugitive boats to return to the aid of their brethren; they were too demoralised to face the Bengal flotilla again. He was deeply mortified; the disaster dimmed the lustre of his hitherto victorious career; he had lost a choice body of men and given cause of exultation to his enemies, both across the river and in his own army.

Soon afterwards the Imperial party was to meet with a loss, which paralysed it for a time, and would have been disastrous but for Mir Jumla's wonderful courage, presence of mind, and mastery over men. Late in the night of the 8th June, his camp at Suti was startled to hear that Prince Muhammad had deserted his post at Dogachi and fled to Shuja!

Prince Muhammad discontented

Sultan Muhammad had been long chafing under the tutelage of Mir Jumla. Youthful flatterers were not wanting to tell him that *he* was the hero of Khajwah, and that while the other divisions of the Imperial Army had been routed or shaken, his alone had stood its ground and beaten back the enemy's onset. Was he not more worthy of the throne than his father, especially as he was beloved by his captive grandfather? To these dreams of ambition were added those of love. Years ago, when the Emperor Shah Jahan was holding court at Kabul, the Princes Aurangzib and Shuja had taken leave of him to go to the provinces assigned to them. Their way lay together up to Agra. In jealousy of their eldest brother Dara, they had vowed to unite against him on their father's death, and the vow had been strengthened by each entertaining the other for a week at Agra and betrothing the young Sultan Muhammad to Shuja's little daughter Gulrukh Banu (Lady Rose-cheek).† Their fathers' quarrel had broken off the match when the pair came of age. Shuja, whose servants and agents in Rajmahal kept him constantly informed of the state of the Mughal army, had been sending secret messages to the prince offering him the throne and the hand of his daughter. The temptation was too great for a youngman, with his heart sore against his father and his father's confidant.

Intrigues with Shuja

So one dark and rainy night (8th June), he slipped out of Dogachi in a small open boat with only five confidential servants and some gold coins and jewels, and went over to Shuja's camp, where he was welcomed, married (after a time) to his betrothed, and made his father-in-law's chief commander and counsellor.‡

And deserts to him.

Meantime alarm and distraction reigned in the Imperial camp. The news flew from tent to tent. But there was a born ruler of men on the spot: Mir Jumla at Suti firmly kept his own men quiet, and the morning after the flight rode to the Prince's camp at Dogachi, harangued the leaderless troops, put heart and hope into them, and restored order and discipline. A council of war was held; all the other generals agreed to obey him as their sole head. Thus through his heroic exertions the army weathered the storm, "it lost only one man—the Prince," as 'Aqil Khan pithily puts it.

Mir Jumla pacifies and controls the army.

It was now the middle of June. The torrential rains of Bengal suspended operations, and the army went into cantonments. Mir Jumla

Operations suspended by rain.

* *Alamgirnamah*, 506—509. Masum 118 *a*—119 *b* Aqil Khan, 95.

† Aqil Khan 10 and 11.

‡ For the history of the Prince's flight, see *Alamgirnamah* 511, 406 and 407, Khafi Khan ii 91, Masum 120*b*—124 *a*, Aqil Kh. 96 and 97.

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with about 15,000 men fixed his quarters at Murshidabad, "a high tract of land, with abundance of supplies." Zulfiqar Khan and many other officers with the rest of the army stayed at Rajmahal. Evidently the posts at Dogachi, Dunapur, and Suti were withdrawn.*

The moral effect of the Prince's flight was very great. Coming so soon after the reverse of the 3rd. May, it damped the spirits of the Imperial army and suspended its activity. The Emperor was alarmed at the news; he sent out strong reinforcements, and himself left the capital for Allahabad, to be within easy reach of the Bengal army, should the danger increase and roll westwards. The Shujaites were correspondingly elated, and now for the first time in the war took the initiative. Their enemy's force was split up into two bodies separated by sixty miles of almost impassable road. They had only to wrest Rajmahal from Zulfiqar Khan, and then march south to crush Mir Jumla. A daring blow achieved the first of these objects with startling quickness and ease.

Rajmahal water-locked

The rains had converted the environs of Rajmahal into one marshy lake (*jheel*), except at the N. W. corner where the hills approach it. Boats plied even in the midst of the city. The enemy's flotilla prevented Mir Jumla from sending the promised supplies from Murshidabad by water. Harchand, the Rajah of the Majwah hills, stretching west of Rajmahal, on receiving Shuja's subsidy, stopped the coming of supplies from that side, and robbed every grain-merchant (*bunjara*) who ventured to send a bullock's load of grain to Rajmahal. "Not a grain reached the city, the troops were weakened by abundance of water and dearth of (solid) food." "Scarcity reached the extreme point. Grain rose to the price of gold. Coarse red rice and *dal* sold at nine seers for a rupee." In the agony of hunger men ate noxious weeds. The Imperial troops in the city were reduced to the last extremity by famine and the loss of their horses and draught cattle; and the discord among their generals made matters worse.

Recaptured by Shuja

First Shuja's admiral, Shaikh Abbas, seized a hilly tract named Paturah,† 5 miles south of Rajmahal. From this base he began to make boat-raids into the water-girt city. Then on the 22nd August, Shuja suddenly attacked Rajmahal with his flotilla. The commandant, Zulfiqar Khan, was too ill to ride. Rajah Indradyumna Bundela alone offered a gallant opposition to the invader. The other Imperial officers wavered, held a council of war, could not agree to anything, but quarrelled with each other, and fled at night for Murshidabad, evacuating all their positions, the city on the bank, the upland, (a spur of the hill), midway between old and new Rajmahal, which was their main camp, and the causeway leading from the hill-side to the new town. All their property was seized by Suja, who thus recovered his capital and reestablished himself on the western bank of the Ganges.‡

Campaign renewed after the rains.

The rainy season wore off without any further adventure. At its close Shuja, with an army now raised to 8,000 men, marched from Rajmahal against Mir Jumla, who issued from Murshidabad, and took post behind a deep *nullah* near Belghata, throwing two bridges over it and fortifying their heads.

The scene of war now was the same which a century afterwards witnessed the final contest between the English and the Nawab of Bengal, Mir Qasim. Belghata, is only four miles south of the battle-field of Gheria, and Dogachi about the same distance from the famous Undhua Nullah.

Shuja's advance towards Murshidabad.

On the 6th December, 1659, Shuja came in front of Mir Jumla's position. After spending some days in cannonade and skirmishing, he attacked the right bridge with all his force on the 15th Dec. and seized its head. In this obstinate contest both sides lost heavily. Their gallant leader Ekkataz Khan being slain, the Imperialists fled to their own side of the *nullah* and burnt the bridge of boats to prevent pursuit. While this fight was raging, Mir Jumla crossed the *nullah* by the left bridge and marched on Shuja from behind. Catching up the enemy's rear on the bank of the Bhagirathi near the village of Gheria, which was destined to witness two other memorable combats,—Alivardi Khan's triumph over Nawab Sarfaraz Khan in 1740 and the rout

Battle of Gheria.

* *'Alamgirnamah*, 512.

† *Puttoorah*, 5 miles south of Rajmahal. (*Indian Atlas* sh. 112.)

‡ *Alamgirnamah*, 516-519, Masum 125*a* and *b*. Aqil Kh. 98. The last two give graphic descriptions of the scarcity in the city.

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of Mir Qasim's troops by the English in 1763,—he dispersed it with loss. But their main army came back and faced him in battle order, behind their guns, which did great execution and arrested the Mughal advance. Evidently there was a disorderly shrinking back among the Imperial troops. The court historian tries to explain it away by saying that, as the officers disobeyed Mir Jumla's orders, the different divisions were separated too far, and the enemy could not be charged. At sunset Mir Jumla had to return baffled to his camp, after a little fruitless cannonade. Two days afterwards the Shujaites again came upon the Imperial army and did some damage with their powerful artillery.*

Drawn.

In this arm Mir Jumla was very weak. He had dragged only light pieces with himself by the land route from Allahabad, while Shuja could take his big guns in and out of his boats, and had also enlisted excellent gunners from the Europeans of Hughli, Tumluk, and Noakhali. Mir Jumla without wasting any more men and ammunition, quietly retired to Murshidabad, as he was every day expecting a diversion in another quarter, which would send Shuja flying to his own base. That prince, emboldened by the enemy's retreat and ignorant of the danger in his own rear, marched parallel to the Mughals down the other bank of the Bhagirathi, to Nashipur (12 miles north of Murshidabad), in order to cross there and cut off the Imperial army from the last-named town.

Mir Jumla retreats.

The Emperor with his usual foresight had ordered Daud Khan, the *Subahdar* of Bihar, to march upon Tanda along the left or northern bank of the Ganges, and co-operate with Mir Jumla who was on the right bank. The Khan had started from Patna as early as the 13th May, 1659, but the rains, the many flooded rivers of north Bihar, and the enemy's flotilla and trenches on the river-banks had brought him to an absolute halt at Qazi-Keria, opposite Bhagalpur. Early in December he resumed his advance, forced a passage across the Kusi, swept away a Shujaite detachment under Syed Tajuddin of Barha, Jamal Ghori, and Khawajah Mishki, which barred his path, and was on full march from the N. W. towards Maldah, (by the 20th, December.) Shuja at Nashipur heard this dismal news in the night of 26th December and at once beat a retreat towards Suti, intending to cross the Ganges there and fall back on Tanda. †

Daud Khan threatens Shuja's rear.

Shuja's retreat from Nashipur.

Mir Jumla had been waiting for this development. He now sprang forward in pursuit. Starting at 9 a.m. next day, he sighted the fugitive enemy behind a *nullah* flanked with swamps. After an ineffectual artillery duel, Shuja fled from his position next morning, at 3 a.m. Very timely reinforcements with artillery, materials, 700 rockets, and 12 *lakhs* of Rupees now reached Mir Jumla from the Court. At sunrise he crossed the *nullah*, continued the chase, and at night halted at Fatihpur, 8 miles behind the enemy's position. Next morning (28th, December), he advanced further, and came upon the enemy's army beyond Chilmari, near Suti.

Mir Jumla gives chase.

Four or five days passed in a fruitless exchange of fire, the men on both sides standing to arms all day; but there was no fight at close quarters, though the scouts and patrols had daily skirmishes. Nurul Hasan now deserted to the Imperialists. In the night of 1st January, 1660, Shuja fled northwards to Dunapur, and thence in great disorder and confusion to Dogachi, Mir Jumla following hot on his heels, though delayed by bad roads, *nullahs*, and broken bridges. By this rapid march the Imperial general had outstripped his heavy artillery, and so when the enemy turned at bay behind the *nullah* of Dogachi, his men shrank from forcing a passage across in the face of Shuja's big guns. He therefore advanced by the left side towards Rajmahal (2nd January), Shuja marching parallel to him on the other side of the *nullah*, with the Ganges on his right. That Prince was now in a terrible dilemma: how could he cross the Ganges so close to an active enemy? If he went over first, his army would desert him; and if they were transported before him, he would be captured

Skirmishes.

* *Alamgirnamah* 519—525, Masum 131*a*—133*b*. Aqil Khan (99-103) tells a story which cannot be reconciled with the other two histories. He says that Mir Jumla surrounded Shuja in the Village of Gheria and could have captured him if he had boldly made a night-attack. In the morning Shuja escaped. This passage is incomprehensible to me; it does not look like an invention, but bears the stamp of an eye witness's report. But it is contradicted by the official history. Masum on the contrary asserts that if Shuja had charged he could have defeated Mir Jumla!

† *Alamgirnamah*, 513, 514, 524-526. M'asum 134,*a*.

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by the enemy. So, he dug a deep moat round his camp, entrenched, mounted guns, and then marched over the Ganges with his whole army by a bridge of boats, (9th, January.)

Mir Jumla recovers Rajmahal.

Next morning, Mir Jumla at Dogachi, hearing the news, pushed forward a detachment to occupy Rajmahal and open the river-side road to Mungir, which had been so long closed by the enemy. On the 11th January, the Imperialists recovered Rajmahal. The whole country west of the Ganges, was now lost to Shuja for ever. It only remained to crush his power on the eastern side of the river.*

LABORAMUS.

* *Alamgirnamah*, 526-532. Masum (134*a*) is extremely brief. Aqil Khan (101-103) evidently refers to this stage of the war; but there is probably a gap after p. 100 in the A. S. B. Ms. of Aqil Khan.

THE INDIAN CRAFTSMAN

I. THE VILLAGE CRAFTSMAN.

INDIAN society presents to us no more fascinating picture than that of the craftsman as an organic element in the national life. Broadly speaking he is associated with that life in one of three ways: as a member of a village community, as a member of a guild of merchant craftsmen in a great city, or as the servant of the king. Sir George Birdwood's classic picture of the Indian potter displays in all its charm, the life of the lesser craftsman as a member of the village community. His description cannot be too often quoted.

"The Indian potter's wheel is of the simplest and rudest kind. It is a horizontal fly-wheel, two or three feet in diameter, loaded heavily with clay round the rim, and put in motion by the hand; and once set spinning, it revolves for five or seven minutes with a perfectly true and steady motion. The clay to be moulded is heaped on the centre of the wheel, and the potter squats down on the ground before it. A few vigorous turns and away spins the wheel, round and round, and still and silent as a 'sleeping' top, while at once the shapeless heap of clay begins to grow under the potter's hand into all sorts of faultless forms of archaic fictile art, which are carried off to be dried and baked as fast as they are thrown from the wheel. Any polishing is done by rubbing the baked jars and pots with a pebble. There is an immense demand for these water-jars, cooking-pots, and earthen frying-pans and dishes. The Hindus have a religious prejudice against using an earthen vessel twice, and generally it is broken after the first pollution, and hence the demand for common earthenware in all Hindu families. There is an immense demand also for painted clay idols, which also are thrown away every day after being worshipped: and thus the potter in virtue of his calling, is an hereditary officer in every Indian village. In the Dakhan the potter's field is just outside the village. Near the field is a heap of clay, and before it rise two or three stacks of pots and pans, while the verandah of his hut is filled with the smaller wares and painted images of the gods and epic heroes of the Ramayana and Mahabharata. He has to supply the entire village community with pitchers and cooking-pans and jars for storing grain and spices and salt, and to furnish travellers with any of these vessels they may require. Also when the new corn begins to sprout, he has to take a water-jar to each field for the use of those engaged in watching the crop. But he is allowed to make bricks and tiles also and for these he is paid, exclusively of his fees, which amount to between £4 and £5 a year. Altogether he earns between £10 and £12 a year and is passing rich with it. He enjoys, beside, the dignity of certain ceremonial and honorific offices. He bangs the big drum, and chants the hymns in honour of *Jami*, an incarnation of the great goddess *Bhavani*, at marriages; and at the *dowra*, or village harvest home festivals he prepares the *barbat* or mutton stew. He is, in truth, one of the most useful and respected members of the community, and in the happy religious organisation of village life, there is no man happier than the hereditary potter, or *kumber*. . .

Are not these the conditions under which popular art and song have everywhere sprung, and which are everywhere found essential to the preservation of their pristine purity? To the Indian land and village system, we owe altogether the hereditary cunning of the Hindu handicraftsman. It has created for him simple plenty, and a scheme of democratic life, in which all are co-ordinate parts of one undivided and indivisible whole, the provision and respect due to every man in it being enforced under the highest religious sanctions, and every calling perpetuated from father to son by those cardinal obligations on which the whole hierarchy of Hinduism hinges. India has undergone more religious and political revolutions than any other country in the world; but the village communities remain in full municipal vigour all over the Peninsula. Scythian, Greek, Saracen, Afghan, Mongol, and Maratha have come down from the mountains, and Portuguese, Dutch, English, French, and Dane up out of its seas,

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and set up their successive dominations in the land; but the religious trade union villages have remained as little affected by their coming and going as a rock by the rising and falling of the tide; and there, at his daily work, has sat the hereditary village potter amid all these shocks and changes, steadfast and inchangeable for 3,000 years. Macedonian, Mongol, Maratha, Portuguese, English, French and Dane of no more account to him than the broken potsherds lying down his wheel."*

Following up the subject in a more detailed manner, we find that the craftsmen thus working within the village community, are there in virtue of a perpetual contract whereby their services are given to the husbandmen, from whom they receive in return certain privileges and payments in kind. Each had his own duties to perform.

The woodwork of ploughs and other implements was made and repaired, by the carpenter, the cultivator merely supplying the wood; the blacksmith supplied all the iron parts of the implements, and repaired them when necessary, the cultivator supplying the iron and charcoal, and working the bellows; and the potter, as we have seen, supplied each cultivator with the earthenware he needed. The list of artisans is not always the same, only those most indispensable to the community being found in all cases, such as the carpenter and blacksmith, potter and washerman. Others may be the barber-surgeon, messenger and scavenger, astrologer, or dancing girl. It will be seen that not all of these are technically craftsmen, but all occupy their position in virtue of the professional service which they render to the agricultural community. This is well illustrated by a verse of a fifteenth century Sinhalese poem, dealing with the origion of caste as a method of division of labour. The verse in question emphasizes the indispensable character of the services of the carpenter and smith, tailor, washerman, barber and leather-worker.

"Both for the weddings and funerals of Rajas, Brahmans, cultivators, merchants, sudras and all men —the carpenter giving chairs, bedsteads, pavilions and the like—the tailor sewing and giving jackets and hats —the washer spreading awnings and bringing clean clothes—the barber cutting the hair and beard, trimming the face and adorning it—the leather-worker stitching leather for the feet; thus these five are needed (alike) for the wedding and the funeral."

They are, indeed, often spoken of as 'The five servants,' that is in Ceylon.

In Maratha villages, the craftsmen and menial servants formed a guild or institution, regulating the customary duties and remuneration of the craftsmen and servants, and called *bara balute* in as much as the full number of persons composing this body was reckoned at twelve. They included the craftsmen; the inferior servants, of low caste, as barbers and scavengers; and the Bhat, or village priest. They were all headed by the carpenter, who decided all their disputes.

The presence of the craftsmen in the midst of a simple agricultural society made possible the self-contained life of the community, so striking a feature of the Indian village.

Living in a society organized on the basis of personal relations and duties, which descended in each family from generation to generation, instead of belonging to a society founded on contract and competition, their payment was provided for in various ways, of which money payment was the least important and most unusual. The amount of money in circulation in the villages, was, indeed, almost negligible, barter and personal service taking the place of money payments. Wealth was hoarded, if at all, rather in the form of jewellery than of money. Prosperity consisted in having several years' provision of grain in one's granary. Anything of the nature of a shop or store was unknown.

The payment of craftsmen then, was either a payment in kind or a grant of land, besides perquisites on special occasions. For their customary services, the craftsmen were repaid at harvest-time, receiving a fixed proportion of sheaves or grain from the crop collected on the threshing floor or they might be given a share of the communal land. In the last case it followed that every man was a cultivator, and directly dependent on the land for his subsistence, whether he were a husbandman, a goldsmith or a washerman by caste. To take a few examples of these payments at random: in the Gujrat district of the Panjab, the village servants are paid by grain fees, so many bundles of the crop of wheat or barley, each bundle of such a size as may be tied by a string of three straws in length. In the villages of another province (N. W. P.) the following persons received each a share of grain for each 'plough' of

* Sir George Birdwood, Industrial arts of India, 1880.

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cultivated land in the village: the barber, washerman, carpenter, blacksmith and cowherd, besides a further allowance as an extra 'when the business of the threshing-floor was over.' Almost always, too, there are set apart shares for religious and charitable purposes, before the remainder of the crop is divided between tenant and landlord, or removed by the tenant proprietor himself.* In Ceylon if a man wanted a new cloth he gave cotton from his clearing, and a present of grain to the weaver. Sometimes the craftsman was paid in this kind of way whenever his services were required, sometimes he received a perquisite only on special occasions; very much as in England the postman, employed by the community, receives an annual 'Christmas box' from each individual at whose house he delivers letters. At New Year for example, it was customary in some parts of Ceylon, to tie up a coin in each garment sent to the wash; and the washerman had other perquisites beside; and so with the other servants and craftsmen of the village.

II. The Craft Guilds of the Great Cities.

"The typical Hindu village consists exclusively of husbandmen; but as husbandry and manufacture cannot exist without each other, the village had to receive a number of artisans as members of its governing body. But they are all 'strangers within the gate,' who reside in a village solely for the convenience of the husbandmen on a sort of service contract. It is a perpetual contract, but in the lapse of 3,000 years, the artisans have constantly terminated their connection with a village, or have had to provide for sons in some other place, and they at once sought their livelihood in the towns which began to spring up everywhere round the centres of government, and of the foreign commerce of the country. It is in this way that the great polytechnical cities of India have been formed. Let us pass on to a picture of the craftsman as a member of a great guild of merchant craftsmen, controllers of the wealth of mighty cities and once of the markets of the world. Community of interests would naturally draw together the skilled immigrants of these cities in trades-unions; the bonds of which in India, as was also the case in ancient Egypt, are rendered practically indissoluble by the force of caste...The trade guilds of the great polytechnical cities of India are not, however, always exactly coincident with the sectarian or ethnical caste of a particular caste of artisans. Sometimes the same trade is pursued by men of different castes, and its guild generally includes every member of the trade it represents without strict reference to caste. The government of the guilds or unions is analogous to that of the village communities and castes, that is, by hereditary officers. Each separate guild is managed by a court of aldermen or *mahajans*, literally 'great gentlemen.' Nominally it is composed of all the freemen of the caste, but a special position is allowed to the *seths*, lords, or chiefs of the guild, who are ordinarily two in number, and hold their position by hereditary right. The only other office-bearer is a salaried clerk or *gumasta*.

"Membership in the guild is also hereditary, but new-comers may be admitted into it on the payment of an entrance fee, which in Ahmedabad amounts to £2 for paper-makers, and £50 for tinsmiths. No unqualified person can remain in or enter a guild. It is not the practice to execute indentures of apprenticeship, but every boy born in a working caste of necessity learns his father's handicraft, and when he has mastered it, at once takes his place as an hereditary freeman of his caste or tradeguild; his father, or, if he be an orphan, the young man himself, giving a dinner to the guild on the occasion. In large cities the guilds command great influence. The *Nagar-Seth*, or City Lord of Ahmedabad, is the titular head of all the guilds, and the highest personage in the city, and is treated as its representative by the Government. In ordinary times he does not interfere in the internal affairs of the guilds, their management being left to the chief alderman of each separate guild, called the *Chautano Seth*, or 'lord of the market.'...The funds of the guilds of Western India, where they prevail chiefly among the Vaishnavas and Jainas of Gujarat, are for the greater part spent on charities, and particularly charitable hospitals for sick and helpless domestic animals: and in part also on the temples of the Maharajas of the Wallabhacharya sect of Vaishnavas, and on guild feasts. A favourite device for raising money is for the men of a craft or trade to agree on a certain day to shut all their shops but one. The right to keep open this one is then put up to auction, and the amount bid goes to the guild fund."†

The guilds likewise regulated the hours of labour, and the amount of work to be done in their workshops, by strict byelaws, enforced by the levy of fines. The principles upon which they acted were indeed altogether socialistic, and realised as an accomplished fact, many of the ideals for which the European worker is still fighting. Thus, the guild both prevented undue competition amongst its members, and negotiated with other guilds in case of dispute amongst the craftsmen.

"In 1873, for example, a number of the bricklayers in Ahmedabad could not find work. Men of this class sometimes added to their daily wages by rising very early in the morning, and working overtime. But when several families complained that they could not get employment, the bricklayers' guild met, and decided that as there was not enough work for all, no member should be allowed to work in extra hours... The trade-guild of caste allows none of its members to starve. It thus acts as a mutual assurance society and takes the place of a poor law in India. The

* Baden Powell "Indian Village Communities" 1896, p. 17.

† Sir George Birdwood, 'Industrial Arts of India', 1880 p. 140.

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severest social penalty which can be inflicted upon a Hindu is to be put out of his caste."

How long ago the craftsmen were organized into these great municipal guilds, is suggested by a well known passage in the Ramayana, describing the procession of citizens who went out into the forest with Bharata in search of Rama. The gem-cutters, potters, weavers, armourers, ivory-workers, 'well-known goldsmiths', together with many others, the foremost merchants as well as the citizens of all classes went out to search for Rama; such a procession as even in the nineteenth century, perhaps even to-day, might be drawn together in one of the great merchant cities of Western India.

Again, we read in the Hari Vamsa,* of the preparations made for the royal family and citizens of Mathura to witness the contest between Krishna and Balarama and the king's champions.

"The amphitheatre was filled by the citizens, anxious to behold the games. The place of assembly was supported by octagonal painted pillars, fitted up with terraces, and doors, and bolts, with windows, circular or crescent-shaped, and accommodated with seats with cushions,"—

and so on; and then we are told that

"The pavilions of the different companies and corporations, vast as mountains, were decorated with banners, bearing upon them the implements and emblems of the several crafts."

It is interesting to note also how much all this splendour depended upon these very crafts whose position was thus recognized and honoured; for the tale goes on to say that

"The chambers of the inhabitants of the inner apartments shone near at hand, bright with gold, and painting, and net-work of gems; they were richly decorated with precious stones, were enclosed below with costly hangings, and ornamented above with spires and banners."

* Quoted by Wilson, Vishnu Purana, Vol. V., p. 27.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

NARRATIVE OF THE INCIDENTS OF MY EARLY LIFE

19th September.—The "lam-ig" or passport granted.—In the afternoon of Friday, the 19th September, I received a message from the Minister to see him at once, and went. He was not prepared to start so early for his inspection tour towards Rong-tsham-chen, but the Grand Lama attached great importance to his starting as early as possible. On arrival, the Minister himself took us to his drawing room, where, on a high cushion close to his own, was seated Tung-ig-chenpo, the Chief Secretary to the Government. Introduced to him by the Minister, I made him, with a low bow, the customary present of a scarf and a silver coin and was desired to sit on a cushion placed beside his own and confronting the Minister's. After an interchange of compliments, the Secretary handed over to me the much wished-for *lam-ig* or passport, saying that it was the result of the influence of Kusho-Rinpo-che ("His Precious Honour," pointing to the Minister) over the Grand Lama and his Government, for such favours are not often granted even to men of high position and office in the country; that we were exceptionally fortunate, being foreigners, and belonging to a country with which communication was forbidden by custom and imperial edict, in receiving this mark of confidence and favour, which had been denied to the Raja of Sikkim last year; that he had heard about me from the Minister, and now that he saw me, was convinced of my being a good man and a pundit. He had drafted the *lam-ig* to suit our special convenience. "It will afford you," said he, "all facilities desirable. The headmen of the villages mentioned in the letter will wait upon you, arrange for the conveyance of yourselves and your goods, and that without any unnecessary delay; and at every stage you will be provided with suitable lodgings, water, and fuel." We thanked him for his kindness; for besides the passport, though we had asked for only six laden yaks and two ponies, yet the Minister, thinking that number too small, had increased it to ten yaks and three ponies. The Secretary and myself were then served

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with tea and dishes of mutton, rice, and *bre-se*. The Minister then requested me to explain some stereoscopic views, of which 500 slides were placed before me by the Secretary, together with a stereoscope. These were perhaps the gifts of some English official to the Raja of Sikkim or his ex-Dewan, who in turn had presented them to the Secretary; or they may have been obtained from Kashmiri merchants. They were all French and Parisian views. I explained as many of the views as I could, the Secretary himself taking the trouble of transcribing the names in a cipher which, he said, none but himself and the Minister could read. The Secretary had believed the views to be all English, and when I pronounced them to be French, he was quite surprised. He still expected, however, that a few out of so many slides might turn out to be English, and asked me often if this or that was not an English view. In one case, that of a French harvesting scene, I gave a wrong explanation, which the Secretary was quick enough to detect, and set me right. Besides the large stereoscope, he possessed a smaller folding one which he showed us too, and seemed proud of these little possessions. The Minister understood this, and hinted that *he* thought a magic lantern far superior to the stereoscope. At last the Secretary expressing himself quite satisfied with me, and wishing me a happy and safe journey, took his leave. The Minister then handed over to me a few miniature mythological Buddhist pictures, with a request to make slides of them, as he intended to entertain the Grand Lama and the gentry of Tashilhunpo with them when ready. He also desired me to bring for him a good musical-box next time I came to Tibet, which he hoped would be within a few months. The Minister had a little musical-box, playing two tunes, which was out of order and without a key. We returned to our lodgings at 9 P.M., each of us carrying a joss-stick, called *pyo*, in our hand. The gates of the city are closed after sunset, when all music in the monastery must cease, and no one is allowed to go out. Every man is required to walk with a lighted joss-stick in his hand; in default of which he is taken to the lock-up and kept there for the night.

20th September.—VISIT TO TSANGPO.—The Shigatse Jong or fort is situated between Tashilhunpo and the town of Shigatse, the distance from either being inconsiderable. It is situated on a rocky spur of the range along whose northern flanks flows the mighty Tsangpo: the view of it from a distance is very grand. It is said to have accomodation for a thousand men, and there are arrangements for the conveyance of water into it. It is the vulgar belief that it was built by the Tartar General of the Emperor Kanghi, who conquered the country; but it is the opinion of officers and the well-informed generally, that it was erected on the old fort which had been broken down during the civil war between U and Tsang. But the building did not present any traces of Chinese workmanship, being built entirely in the Tibetan style. It its external appearance, with its walls and terraced roofs, it resembles the sketches of old English castles and ruined palaces in the *Illustrated London News* or the *Graphic*. It is built of stone plastered with a kind of calcareous soil obtained in the neighbourhood. I passed by it but did not visit it, so that I am not able to describe it minutely. In front of it towards the south, stands the ancient *jong* or fort (now in ruins) of King Qesar, the warlike prince of the Tibetans. The town of Shigatse lies east of it on a low flat. A long *mendang* or *stupa* of inscribed stones, with basso-relievo figures painted in various colours, and placed in niches at regular intervals, extends for about 1,000 feet. It is about 10 to 12 feet high: the houses of the town cluster to the east and south of it. To the north, bordering the road, is an open space where a daily market is held. There are no regular shops except those of the butchers and pastry-cooks; there are three hotels or *serais* where food is supplied at a low charge; and close to it is the police station and the quarters of a Chinese jemadar. There are no sheds erected by the Government for the convenience of the traders, who bring their own small tents for protection against the sun. Pony dealers, yak-men, laden asses, petty shop-keepers, rice-sellers, provision-sellers, and book-sellers were gathering from all sides. Dressed in my Lama costume I rode by the *thom*, and recognized many traders whom I had known at Darjeeling, but happily they did not recognize me, nor did the Tibetans present

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notice me; for my complexion, though dark, was not darker than theirs, owing to their filthy habits. I managed then to pass the market at a gallop unobserved by any of my Darjeeling acquaintances, my groom, who was dressed in a turban of yellow felt, managing to keep up with me. Ugyen's pony was a very good one, but mine was somewhat given to shying. We took the old canal road along the edge of the Shigatse hills. There is no regular road, but a mere track cut by the drainage water which flows this way to the Tsangpo. On our left were a few lofty chaits, and on our right we passed for about a mile the white-washed houses in the village of the Palpas or Nepali Buddhists. The distance from Shigatse to the river is about five miles. We passed three villages on our way. The soil of the barley-fields seemed very good, judging by the luxuriant growth of the barley, now turning yellow. People were engaged in some places in reaping, while in others, especially near the river, we saw men ploughing with a yoke of "*jo*" (a cross between the yak and the cow.) In Tibet cows often yield three to five seers of milk, daily, though of a small size. In point of height the Tibetan cows are to Indian cows much what Bhutia ponies are to Persian or Arab horses. Cows and ponies are seldom employed in ploughing, nor is the yak, on account of his vicious habits. The *jo* is exclusively used for this purpose, being a docile, strong, and hard working animal like the mule. He resembles the yak in many points, for example, in his bushy tail, but he has a short coat of hair. We did not go down the first ghat we saw, but rode off towards the confluence of the Tsangpo and the Pena-nying-chu. On the road we met people who were proceeding to the *thom* with asses, yaks, and cows laden with barley-flour, whisky-casks, and bundles of firewood brought from the forest of the Tanag, north of Tsangpo. At 11 A.M. we arrived at another ghat, and for the first time I saw the noble river which my countrymen identify with the son of Brahma. On the opposite side of the Tsangpo was a range of black mountains, with naked slender cliffs of dusky rock here and there. Ranging beyond this gloomy chain, the eye was refreshed with the sight of the snow-line formed by the towering peaks of distant ranges to the east and west. The breadth of the river, including the sand banks on either side, is at this place nearly a mile and a half wide, while the main channel alone is about 1,000 feet. The rains being just over, it was a smooth but rather rapid river, about half the volume of the Teesta below Kalingpong cane bridge. There were no wooden boats at the ferry, since they are not serviceable at this season; but we saw two hide boats drawn up on the bank, one with its keel uppermost, while the boatman was preparing his tea under the shade of the other near at hand. Close to him on the ground at one end was a pile of firewood, a large quantity of luggage, and a heap of earthen vessels. We engaged one of these boats for two annas to take us to the other bank and back. Assisted by the others, our boatman laid the hide boat flat on the ground, stretched the irregularly shaped ribs and thus tightened the hide: it was then easily pushed into the river. Two bars of wood, stretched horizontally, were placed at the two ends of the boat, which was of an oblong shape, about nine feet by four, and three feet deep. I took my seat on one of the ribs and Ugyen on the other, in order to preserve the equilibrium. It was propelled at a good rate against the current by a broad-headed paddle. After half an hour's paddling we came to a stop in very shallow water just over a sand bank, and were unable to proceed further. The boatman advised us to wade through the water, which was about knee-deep, but we did not much like the idea of wading without shoes for about a mile over treacherous sand and boulders. The water of the river was somewhat turbid even in the deepest part of the channel; nevertheless we filled our silver water-pot with the holy water, drank a draught, and sprinkled a little of it over of our heads, Ugyen having first of all said grace. We asked the boatman the name of the river. He answered "Tsangpo," by which he meant nothing more than "the river", being evidently ignorant of its proper name. Asked a second time, he said it was the Gyamtsho (the Sanskrit *Samudra* or ocean). The real Tibetan name of the river is Yar-chhab Tsangpo, or 'the river of heavenly water.' The return trip occupied 20 minutes, and the current took us below the point from which we had embarked.

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We stayed on the bank for half an hour, surveying the country. On the east, at a distance of about four miles from its junction with the Pena-nyang-chhu, the river branches into two at a high rocky islet, reuniting, I was told, at a distance of a mile further east. We then rode off along the bank towards the junction, through rushes and weeds (there being no road or beaten track), among which we missed our way. After wandering for nearly an hour we met a husbandman, who put us on the way to the barley-fields and cultivated farms, which we reached in safety. I could not help admiring the fertility of the soil, the luxuriant growth of the barley and wheat, and the stoutness of their stubble; but notwithstanding this richness the ground yields only a single crop a year. This is owing to the severity of the winter, with its dry north wind and occasional falls of snow. But now my eyes were refreshed with the bright foliage and green grass, and the beautiful wild flowers and dwarf shrubs in blossom. Meeting another Tibetan we asked him the road to Kun-khyab-ling, the Tashi Lama's third palace and park.

At one in the afternoon we entered the celebrated park of Kun-khyab-ling; the trees are planted with great taste and admirable arrangement. The late Grand Lama Kyab-gon (Tanpai nyima, that is, the defender or sun of religion) on whom the spirit of the famous Tashi Lama, the friend of Warren Hastings, had descended when captain Turner visited Tashilhunpo in the year 1783, and whose reputation for generosity and holiness had spread through out Central Asia, was the builder of the two princely palaces of Kun-khab-ling and Dechan phodang. This Lama had received nine elephants from the Goorkha Raja of Nepal; and he kept a menagerie, in which there were, besides other animals, wolves, tigers, leopards, Sikkim panthers, wild yaks, the Indian weasel, the Tibetan *kyang*, musk-deer, antelope, and the Bactrian or double-humped camel. He was no less famous for his learning and enlightened views. It was he who laid out the park, the trees of which therefore cannot be very old; indeed, I found the largest tree to be little more than five feet in girth. Instead of entering the palace compound by the northern gate, we took a circuitous course through shady walks, and by the little canals cut from the Pena to water the groves, so as to see as much as we could of the park. As we rested for a while under a large branching tree, various birds, whose notes were different from those I had heard in India, sang gaily overhead. We next came upon the river Pena-nyang-chu, which is here about 400 feet wide, and runs close to the palace of Kun-khyab-lin. Smooth rocks are placed under the shade of trees to serve for seats. The palisades round the park are concealed by green creepers and bushes of dwarf plants. Round the palace there is a stone wall about five feet high, surrounded by a moat. The bare mountain and the valleys on the other sides of the river formed a striking contrast to the beauty of the park. The palace is a large one, with courts in the front and a spacious enclosure on all sides. We had a glimpse of the interior of one of the rooms from the east side. It was painted and wainscoted with carved wood of various colours; flags and inscribed banners were hung from lofty poles, and there were small gilt spires with the gilt skulls of reputed giants attached to their bodies. We met in our walk several monks, evidently attached to the park, sitting under trees or sleeping under the grateful freshness of their shade. The gate of the park, guarded by three sentries, is under a large turret like that of the "math" of Buddha Gaya. We came out without being questioned by anybody, and proceeded to examine the grand road called the Sampo-sher road, passing over the great Pena bridge, and connecting Gyantse with Shigatse. The bridge commences at a distance of 200 yards from the gate of the park to the east. A large span is preferred for this kind of bridges in Tibet. The Pena bridge consists of large high piers, constructed of loose, large, irregularly-shaped slabs of rock and boulders, varying from about 10 feet by 6 to 12 by 7, and about 12 feet above the highest water-mark. They are spanned by logs brought from Chumbi and other places near the source of the river, upon which short planks 10 feet long are placed, and over all a layer of boulders a foot thick. The piers are about 35 in number, extending over 700 feet exclusive of the approaches. Not

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being strong enough to resist the current singly, the number of piers is increased, and channels are cut for the passage of the water through them, thus distributing it over a greater area, and lessening its pressure upon any one point, to the greater safety of the piers.

From "Sampo-sher" to Shigatse for a distance of a mile and a half the road, about 18 feet wide, is very fine and well made. We entered the town, but were disappointed in the expectations we had formed from the accounts of the pony-dealers of Darjeeling. The houses from a distance presented a fair appearance, but on a nearer view they turned out to be irregularly built, with rude, uneven walls. A few of the houses of the rich, have large compounds round them, with orchards and groves of willows and other trees. There are no regular drains cut by the roadside, so that filth and drainage find their way through the middle of lanes. Here and there are pools of water formed during the rains, but these dry up in winter. The Nepalese Buddhist quarter contains neater and finer looking houses and lanes, but the interior of the native quarter is simply disgusting.

The climate of the place being, however, extremely cold and dry, neglect of sanitation does not affect the people much. There are few diseases prevalent among them, and the town is considered to be very healthy. The residents pay no taxes except a land tax, or rather a family tax, which they pay to their respective landlords. We entered the house of Lupa Gyanchen, our acquaintance, who had invited us that morning to dine with him. He lives in a small two-storied brick house, the ground floor of which was let out. At the entrance his asses were kept. The Lupa's servant took charge of our ponies, while he himself conducted us into the house.

There were four rooms, of which the best furnished was the chapel. I also saw the blanket-manufacturing room, which was filled with fleece and looms. We were invited to sit on thickly stuffed cushions. Ani La, the wife of our host, and her sister were engaged in cooking and preparing tea. As soon as we were seated, two cups were placed before us on two low tables, while his daughter, a girl of ten, stood by us with the goblet of whisky in her hands. I merely touched the liquor as a sign of respect to our hosts, Gelugpa monks being forbidden to taste spirits; but Ugyen emptied several cups and praised the liquor as good and strong. Next, two dishes of cheese and fried barley, together with hot tea in the very best China cups, were served.

The Lupa sat in the corner of the room with his palms joined, as a mark of respect for us. We talked on various subjects, such as the Chinse, Dopa, and Palpa traders and of the various products of the different seasons of the year. As soon as we had finished tea, two tables garnished with dishes of excellent rice, large pieces of boiled mutton, mutton curry, a kind of herb cooked with mushrooms and a little radish pickle, were placed before us by Lupa's sister. We made a hearty meal after the fatigues of our excursion to the Tsangpo, and thanking our host and hostess, the latter a lady of simple and modest manners, requested the Lupa to accompany us to Qesar Jong, which we wanted to visit. Qesar Jong (now in ruins) is the most ancient fortress in Tsang, apparently about six centuries old.

It is surrounded by a wall about 12 feet high by 5 feet thick, enclosing at present an area of about two thousand square feet. A great portion of the wall is said to have been pulled down during the war with the Chinese. The central building called Qesar Lha-Khang, is kept in good repair by the Government, and is an excellent building, having a spacious court in the middle. In appearance it resembles a Benares house, but is better lighted. The walls are regular, and the plastering does credit to the masons of former days. The whole Jong, with its minor buildings now in ruins, seems evidently to have been built by some powerful temporal prince, and to prove the superiority of a temporal Government over one in which the spiritual and temporal are united. It stands on a raised bank about 20 feet above the level of the adjoining town of Shiga-tse. In the court of the central Lha-Khang is a large isolated fire-place with a central chimney, at which a few Chinamen were preparing pastries. As we entered we met the Ku-nyer going out, who told us to find out the old Ani in charge of the Lha-Khang. One of the Chinamen asked us to explain a letter in Tibetan to him; we complied, and he found out for us the

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Ani, who opened the door. Inside the walls were curiously but neatly painted, the cornices of a light red colour. In the north hall, on a high pedestal at the foot of the wall, was placed the gigantic statue of king Qesar, in a sitting posture and with a terrific countenance. At a little distance in front, to the right and left, stood his generals, each ten feet high, clad in full armour, and as dreadful to look at as their king. In the two wings of the building were placed the statues of the captive kings of Hor-Jung and other countries attended by their respective generals and ministers; and in the front room were statues of the favourite horses of the king fully equipped for war, and each held by two grooms—all executed with some skill and fidelity. In front of king Qesar's colossal statue was placed a table on which people cast lots; this being the great, if not the only, attraction which brought people from different parts of Tibet to Qesar Lha-Khang; and from this source the Ku-nyer in charge derives a fair livelihood. The Ani wanted some buksheesh, but we had no small change with us. We then passed by several Chinese houses and the Captain's quarters, which are neatly kept and furnished with little flower gardens. We did not see any Chinese women here. On account of the great distance of this country from China, the wives of Chinese soldiers and officers do not accompany them; in consequence of which they keep Tibetan concubines. The Captain and Lieutenant of the Militia were absent, having lately gone to Lhasa on business. The Tibetan concubines of the Chinese soldiers prepare pastry and biscuits for sale in the bazar. We returned home in the evening.

21st September.—Next morning the minister sent us the promised pictures, and 40 volumes of Tibetan manuscripts, with a list of their names and prices, amounting to Rs. 400 in Tibet.

The books, we were told, were in return for the presents that we had brought for him and the Grand Lama. In the afternoon he sent us a message to go and see him. We went and after tea, dinner was served consisting of cakes, mutton curries, and an excellent dish of rice cooked with mutton-chops and black dried grapes. He presented us with the copper image of De-chhok (Sanskrit, Sambhara) and with statues of the goddess Tara and of Mr Bogle's Tashi Lama; besides other small images and sets of church utensils and musical instruments, which he gave to Ugyen. I presented him with a beautiful merino cloak lined with Russian fur in return for the robes of which he had made me a present some time ago. He then very affectionately blessed us by placing his hands on our heads, and uttered several mantras for our safe journey home. He was much affected, and told us that he would always offer prayers to heaven for our welfare and health. He also told us not to apprehend any danger in Tibet as long as he remained alive; and repeatedly requested us to return to Tibet without fail early next spring, and to bring with us the lithographic press, vaccine matter, and other articles of which he gave us a list. He then promised to take me with him to Lhasa, and to introduce me to the four chief ministers, among whom Shape Rampa was his friend. We made three profound salutations and three times received his benediction. He advised us not to stay long at Tashilhunpo after his departure, which was to take place early next morning, as in his absence ill-disposed people might cause us trouble. As a parting gift he gave me his own gilt amulet, which he had received from his spiritual guide, and he also provided me with a loan of Rs. 100, besides Rs. 50 to Ugyen, requesting us to spend the amount advanced to us in purchasing the lithographic press. We then parted with regret.

[THE END.]

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ABOLITION OF THE MONOPOLY IN THE CHINA TRADE

THE Charter Act of 1813 deprived the East India Company of the monopoly of the Indian Trade—a monopoly which the Company had enjoyed for over two centuries. By the Company being deprived of this monopoly, it was not the natives of India, but those of England who were the gainers. Their appetite was whetted by the free trade to India and so they now demanded that the Company should be also deprived of the monopoly of the China-trade. Because by throwing open the trade to India, they reaped enormous profits, hence they argued that the open trade to China would also benefit England. But the analogy between India and China was not a correct one. India had no political existence of her own; she was dependent on England. So the latter could with impunity employ "the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom England could not have contended on equal terms."

But China was independent. Mr. Larpent in answer to one of the queries wrote:—

"That the trade between China and England is more advantageous to the latter than the former, cannot perhaps be denied.

"What has been done in Japan against Europeans may be done in China. A recourse to arms to compel the Chinese to trade would be an experiment of which the injustice and expense would be certain, and the result very problematical."*

The natives of England knew that in the event of any war with China, India would have to pay; their pockets would not be touched, and hence they were so loud in their demand for throwing open the trade to China.

But we have only to deal with this question of open trade to China so far as it affected India. Would the free trade to China, or rather depriving the Company of its monopoly of the China trade benefit India? The Company said most emphatically 'NO'. On the eve of the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company in 1833, the British Ministry at the instigation of the natives of England made it a *sine qua non* condition in the renewal of the Charter, that the Company's "China monopoly to cease." To consider this question, at a secret Committee of Correspondence of the Company, held on Wednesday, the 2nd January, 1833, it was recorded:—

"With respect to a cessation of this exclusive privilege, whilst it will be the duty of the Company to bow to the wisdom of Parliament, the Committee feel it right to state, for the consideration of the King's Ministers, that the discontinuance of that privilege involves a most essential change in the financial system upon which the affairs of India are now administered, since it is the exclusive trade with China which to a great extent, furnishes the Indian territory with a safe and very beneficial channel of remittance of the funds required in England to defray political charges, and which has also afforded to the territory a large amount of direct pecuniary aid, under the fourth head of appropriation of profits specified in the 57th Section of the Act of the 53rd Geo. 3, c. 155. If, instead of receiving these advantages, India had been called upon from year to year to provide funds to repay the full amount disbursed by the Company, the public debt of India since 1814 would have been upwards of seventeen millions sterling more than it now is, exclusive of the balance due in account to the commercial branch, and which, with interest, is computed at five millions.

"When this important fact is considered, in reference to the pressure with which the Government demands already bear on our native subjects, notwithstanding the searching measures of economy which of late years have been introduced into all branches of the Indian administration, the Committee cannot but hope that His Majesty's Ministers will pause before they consent to deprive India of the great advantage of the China-trade as now conducted.

* * * *

Should it be argued, that tea would be somewhat cheapened to the consumer by that trade, which is now conducted by the Company at a profit, becoming only one of remittance, the Committee would submit, that advantage, if eventually realized by the people of England, could only be acquired at the expense of the people of India, and would, in some measure, be countervailed, even to the people of England, by the expense of collecting the tea duty in an open trade; * *."

The shareholders of the Company were

* Pp. 572-573 of Vol. II. (Finance) of Affairs of the East India Company, 1832.

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assured of a dividend of 10½ per cent. The Secret Committee pointed out that "there can be little prospect that India, when deprived of the advantage of the China-trade, will be able to pay."*

But all these arguments—very just and reasonable—were of no avail. The Right Hon. Charles Grant, a son of that Mr. Charles Grant who was the reputed "Christian" Director of the East India Company, was at the head of the India Board. It was Charles Grant, Senior, at whose instance was inserted that clause in the Charter Act of 1813 which declared that it was the duty of England to promote the interest and happiness of the natives of India. So Mr. Charles Grant, Junior, as a worthy son of a worthy father, was promoting the happiness of the heathens of India by trying his best to deprive the Company of the monopoly of the China-trade. In answer to the arguments advanced by the Company in favor of continuing the monopoly of the China-trade, Mr. Grant addressed a long letter, dated India Board, 12th February 1833, to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Company, in the course of which he wrote :—

"On this argument it may be observed generally, that the weight to be given to it depends entirely on the view taken of the possibility of supplying the resources in question by other means, less onerous to the people of the country. If the principle were admitted, that the expense of remittance is to be saved to India, and also that the deficiency of the Indian revenue is to be supplied, and that all this is to be done at the cost of England, we should then merely have to consider whether the aid requisite for these purposes should be afforded directly by a grant of British money, or, as heretofore, indirectly through an enhancement in the price of tea.

But His Majesty's Ministers are by no means prepared to admit that principle; they cannot consent that India shall habitually lean on England for financial aid. * * * *

"* * The 17,000,000 (£) * * * * by the supply of which, through the China monopoly, it is observed in the minute that the public debt of India has been kept down, have been contributed out of the resources of this country, as certainly as if they had been appropriated by a vote of Parliament in aid of the Indian finances.

With respect to the competency of India to answer all the just demands on her exchequer, no rational doubt can exist. A revenue which, notwithstanding fluctuations, has during the last twenty years been steadily progressive, which, estimated according to the Parliamentary rates of exchange, has now reached the annual amount of 22,000,000 and which promises still to increase; a territory almost unlimited in extent; a soil rich, fertile, and suited to every variety of produce; great resources not yet explored; a people, generally speaking, patient, frugal, laborious, improving, and evincing both desire and capacity of further improvement, these, I think, are sufficient pledges that our treasury in the East will, under wise management, be more than adequate to meet the current expenditure. "* * * * On these suppositions, and considering moreover how greatly, and even extraordinarily, our political position in that quarter has been improved, and our empire consolidated, during the currency of the present Charter, it is, I think, no extravagant conjecture, that the financial condition of our Indian dominions will gradually advance, and not with an operation injurious to the people, but in perfect harmony with the progressive development of the national powers and capabilities.

* * * *

"* * I must once more declare the conviction of His Majesty's Ministers, that the territory of India is essentially solvent; that the Indian resources will, under proper management, be capable of answering every fair demand on them; and that, in order to call them forth into full efficiency, one of the principal means is to release them from the seductive and hurtful aid of the profits of a foreign-trade carried on by those who administer them."

Divested of all the sonorous words in which the above passages are clothed, they mean that India should not expect any benefit from England, aye, she should be bled mercilessly and constantly for the sake of the latter. But India never leant on England for financial aid. On the contrary, it was England which derived from her connection with India, many advantages. The monopoly of the China-trade enjoyed by the East India Company was advantageous to the financial security of India, and it was therefore to be deprived of it, because, argued the British Ministry of the day through Mr. Grant—

"the 17,000,000 (£) * * by the supply of which, through the China monopoly, * * the public debt of India has been kept down, have been contributed out of the resources of this country, as certainly as if they had been appropriated by a vote of Parliament in aid of the Indian finances."

What an argument to advance! It was convenient for the British Ministry to ignore the fact that it was India which was paying the tribute to England and certainly not the latter which was contributing anything out of her resources in aid of the Indian finances. The nature of this tribute has been very well described by Mr. Wood, who, in reply to one of the queries, said :—

"Under the present system, Great Britain prohibits the Indian Government from raising a revenue

* II. Papers respecting the East India Company's Charter, ordered by the House of Commons, to be printed, 27th March 1833.

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through the customs on the principal articles of commerce exported from India to Great Britain, and makes India pay her an annual tribute to the amount of the duties she levies in England on the exports of India, amounting to 700,000 £., and forces foreign states to pay her a portion of the duty, on the consumption of such of the Indian exports as are re-exported from England to the Continent. If the exports from India were liable to a duty in India, that territory in this case would realize a revenue on all the products of India required for consumption in foreign Europe as well as in England. * * * * Great Britain, in addition to the tribute she makes India pay her through the customs, derives benefit from the savings of the service at the three presidencies being spent in England instead of in India; and in addition to these savings, which probably amount to near a million, she also derives benefit from the fortunes realized by the European mercantile community, which are all remitted to England."*

* * * *

So also, Mr. Hill, in answering one of the queries wrote:—

"The remittance constantly required from India to England on the Government account is a disbursement for which India receives no return, and may be regarded in the light of a national tribute. To that remittance have to be added the funds required for the use of private individuals, for which, in the same manner, no return is made to India. The total amount of this tribute is so large that the payment of it requires to be facilitated as much as possible, both by fostering the resources of India, and by promoting a demand for her products on the part of other countries. If this great duty be not attended to in both its parts, India may come to be unable to satisfy the exactions of England. Whatever augments the surplus produce of the country will enable it the better to bear the burden we have laid upon it. This should be done, first, by every practicable measure directly tending to its prosperity; secondly, by economy in its public expenditure; and thirdly, by assistance in its foreign trade. It is contrary to the last of these three branches of policy, to favor by our laws the export to India of articles with which she is able to supply herself, or to discourage the export from India of articles with which she is able to supply other countries. We have, in a great measure, succeeded in supplanting her cotton manufactures by those of England. I understand that the practicability of supplying her with salt from Liverpool is under consideration. We exclude East India sugar from the English market by means of high duties. If, in addition to all these disadvantages, any change of system were materially to diminish the tea-trade from China to England, by means of which China is enabled to pay for the opium and cotton which she imports from India, it is probable that the demand for those articles would be proportionally reduced, and India would then be disabled from paying its tribute to England."†

* P. 580 of Vol. II. Affairs of the East India Company. Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be printed, 16 August, 1832.

† Page 431 of Appendix to Report from Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company, Vol. II (Finance).

Under the circumstances detailed in the preceding extracts, it was sheer nonsense to say that England had contributed any sum in aid of the Indian finances.

It was also convenient for the Ministry to ignore the fact that the British rule had proved disastrous to India by crushing her industries and thus impoverishing her. No improvement, no reform was possible in India because of the rank poverty which the Christian administration of India by England had caused. It was not any Indian agitator or a globe-trotting M. P. who said so, but a responsible servant of the Company gave expression to the impoverishment of the people of this country under the British rule, so far back as 1823. His views were published in one of the Parliamentary Reports from which the following extracts are made.

Speaking of the want of education among the people of the district of Bellary of which he was the Collector, Mr. A. D. Campbell in a Minute, dated Bellary, August 17, 1823, wrote:—

"I am sorry to state, that this is ascribable to the gradual but general impoverishment of the country. The means of the manufacturing classes have been of late years greatly diminished by the introduction of our own English manufactures in lieu of Indian cotton fabrics. * * the transfer of the capital of the country from the native governments and their officers, who liberally expended it in India to Europeans, * * daily draining it from the land, has likewise tended to this effect, which has not been alleviated by a less rigid enforcement of the revenue due to the State." ‡

The British Ministry were surely not ignorant of the impoverishment of the Indian people, caused by their "benevolent" rule of India. So for them to say "that the territory of India is essentially solvent" was very wide of the truth. But what the Ministry meant was that India should be bled and therefore they were not ashamed to say "that the Indian resources will, under proper management, be capable of answering every fair demand on them;" and that "a soil rich, fertile, and suited to every variety of produce," &c., &c.

Reading between the lines of Mr. Charles Grant's letter, extracts from which have been given above, the following facts are almost self-evident, *viz*:—

(1.) That the Ministry, wanted the

‡ Pp. 503-504 of Report from Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company, Vol 1. London 1832.

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Indian authorities to heavily assess the land in British India in order to raise their revenue.

(2.) That they wanted to bring more of Native India under the rule of "Christian" England, and therefore they said almost with pride "how greatly, and even extraordinarily, our political position in that quarter has been improved, and our empire consolidated, during the currency of the present charter," which, in plain language means, how much of India has been deprived of independent existence and brought under the sway of the grasping merchants of England constituting the East India Company. They did not blush when they talked like this, for it constituted, a gross violation of that clause of the Charter Act of 1799, which declared that:—

"To pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and policy of this nation," etc.

But the British Ministry were past all sense of honor, or shame, and so they threw out a gentle hint of further exterminating the existence of the independent states of India—a thing which they secretly resolved to do.

Thus in 1834, the Court of Directors laid down their policy in regard to adoptions in these terms:—

"Wherever it is optional with you to give or to withhold your consent to adoptions, the indulgence should be the exception and not the rule, and should never be granted but as a special mark of approbation."

It was this policy which led to the extinction of many principalities, such as, Colaba, Sattara, Jhansi, Nagpore &c.

It was in vain that the Company pleaded again for fairness and justice in the matter of the monopoly of the China-trade which they had enjoyed for over two centuries. They were speaking to deaf ears. The Charter of 1833 deprived them of the China-trade and so the Company was no longer a Trading Corporation.

This question of the abolition of the Company's monopoly of the China-trade and the injury that resulted therefrom to the Indian finances have not received that attention at the hands of Indian historians which their importance deserves.

A FRENCH VIEW OF INDIAN POLITICS

(From E. Piriou's L'Inde Contemporaine.)

AN officer of the Indian army proposed one day an excursion to the tomb of the famous Bucephalus. "We have enough of tombs and ruins," cried a chorus of officers. "He who has seen the Taj may well die; but what is this Bucephalus, this nigger?" These officers artlessly took the horse of Alexander for a black, for a Hindu; for it is all the same. After all, Lord Salisbury did not express himself otherwise before the English Parliament: he spoke of the "blackman" with that indefinable menace of disdain, characteristic of the English Grand Seigneur. And it was he who cut short with a sharp word the mournful complaint about Indian wrongs presented by a member of Parliament: "What good these hypocrisies? . . . . The Hindus know that they are governed by a 'superior race.' When a man has a black, red, or yellow skin, and I should add when he has the 'Providential' chance of being governed by whites, he ought not to have, he has not in fact, an opinion. It is enough to bow down and utter thanks."

Here is a traveller, without prejudice, or one who flatters himself to be such, particularly eager for information. He knocks at the door of an English or French resident who has been living in Calcutta for fifteen years. Fifteen years, think of it! Two trenchant phrases suffice to open the eyes of the naive tourist. How quickly the resident has delivered his mind about the 'natives'! Who else can flatter himself to have acquired the right of knowing the country where he has been a fixture, if it be not he, by the number of years of his stay? If he had been myopic or had dropped into

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a mountain hole, it would have been all the same. . . . It is true that the traveller disembarked expecting to find out everything and explain things that are so well-known. Alas! for the resident who hears him with impatience. He has facile sympathies; he has a soul full of tenderness, and willingly would he throw himself at the neck of these simple savages, who have the figure of men, who are so polished, and who, if you look at them more closely, have a civilisation higher than ours. You cannot expect a similar excess of enthusiasm from the embittered resident. It is necessary that between these two separate races, after the first effusions are over, there should be much tact and real sympathy for keeping up an intercourse. It comes to pass that they hold out or break off in the long run; and the resident, living isolated, allows himself to be enveloped in a parasitic vegetation of prejudices.

Worse still is the misunderstanding, when the resident is an English official. He is, with exceptions, incapable of sympathy for the country. Life in the jungle is frightfully dull; the diversions of Calcutta do not make up for those of London; so much so that he takes a dislike for this land of exile and ennui. In default of sociability and lack of curiosity, it seems that it ought to be the duty of the administrator to mix with the administered, to live, if necessary, their life, to know them. No, the administrator lives a hidden and haughty God, who governs from a distance. He does not slight his subjects, he simply does not know them. I know that certain people see in this ignorance, a force for the governors: distance maintains prestige. Ah well! how they guard their prestige; but this being the case, they are constrained either not to know or to misunderstand the character, thoughts, and wants of the people. To put into the waste-paper basket the 'prosings' of the "Babu" or to close the ears to the advice of the Congress, there is the most elegant and simple solution. These functionaries who show such blind obstinacy in seeing nothing, understanding nothing, they give me all the more reason to challenge their judgment. There is no doubt that a judgment so formed is unjust and exclusive. Some Englishmen even say it is grotesque, by suggesting that certainly there is something else than absurdity in the indigenous opinion.

Pierre Loti, I believe, the English people of Secundrabad have never pardoned you. You had the impertinence to neglect the invitations which fly before illustrious people travelling in this country. You appeared to take pleasure in the company of men of colour: what fault of taste! You had the boldness to say that you had come to India to see the Indian: that was the highest folly! But then there were people who contrived a highly ingenious vengeance; they spread a report that you were a Russian spy. Ah well! at the risk of passing for such, or, what is still worse, of keeping low company, I believe, there is much profit in establishing an intercourse with the Indians. From their grievances to the official optimism is a far cry. Hear the English bell; it sounds like a musical peal; listen to the other, it strikes gloomily the knell of alarm.

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"Don't expect," an Anglo-Indian told me, "to find in the National Congress, the opinion of India. The delegates to the Congress are either aristocrats or bourgeoisie. It is good to bear it well in mind, who defend the interests of the people." And this Englishman was right in his own way. The British Government does not govern in the interests of any particular class. It exploits them all without distinction. The two dishes of the balance press equally on the aristocracy as well as on the people. Such is English impartiality. But this Englishman wanted as well to say that the opinion which supported the Congress was not the opinion of the country. The majority in the main has no opinion. In this country public opinion is a thing which has never existed. It is for this that the country has changed masters with equal indifference. Yes, even to-day, the majority keeps itself aloof, is ignorant, or holds its tongue. Certain castes are refractory, the new ideas make little or no impression on them. The others are not yet ready. The little bit of leaven thrown in the midst of this enormous mass is insufficient to ferment it; nothing is more true. That is why the functionaries of the viceroy have such a good time of it. Their most precious allies, their accomplices, they find

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in the heart of the Hindu society. These allies are the silence, indifference, and abstention of the conservative classes, and —what is still more serious—the practical ignorance of the nameless masses living behind the village mud walls.

"The secret of English domination," wrote Bose, "consists not so much in its military force, or in the advantage which it derives from it, as in the system of caste, the general indifference of the people to all that does not pertain to religion, and in their pacific disposition backed by a spiritual civilisation." Certainly the villager who knows, is from the bottom of his heart with all the national attempts. But how many are there who know not under what government they live! Ignorance is the first obstacle. Quite different is the case of the higher castes, which guard with jealousy the pure traditions of Hinduism. They do not condescend. In short politics is in their eyes a degrading business. The worst of it is that politics caring only for material interests turns the man away from his true goal, which is spiritual culture. Have you noticed how vigorously Socrates condemns in the Gorgias the politics of Pericles? The interlocutor of Socrates replies in vain that the statesman has endowed the city with a port, a fleet, with arsenals and ramparts, that he has made it rich and powerful; the philosopher still persists. Has the politics of Pericles made the citizens better? No, surely. Socrates takes good care not to deny that Pericles was as good a public servant,—a perfect officer, an able purveyor of the city, as Themistocles and Cimon. You say that he has enriched Athens; say also that he has corrupted it with a surfeit of luxury and comforts. Riches are an unhealthy plethora, and what signifies is not that a state is rich, but that law and justice are observed there. I fancy this judgment found little echo with the Greeks. The fellow-citizens of Socrates were very intelligent and practical men to have such disdain of material interests. But there is to be found even to this day in India many a sage capable of this superior detachment. The conquest of power is not in their eyes worth a quarter of an hour's revery.

A voyageur who contents himself with turning over the journals and listening to the orators of the Congress, would not even suspect it. People do not cry out their indifference from the house-tops. I have conversed with highly cultured people, and I recall the surprise which overspread their faces when I put them certain questions. Of politics, reforms, legislative councils, they had not thought even for a second of their lives! And these are the stock questions of a French traveller. I would quote here a conversation which I had with the principal of the Sanskrit College of Calcutta, for he eminently represents the attitude of certain highly cultured classes, evidently of those whose eyes are fixed not so much on the present and the future as on the past. There is no doubt, all the Pandits, all the Brahmins, who are conversant with their national leterature and find therein reasons for remaining faithful to a very old ideal—think the same way. I ventured to ask this professor of Sanskrit, if his College created revolutionists. He replied not without some surprise: "a large portion of our students like to continue, without any practical end in view, the study of the texts which they have commenced at College. As for the others, the agitators, the fire which consumes them is like straw fire, juvenile effervescence!" "Oh!," said he with a smile, "when they are young, they demolish everything; but age calms them." Age, domestic training, and caste above all, soon bring these iconoclasts back to themselves, grown wiser. The environment acts like moving sand, it devours, and buries its victims in spite of their struggles. "I see," continued the Pandit, "that you French people are always talking of Political Economy. Somebody very truly said that there was no other Science. You require change. You must destroy that you may build up. You have agitation in your blood as we have inertia. It is a matter of temperament, you see. What matters it to us, in fact, whether we are governed by ourselves, or by somebody else, provided we are governed? Some one must take charge of the house, and when that is done, we go to sleep. Besides our masters to-day shall pass away like the others. The day shall come when they will be replaced by a more energetic people. Luxury, comforts, they have everything, they have only to move their finger to be served. Do you think they will be long in becoming as incapable of effort, as incapable of action

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as ourselves? In the cool close office, far from the burning sun, far from the dazzling light, served, as they would have it, by laced attendants, our masters learn to dream like ourselves in the shadow of our figures." No sign of a national sentiment, is it not? No semblance of a revolt against, no impatience of the foreign yoke; but an amused and ironical curiosity reading already on the walls of the festive hall the *mene*, *mene*, *tekel*, *upharsin*, of the mysterious hand. . . .

I have under my eyes a brochure, a gift from a publicist of Calcutta. This publicist in his youth was in the van-guard of reformers. To give the lie to the reproach of cowardice thrown at the Bengalis by the English, he came to France, sought out Gambetta and asked to be allowed to serve in the French army. Gambetta proposed to the Bengali to enlist in the Foreign Legion. The Bengali had scruples; he would have to fight perhaps people of his own race: at last he gave up soldiering, and how many other things has he not given up since? He calls his brochure: A History of the Intellectual Progress of Modern India. It is a public prosecutor's address against "young India." The latter dreams of transplanting on the soil of ancient Hindustan the institutions which constitute the strength of European nations. It does not know what it is going to do. European societies are mercantile societies. Satisfaction of physical wants, development of comfort and luxury, they have no other ideal than this, if this may be called an ideal. And observe well that their entire political life, born out of these wants, born out of commerce, and created for it, devotes itself exclusively to their satisfaction. Parliamentism, liberty, political rights are the conquests of the commercial classes. And how they shout the beautiful name of patriotism! Fine word indeed, but an ugly thing. You love your country, because the country is yours, and more so,—almost without knowing it,—because it assures you so many advantages; riches, power, prestige. It is pure egoism. It degenerates necessarily into an exclusive nationalism or an aggressive imperialism. Your country requires conquests, annexations and exploitation of territories: this is needed for the vanity of your soldiers, above all, for the covetousness of the merchants who are in quest of colonies to sell their products. It goes without saying that the white race which boasts of civilisation and superiority does not even think that the yellow, black, or red races might claim the same rights: it marches on without even looking at them . . .

Now let us Indians look at it a little more closely. The gift that they want to make is not so tempting. . . . Indeed, our civilisation is very feeble: it lacks power, it lacks material grandeur, the strength of armies, the force of machinery, the unheard of splendour of luxury. But then these wants which European society takes so much trouble to satisfy we have them not. And the less we care for our body, the more free in spirit are we. We are also wanting in militarism, anarchy and pauperism. Of these young India has hardly any suspicion. Without looking further afield, it asks us to adopt a civilisation which it considers superior, because it is more coarse. Look at him there blushing at his national literature; knowing no patriotism himself he invites us to be firm patriots; curtailed of his rights he expects to become one of the Imperialists. Patriotism with our ancestors was not a virtue. That it had its victims, its dupes, and even its heroes, I admit: but we Hindus could never see in it a limited sentiment, utilitarian, rather impure, little becoming a philosopher and at any rate useless for us, who find in the caste a family large enough and an organism capable of giving us a rule of conduct, our daily bread and an ideal. . .

There is the old Hindu spirit. It reappears here and there, even with those who have abdicated it, and puts European ideas to rout. With greater reason persists it with those who guard themselves from the new as from contagion. I have already said that the old Hindu spirit is obstinately superstitious, blindly conservative. It is bound to be, for it has always been. Is that not a precedent? And that is why outside the abstentionists who do not condescend, there are again a very large class of conservatives at all cost who raise an uproar at the least appearance of social heresy. God knows whether the English Government has kept itself clear of the perilous temptation of apostleship, but it has fallen to its lot, without the wish, to introduce reforms which for this country were revolutions.

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By its presence alone and the power of an imperceptible agency the rule of the foreigner is disintegrating the old society, and is inflicting on religion, art, everything that is properly Indian, a slow but mortal injury. Who would believe it? The foundation of the National Congress was like a shaft of light which broke up the clouds. If had the effect of rallying the conservatives of all races, honestly afraid at the rapid progress of European ideas. But the water of exorcism which they sprinkled on the Congress served for a baptismal bath. And the coalition of these conservatives, enemies of the eve and the morrow, who were astonished to find themselves shoulder to shoulder,—the Raja of Benares holding forth his hand to the Musalmans—was quickly dissolved for want of a programme, having only regrets in common. When the conservatives proposed to establish a national and not a European system of education, when they wanted to make Hindustani the common language in place of English, when they demanded protective measures for the old indigenous industries, killed out by the hideous calicoes of Manchester, I longed to cry out to them; all in good time! you are the true patriots! But it is too late: it is not possible to begin anew the wrong way all the evolution of a century. It was in 1836, it might be said, that Macaulay by a decisive turn of the tiller threw India into the path of Europeanisation.

However, it is not from that quarter that comes the great obstacle to the liberal movement. The practical ignorance of the peasant is what it will hurl itself against for a long time to come. But mind, because the Hindu *rayat* is for the most part illiterate, because he does not know the four rules, do not think that he is a *minus habens*.

The Hindus are as intelligent as ourselves, but in a different way. I have noticed the servants who accompany their English masters: you might, for want of information, be easily deceived and mistake the master for the valet. The Hindus have preoccupations quite the opposite of ours. This race—it is necessary to repeat it—carries often to improbability, to paradox, its forgetfulness of immediate and material interests. "For example," Chandavarkar told me, "listen to the coolies who work at the port of Bombay: what do they talk of? Of the immortality of the soul. Your workmen talk of wages." Yes! is it not singular, I was going to say, is it not admirable, that miserable wharf-porters, clothed in rag, dining on a handful of rice, crushed under a suffocating climate, should discourse on such a question? Nice occupation, you say! Would it not have been better had they thought a little more of their own affairs? Indeed, they are very little practical men, they understand badly their present interests; assuredly these workmen are not ripe for strikes. But it is so, this race believes that it has a soul; and it has in all cases a rare and a curious spirit. It often happens that the village is without a schoolmaster, but there where he is wanting, the poet is present, who reads in the evening to his simple and rude audience the beautiful legends of the Ramayana. Here are people who lack the necessaries of life, but not its luxuries. They do not know how to sign, they know how to count on the fingers; but what is strange, if you question them on their literature or on their religion, they will answer you very well. Unfortunately religion has very badly equipped them for a worldly life. Their gods worshipped according to appropriate rites, dispose of all favours. Therefore they are all the more persuaded to throw the care of their affairs on these benevolent curators. The Hindu peasant is a good labourer. But suppose, if a director of agriculture were to offer them a system of irrigation for their lands and a prophet were to preach to them a new god who held in his hands the keys of heavenly deluge, whom would they hear by preference, the director or the prophet? The prophet, I am afraid.

On this account the viceroy might say: Let us hold our souls in patience, it is not for to-day. It is not for to-day: without instruction, negligent of his interest, docile and sheeplike, if anything, the Hindu peasant will not take the initiative in a revolution. If, however, a leader, half political, half religious should appear, what would happen? And in the mean time the English Government is thoroughly unpopular. The Hindu peasant is in a frame of mind that he prefers everything in an actual state. What is the National Congress? He does not know exactly. What are the demands of the Press—the Congress?

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He knows it still less; but this much he discerns, with a very sure instinct, that the liberal leaders who speak in the Congress are the voice of the country. Liberalism, Parliamentarism, find in him no echo: if he understood, perhaps he would hesitate. But this much alone he sees: Foreign Government or National Government.

That is why in spite of obstacles and retardations, the minority of to-day is sure of becoming the majority of to-morrow. The National Congress, strong in its authority, in its publicity, has commenced the work of propaganda and of political education of the masses. It is an uphill work: we know how difficult is the task of the political education of a people. If the Congress contented itself with publishing in English, even if it were a large edition, the report of its annual sittings it would only address itself to literate opinion. But it wants to address itself to the people and it therefore takes care to publish in the indigenous dialects small pamphlets of which the basis and the form are suited to this vast and ignorant public. Assuredly, they should speak to the villager in his own language, should treat of questions which interest him; they do not talk to him of the Great Parliament of India, but of his fields of irrigation, and the taxes. There, for example, is a booklet which has attained a very large circulation in the country. The author imagines a conversation between a *Maulvi* and a peasant.

The *Maulvi* draws a picture of two villages, of which the one, Shamspur, is collectively owned by the villagers and the second, Kambakhtpur, by an absentee raja. The allusion is transparent. This raja who governs from a distance is no other than the English Government.

The first village is prosperous; the second, which falls into ruins, is consumed by shopkeepers and usurers. The functionaries of the raja know nothing about the crops: they do not know the difference "between a harvest of 16 annas and one of 6 annas;" and it often happens that they choose the worst years to crush the village. Conformably to the law, they make advances...to insolvent persons, and when the time comes for paying the whole village is made to pay. The village had an old cistern which supplied them with water and irrigated half the village fields. The old cistern falls in ruins; with a hundred rupees it could have been repaired and enlarged. Now one fine day he sends his officials who declare that the old cistern is no longer in fashion, and that it is necessary to dig a canal, to bring in the river water. The village proprietors timidly protest. "The canal water is cold, say they, it comes from melted snow; then it deposits on the soil a saline efflorescence which burns up the crops: lastly, nothing can replace the rain water of the cistern." "What do you understand, you brutes?" cry out the officials, and they dig a canal. The first year the canal overflows its banks and submerges half the crops. Then when the inundation is over, the canal people measure the overflowed land and make the villagers pay for irrigation. The canal has ruined the village, but it must pay.

The attack is vigorous, no doubt, but it is just. The principal defect of the English Government is that of being a foreign government. It does not understand the country which it governs: the interests of the governors and the governed are opposed. Presented in this picturesque form, the opposition stands clearly out before the slowly opening eyes of the peasant. What they tell him about his village he extends to all the country. And he thinks to himself, I should imagine, that all the same, it is better to be governed by people of one's own land and race.

Journalists, advocates, professors and students are forming the liberal and nationalistic opinion. The young University students enrol themselves into it before they have quitted their benches. In 1900 the most enthusiastic part of the Congress audience were the students of Lahore. They offered themselves to the congressists as secretaries and volunteers. One of them, in the name of his confreres, read a congratulatory address to the journalist Tilak who was thrown into prison for a most bitter attack on the Government.

If Theodore Beck, a former principal of the Aligarh College, is to be believed, tourists and members of Government singularly mistake the importance of the prattlers who command a platform or a paper. There are chiefs, he says, recognised and obeyed, who can restrain in its den or let loose at their pleasure religious fanaticism and warlike

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instincts, and by these chiefs he means the ancient chiefs of clans, the grand territorial lords, Rajputs and Thakurs, whose slightest gesture would set aflame, if they but wanted it, more revolts than the declamations of all the Bengal papers. But the epic period of the Mahabharata is well over: the lordly, imperious gestures no more rouse the fallen masses. I have seen the successor of Beck, who is working at Aligarh to galvanise Musalman society, not without some scepticism,—he does not partake in these illusions. The influence of speech and writing grows in the country, in proportion to the advancement of education. Under the peaceful regime, pleaders and barristers render more service than the chiefs of clans. The advocate is a personage, since the Panchayat, the arbitration court of the village, has been deprived of a part of its judicial powers to the profit of the magistrate of the District. Speech is more precious than the sword-blade. It would be childish to deny the power of the press, however limited might be the circulation. The Poona riots in 1897 were provoked by a journalist, and they disquieted the Government so much that it passed in a feverish haste a law so violent that it ought to give up its application.

Assuredly the circulation is limited; such a newspaper publishes from 1000 to 15,000 copies. "You would perhaps be surprised," the Manager of the *Times of India* of Bombay told me, "that our Journal is so dear; 4 annas, 8 sous. It is because our circulation is not the same as that of the great European newspapers; it falls much below the mark." The *Times of India* and the *Pioneer* of Allahabad are the journals of the English Colony; they reflect its opinions. An easy chair, a glass of whisky and soda and the long columns of the *Pioneer* are the most precious pastimes of the officials in the hot hours of the day. The indigenous organs are either edited in English or in the local dialect. The first journal written in the language of the country, appeared at Serampore, 31st May, 1818; it was edited in Bengali. It is not the general poverty alone but the rarity of readers—for those who can read form a very small minority—which arrest the development of the press. The great superiority of Japan consists in the organisation of its primary education. I was told that the press was not worth much, but at least people could read the papers. How many times have I not seen in Japanese houses the petty servants squatting near rectangular boxes containing a few live coals devouring with avidity a romance, which perhaps is only a translation hardly disguised of some serial story of Richebourg or Montepin...However that may be, it must not be supposed that the circulation of the Indian newspapers is as limited as the number printed indicates. The copies pass from hand to hand and of this precious writing the reader loses not a word.

The incoherent and meddlesome attitude of the Government has obstructed the advance of the press by disturbing it. Until 1835 the Government had the right to deport journalists for a peccadillo. Since then this special legislation has been suppressed. But in 1870 a venomous text inserted in the criminal law by bringing under a seditious act all attempts at sowing disaffection, offers to the irritable administrator a ready temptation to earn a sorry notoriety. The journalist Tilak, of whom I have already spoken, was judged and condemned in virtue of this article, but composure having returned the pardon accorded to the agitator demonstrated to the people the great weakness of the Government.

What evil have they not spoken of the 'Babu's, of all those 'failed' ones who for want of competence and discernment swell their columns with the most puerile accounts. But remember that it is not easy to preserve one's composure and propriety in face of a foreign exploitation. What do you believe others would think of us if they were to judge us by the tone of a certain press? One must not expect discretion from the Bengalis, for example, who are the most astounding talkers. They have a stroke of the sun...and of the Indian sun. Malabari calls this press by a picturesque word: the mosquito press. There is no more redoubtable and enervating enemy than a swarm of mosquitoes. They are like a hail-storm of small arrows, sharp and noisy, from whom you cannot defend yourself because you do not see them, who surprise you traitorously at a moment when you want repose most. Don't you know that the elephant is terribly afraid of the mosquito? The first thing that he does after coming

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to a halt, is to throw himself into a pool, and there he covers his wrinkled oakbark of a skin with mud. The dried mud serves him as a cuirass against the enemy. "But it seems," says Malabari, "that the British elephant has not found a cuirass against the mosquito press. Scarcely has it gone to sleep than the swarm arrives and riddles it with wounds. And the trumpeting of the furious monster and the pestlehammering of its legs against such an enemy is vain and a ridiculous defence."

Two men do honour to the Indian Press. I have already spoken of Tilak and Malabari. The clumsy prosecution of Tilak has made of him a hero and a martyr. He belongs to that active race of hill-people, the Mahrattas, who conquered in the last century a large part of India. The Mahratta submits with impatience to the foreign yoke. Tilak endeavoured to restore the memory and revive the cult of Sivaji, the great Mahratta Chief. The Government became frightened; it saw in this a nationalistic outburst. And Tilak was prosecuted, and condemned for the articles wherein the Government pretended to see an excitement to murder by a jury composed not of the 'indigenes' but of Englishmen. It was found erelong that the deaths which caused the persecution were accidental. I saw Tilak at the National Congress. He there delivered a bitter and incisive speech on the famine. And the same evening this curious man, who has established two nationalist journals, has founded schools, and is a *savant* above everything, addressed a meeting of several thousand persons on the authenticity and chronology of the Vedas. As for Malabari, he is not only known in India, where he has during his lifetime, two biographies at least, but in France also. Mlle. Menant, who lived with the family in Bombay, has translated one of these. If Indian women see their unhappy condition ameliorated some day, they would recognize the services of Malabari. He has pleaded their cause in the *Indian Spectator*; he has pleaded it before public meetings. I have seen this straightforward, spare, active man at his *Indian Spectator* Office in Bombay; and I have seen him at his 'bungalow' at Bandora, amongst the palm trees facing the sea. He took me to the roof of his house to talk there more at leisure, and to show me from there beyond the top of the palms the sun setting on the distant horizon of the sea. At the time Malabari was thinking of founding a magazine to be called *East and West*. He talked to me without being interrogated, with eyes fixed on the horizon, in a tone as if he was having a monologue with himself. "We Parsis, of course, want to move forward quickly; but the English are very slow; impossible to put them into motion; and their Government, the cost of their administration, and their wars, crush us. We are not rich enough to support them." When we descended from the roof, we found one of Malabari's biographers, who had just arrived having learnt of the presence of a European.

And elsewhere I have cited other glorious names of the preceding generations. Rammohun Roy, Keshab, who established the *Indian Mirror*, Vidyasagar, etc. However, the press itself alone could not undertake the political education of the people. Journalists and publicists like irregular sharp-shooters made their campaign into the country. They alarmed, disturbed and harassed the enemy, which replied from time to time by brutal executions. But to speak the truth, a common programme was wanting. It was for this that the representatives of liberal opinion felt the necessity of uniting themselves. The most important step to this end was the establishment of the National Congress. In the history of India in the 19th century, I think, no event equals this in gravity and importance. It was a peaceful revolution. The day when the Parsis, Hindus, and even the Mahomedans, children before everything of the same fatherland, held each other by the hand, the day when on the advice of an 'Indianised' Englishman, they founded the States General of India, that day one had a glimpse in the future of an Indian Nation. Indian opinion organised was powerful: it had a focus and a platform. This it clearly showed by the pressure it exercised on the Government of the Viceroy. To-day the Congress, is, according to the words of President Chandavarkar, 'the political conscience of the country.'

There is the school where the young Indian Parliamentarian is formed. The Indians are told that they have no public

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opinion. If it be true that it lacks compass, what better instrument of propaganda than the Congress? "You have no statesmen," say they. Well! the Congress will train them: it accustoms in the first place the present generation to the free discussion of political problems; and then it reveals in the country and in them talents without employment, and this weighs heavily on them. How the Government will make use of these forces we shall see. Men like Mehta, Tyabjee, Romesh Dutt, Madhava Rao, Chandavarkar and the chief of them all, the Parsi Dadabhai Naoroji, will make a good figure in our Parliaments. Dadabhai is very popular. He is the Grand Old Man of India, and I have heard his sonorous name repeated with all the echoes of the Congress Hall, in 1900, rising at times to tempestuous applause. He has devoted his whole life to an idea. President of the Second National Congress in 1886, he pointed out to the resounding gallery, the peril of the "growing poverty of India." But so far back as 1873 he had raised the alarm in a report read before the Bombay Section of the Indian Association. There he discussed minutely all the resources of the country. The statistics were frightful. The rayat not having wherewithal to make one repast a day, was ordinarily in the clutches of famine. Very haughtily the official statisticians denied this, but unfortunately for their assurance, they lived to retract themselves and to admit all that to which they had so lightly given the lie. The future proved superabundantly the correctness of Dadabhai's Statistics. In 1893 he gained an admirable success. One of the London Constituencies elected him as a member for India to the House of Commons. India trembled with expectation. The activity of Dadabhai redoubled. He furnished report after report to the Welby Commission elected in 1895 to enquire into the civil and military expenditure of the Anglo-Indian Government.

The enquiry proved abortive and Dadabhai was not re-elected, but the illustrious old man did not lose courage. And he has just placed the Indian question before international opinion at the Congress of Socialists at Amsterdam, 17th August, 1904. I take the short summary of his discourse from the *Temps*, 19th August, 1904:—

"At to-day's sitting a speech has been delivered which has caused a profound sensation and has marked, at the same time, the entry into the International party of Socialists of a representative of the Indian race.

"This delegate is called Dadabhai Naoroji. He is an old man. He has been fighting for fifty years for the amelioration of the lot of his countrymen.

"He recalled that the Indian Empire has been founded by the English solely by the co-operation of the Indians, who fought for them and paid for their wars. To recompense the Indians, the English have subjected them to an execrable rule. A permanent drain impoverishes India. Two hundred millions of rupees are paid every year by the country to the officials who are Englishmen. One hundred million alone remains in the country. On the other hand every year commerce takes out of India two hundred millions of rupees. It is an impoverishment of 300 millions of rupees or 480 million francs. ... This accounts for the frightful misery amongst the people. When the harvest is good a large portion of the people have scarcely the wherewithal to appease their hunger. When the harvest fails, there is famine and millions die of starvation. It is not that the produce is insufficient for the requirements of the country, but it is too poor to buy back the produce of its labour. Huge exportations of rice and grain have taken place at a time when the cultivators were dying of inanition.

"In 1833 and in 1858 England by solemn pledges undertook to treat the indigenes as its own subjects. She has conferred all the public offices on her own people. She has oppressed and ground down the Indians; she has broken her pledged word. Her conduct ought to be branded."

After this discourse the president had recorded that:—

"This Congress unanimously stigmatises the Colonial policy of England."

Till lately who interested himself about India? Some tourists, a handful of learned men and the curious. To-day her voice of the eternally oppressed crosses the seas and comes up to us. She is admitted to plead and pleads successfully her cause before the great European public.

The hour is come to ascertain what the people of India demand. What is the programme of the Press and the Congress? What does the country want?

SURENDRA NATH DEVA.

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SOME POINTS OF RESEMBLANCE BETWEEN THE IRISH REPEAL AND THE BENGAL PARTITION AGITATION

IT is both interesting and instructive to compare the events of our country with those of another, especially in cases where the character and the conditions are somewhat parallel. The interest lies in the fact of the unexpected similarity of effects, following on similar causes, discovered in countries separated in many ways—by distance and by historical traditions. Instruction is derived from the knowledge how the same causes in history lead to similar effects, notwithstanding the differences of time, space and other conditions; such knowledge further yields the practical advantage of enabling us to foresee with some confidence the consequences, wherever we find in operation the conditions with which we have been made familiar in a different region. We propose to show here how far the state of Ireland about three-quarters of a century ago agrees with that now existing in India, particularly in Bengal; in what respects the character of the Irish agitation for the repeal of the Union led by Daniel O'Connell resembles that of the Partition agitation in Bengal led by Surendra Nath Banerjee. Whatever in this paper relates to Ireland has been taken from J. A. Hamilton's Life of Daniel O'Connell.

The following extracts from the work referred to will show clearly the similarity between the social and political conditions which existed in Ireland sometime ago and those which now exist not only in Bengal but in the whole of India.

"In a country where the aristocracy and the landlord class were always prone to absenteeism and if resident pinned their hopes on the favour of the Government; where the body of merchants, though well-to-do, indeed, and enterprising, was small and almost confined to Dublin and Belfast, the bar became the only body in Ireland capable of taking a prominent position before the public eye. The warfare of the law courts fascinated the Irish as it never has done the English. The English have been content to regard the proceedings of the law as a matter of art and even of mystery, to be respected perhaps, to be tolerated certainly, to be admired never. But to the Irish, and especially to the Irish peasantry, a trial was an arena, in which wit and craft, eloquence and cunning performed a drama which they fully understood and followed with enthusiasm. A smart and shifty witness, a clever though unscrupulous attorney, a neat quibble, an impassioned appeal to a jury, a bold address to a judge, and a sharp passage of arms between counsel, delighted the spectators, and passed from mouth to mouth in a thousand good stories. Nor did the bar exist for law and lawyers only. Instead of an antagonism between letters and law, such as the English have always known, the best of Irish wit and Irish letters was to be found among the practitioners of the bar. * * But not only was the profession as a profession attractive to a young man; its connection with Irish politics, and especially with Irish popular politics, was of the closest. A great number of the Irish Parliamentary leaders were members of the Irish bar, and the public had an access to the courts, which they had not to the House of Commons. Under the strict system of government which had so long prevailed in Ireland, the barrister was almost the only person who had the opportunity of making a figure before the people, while espousing the popular cause. There was no one else whose interest and duty combined to bring him on occasions into conflict with the Government *coram populo.* * * Political and professional success reacted upon one another. Ninety years ago, still more even than to-day, to be a popular champion in politics was no bad way of obtaining briefs in court; and to have the tongue of a ready advocate was an excellent recommendation for a young man ambitious of a public career."

"The Penal Code sought by heaping up disabilities to reduce them (the Roman Catholics) to political insignificance and impotence, and to such justification as success can give that policy was entitled. * * The aim of the penal laws was to make and keep the Roman Catholics weak, disunited, ignorant, and fearful, and so long as those laws were enforced in their entirety they succeeded in that dark endeavour. Long after their worst severities had been relaxed, O'Connell was accustomed to say that you could tell a Roman Catholic in the street by his hesitating gait, his timid carriage, and his demeanour of conscious inferiority. * * In the army he could rise no higher than the grade of a lieutenant; he was ineligible for civil office, and was excluded from the franchise. It is true that these privileges which were theirs in law, were but little, if at all, open to the Irish Catholics in fact."

This description applies equally well to the province of Bengal. It is hardly necessary

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to point out that, as in Ireland, the landholders, who persist in calling themselves natural leaders, and the merchants, do not take a prominent position before the public eye. It is the lawyers, like Messrs. W. C. Bonnerjee, Rash Behary Ghose, Lal Mohan Ghose, Ambica Charn Mazumdar and A. Chaudhury who fascinate the public mind and lead public opinion. Here, too, political and professional success re-act upon one another. Our penal laws have the same object, viz., to make and keep us weak, disunited and ignorant; and our countrymen are known by their hesitating gait, their timid carriage and their demeanour of conscious inferiority; their position in the military and civil services are as bad, rather worse than, that of the Irish Catholics.

So much for the general condition of the people. We shall now proceed to make a brief comparative study of the leaders of public opinion in the two countries. To the "natural leaders" of Catholics—the nobility and the old fashioned merchants—Daniel O'Connell, a young Irish lawyer, seemed turbulent and importunate, and their movement continued to follow the same timorous course. Subsequent political meetings, however, marked the growing influence of O'Connell and the other Catholic barristers, men who brought to the cause the prestige of their profession, with easy eloquence, business-like habits of speaking, and the art of presenting a case in a broad and telling way, but also its disadvantages, a tendency to quibbles and to chicane, and a proneness to debate trifles till the main object was lost sight of. Here, one can easily recognise the relation of our 'natural leaders,' the nobility and the old-fashioned merchants, to the rather turbulent and importunate agitators; the merits and demerits of our lawyer-leaders, their growing influence, their easy eloquence and their proneness to debate trifles. Faction had been the bane of Irish politics. Even on the emancipation question O'Connell found the clergy timid, the aristocracy jealous of the merchants, the merchants jealous of the aristocracy, the barristers jealous of one another, and the masses ignorant, utterly unused to political deliberation or action, willing to throw up their hats and cheer if a favourite of the hour appeared upon the street, but fickle and untrustworthy and politically powerless. Not an assertion dropped by an Irish member on one side, but it was immediately contradicted upon the other; not a violent expression or gesture but had its counterpart with interest. And while the Irishmen fought and blackened each other, and rose higher and higher towards boiling point, the English members looked on, as the Spartans of old at the riotings of their Helots, and asked each other with looks of pitying contempt. 'Is it not well for such men as these to have us to take care of them'? It is thus obvious that faction was as rampant in Ireland as it is in Bengal; and the spectacle of the Bengalis fighting and blackening each other is as common. Nor do we miss the sentiment of our rulers, expressed with the same bitterness and contempt and almost in the same language, "Is it not well for such men as these to have us to take care of them?"

As we approach the thick of the Repeal agitation we come across a picture the like of which has occupied so prominent a place in the Partition agitation of Bengal. Towards the end of 1840 O'Connell advocated the exclusive consumption of Irish manufactures, but the expedient soon proved itself useless. The rich would not, and the poor could not, buy; and to delude those whose patriotism got the better of their taste, English goods were imported into Ireland, and were marked and sold as of Irish manufacture. Which of us will refuse to take it for the picture of an epoch of the Partition agitation? The Irish had their *swadeshi* movement as much as we have and almost with the same attendant circumstances. The attitude of our rich men is the same; foreign articles are imported and sold, and those of us whose patriotism has got the better of their taste are deluded in the identical manner.

We know that there are not wanting critics who would dismiss all these coincidences as merely accidental and not essential. But have not accidents any place in the natural order of things? How many accidents will make a rule? Well, look at another accidental coincidence.

"The founding of the *Nation* as the newspaper of the new Repeal movement meant that the younger generation of Irishmen was not willing to cast in its lot with the old. * * * The newspaper was instantly successful; the first issue could have been sold twice over. O'Connell's practical mind was apt to make

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the Repeal argument too purely an appeal to Irish pockets. The motto of the *Nation* was * * 'to create and foster public opinion in Ireland and to make it racy of the soil.' O'Connell told the Irish that the Union loaded them with debts they had not contracted, and deprived them of the manufactures they had created; that the artisans of Dublin had dropped in 40 years from 5000 to 700; the workmen in the woollen trade from 150,000 to 6,000; that Repeal would raise their wages and lower their taxes. Davis and Duffy (the founders of the *Nation*) sought to make them feel themselves a nation, talked to them of Brian Born and spelt his name Borhoime; of O'Sullivan, whom they wrote O'Suillebhain. * * They told them that "Ireland ought to have a foreign policy, but not necessarily the foreign policy of England." O'Connell had put it more forcibly, but with the same meaning 'If France puts England into a difficulty, the first hostile shot that's fired in the Channel I'll have the government in my hand.' 'England's adversity is Ireland's opportunity' was the doctrine of them both.

"A series of meetings which the *Times* dubbed 'monster meetings' was projected and carried out. The number of persons attending them could only be guessed, and must have been grossly exaggerated, but it is certain that enormous crowds gathered almost day after day in different parts of Ireland to agitate for Repeal. * * Two millions and three quarter persons attended nine meetings in June. * * There were three meetings of 300,000 in July and one of 500,000. On August 15th 750,000 persons assembled at Tara. * * These numbers were probably no more than the sanguine guesses of triumphant enthusiasts. What was more extraordinary, and to the Government more ominous than even these numbers, was the complete orderliness of these meetings. They were held in the open air, and even under cover not a tenth of those huge multitudes could have heard the speaker's voice. Yet the tedium of standing and hearing nothing did not produce disorder.

"The apprehensions, which the sight of these unarmed armies of disciplined men excited in the minds of ministers, were justified by the language which O'Connell and his followers publicly employed. Davis, the poet of the *Nation*, in lines which though often unpolished, were singularly terse and fiery, was rousing a spirit of antagonism to England, and inculcating the duty of the struggle to be free, in language which was meaningless if it did not advocate an ultimate appeal to force. The whole teaching of his colleagues of the 'Young Ireland' party was instinct with the feeling that although the gift of freedom might perhaps be accepted if extorted by mere menaces, it was hardly worth having unless won by force of arms. From the point of view of Her Majesty's Government, responsible for peace and order and for the dominions of the Crown, this was sedition, a veiled incitement to rebellion; and yet O'Connell, who viewed the growing power and unfamiliar tone of the *Nation* with jealousy, and endeavoured to check it by private remonstrance, in public thought it necessary to echo its language. * * Military plans began to be openly discussed. * * The art of manufacturing pikes was explained."

Is it necessary to mark out the points of similarity with the scenes of the Bengal agitation? The founding of the *Nation* at once suggests that of the *Bande Mataram*, *Sandhya*, *Yugantar* and other papers. Like their predecessor in Ireland, the Bengal papers of the 'new' or the 'Nationalist' school have been successful from the very beginning; they appeal less to the argument of pecuniary interest than to the sentiment of *Swaraj*; their motto is to create and foster public opinion in India and to make it racy of the soil; their language is terse and fiery, calculated to rouse a spirit of antagonism to England; they inculcate the duty of the struggle to be free; they seek to make the people feel themselves a nation; and somewhat on the lines of spelling O'Suillebhain for O'Sullivan, they write 'Sreejut' instead of Babu or Mr. Some suspect in the attitude of the 'Moderate' leaders towards the nationalist papers that of their counterpart O'Connell, who viewed the growing power and unfamiliar tone of the *Nation* with jealousy and endeavoured to check it by private remonstrance, but in public thought it necessary to echo its language. We do not miss, in the above picture of Ireland, even the 'monster meetings' of Bengal held in connection with the partition agitation, the orderly and patient behaviour of the audience, not excluding the exaggerated reports of triumphant enthusiasts about the size of the assemblies, the difference, in this as in other particulars, lying in the actual quantity. There was in Ireland a repeal police, whose business it was not only to keep order at the meetings, but also to go to every district which was the scene of faction riots or of agrarian crime, and in the name of the Repeal Association to endeavour to allay the disturbance. In this country, too, the apprehensions of the Government have been excited by the sight of the unarmed armies of disciplined men who composed the audience and of those young men who have taken upon themselves the work of keeping order at the meetings and of going to scenes of faction riots to endeavour to allay the disturbance and who under the sonorous title of 'National Volunteers' have unconsciously succeeded in striking terror into the hearts of the Anglo-Indians. Those who have read *Yugantar* must have found in it military plans discussed and the art of self-defence with the *lathi* explained. The publication of a book in Bengali called "Bartaman Rana-

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niti," or "Modern Methods of Warfare," is also noteworthy. In Ireland there were repeal arbitration courts which were intended to adjudicate disputes without bringing them before the law courts or before the magistracy, who were more than ever distrusted. It is now well known that similar arbitration courts have been established in Eastern Bengal, especially in the Barisal District.

In the preceding few scattered outlines of O'Connell many readers must have recognised some features of Surendra Nath Banerjee—excepting that the latter does not belong to the profession of law. They are probably anxious to know if there were anything in the career of O'Connell subsequent to his crowning ceremony which could profitably be compared with the career of Surendranath. In coming to their help we might mention that a younger generation had grown up in Ireland to whom O'Connell's services were matter of report; who saw in him a hero indeed, but one sinking into old age after years of failure. But it speedily became apparent that except among his own immediate followers, who would have accepted any policy from his hands, O'Connell's suggestion of adopting federation found no favour. He felt that the reins were slipping from his grasp. It was not thus that in the heyday of his powers his suggestions were disputed. His rooted belief was that no political advantage was worth having at the cost of shedding one drop of blood. The Young Ireland party were not far from thinking that Irish liberties were not worth having until they had been baptized with English blood shed by Irish hands. There could be no lasting union between two such views. O'Connell's practical mind shrank from rejecting present boons when nothing better could be got. There are now in Bengal at least a few who would not be averse to declare, not without some malice, that O'Connell's later career foreshadows that of Surendranath, from whose grasp, they say, the reins are slipping; as also the attitude of a section of the younger generation towards him and his views, which are so much akin to those of his prototype. The Bengal terrorists present a parallel to the youthful Irish party who believed in a bloody revolution.

Let the readers now draw their inferences as to the further results of the Bengal agitation from what has passed in Ireland—without forgetting that though in some respects the points of resemblance are striking in many other respects the differences are as wide as the poles.

U. C. C.

A SHAN MARRIAGE

I.

The Two Lovers.

THE rosy-fingered morn had not yet dawned on the green valleys of the Singoung Toung. The villagers were not yet up; the shepherds had not yet started for the pasture of the day, and the buffaloes in the Kywaijoung had not yet finished the fodder that was given to them in the night. A young Shan was hurrying through a narrow lane of the village. His blue trousers, reaching down to the ankles, were ruffling and rustling against the long grasses bordering the narrow lane and the black *aingyi* had been wet at several places with the dews of the autumn morning. At each step the broad-rimmed limp straw-hat was flapping above the shoulder and the formidable *dah*, cased in a strong bamboo sheath, was moving in unison with the movements of his limbs.

The young man did not take the left-hand road that leads to the capital of the Sabwa. He turned to the right and stopped at length in front of a big thatched house situated at the extremity of the lane. A huge black dog was lying down on the verandah and as soon as he entered the compound it stood erect growling terribly at the new-comer.

"Hai, dog" shouted the Shan, "you forget me so soon!"

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Instantly the door of the cot was opened. A girl rosy in her good health came out and smiling with a shy modest smile said to the dog, "Hai, *choughtha*, stop I say, don't you know your own men?"

The faithful dog seemed a little abashed and began to wag his tail, and while his mistress got down to receive the young man the dog went on crouching at his feet.

There passed a kiss—a secret and simple kiss—and nothing more. The Shans, even when they are very confident of their union with their sweet-hearts, do not go beyond this simple token of love before they are united.

"It is six months, Mon," said the young man when he had recovered a little from the dumbing emotion, "It is six months since I left you."

"Yes, six months," said the girl in a choked voice. "And these six months seemed to me longer than six long years."

"But you have borne it well, sweet Mon; see how it has affected me." The Shan opened a button of his *aingyi* and showed his breast. Yes, he had been much reduced. He had gone to seek his fortune in the "west" and had laboured hard to secure proper means to marry his Mon. Ai Mon fondly placed her hand on the pigeon breast of the young man and said, "I have borne it, dear, in the hope that you will come and—"

"And I have come as you wished." The young man seized the slender frame of his sweet-heart and imprinted a soft kiss on the rosy cheek of the lovely virgin, though all the while, she was remonstrating—wait, wait, wait.

A crackle was heard at this moment within the cottage and the lovers at once loosened their careless grasp and stood separately at a respectful distance from one another.

"Who is there?" cried a heavy voice from within. "Ah, when did you come, Nga Shien?"

"Just now, my uncle. I hope you are all right." The young man entered the cottage and the girl followed him.

"Oh, come in, come in," shouted another voice in soft and sweet accents. "You come after a long time, dear nephew. "A cup of tea, Mon; a *salai* please. Will you chew a betel?"

"Oh, no, not so early; let me have a cigar, please. Yes, yes, that will do."

The father of the house went out to clear the Kywajoung, and Ai Mon, putting a water-pot on the oven, where a fire was burning day and night, went away to fetch water from the nearest spring.

II

Many a slip between the cup and the lip.

The young man sat down on a bamboo matting and kept his *dah* respectfully by his side. The usual forms of conversation followed; the woman asked Nga Shien and he related to her one by one whither he had gone, how he got an appointment, how greatly he was loved by his master, how faithfully he served him and so on. Ai Mon returned by this time and went out again for the spring. The breakfast was almost ready, and the woman looking at his dress asked,' "You have not seen your parents yet?"

"No, not yet, auntie. I came here on my way home. I started from town yesterday evening and have covered some fifty miles in a night." The Shan gave a hoarse laugh, to which the woman, too, rejoined and said, "but you have come a good way to the left. To go to your home you should have chosen the road on the right-hand side."

"Yes but"—a blush suffused the simple face of the Shan and looking bluntly at the cradle on which a child was swinging he asked, "is it a male child, auntie?"

"No, a female one, Shien. Her father in the last Lent prayed for a son, but the God disposed it otherwise. He is very sorry for all that."

"All the same, auntie, a daughter or a son makes no difference."

"Makes no difference? You are mistaken, dear nephew. A daughter goes with her husband and cannot look to the parents even when she desires to do so."

"A son too goes away with his wife when he is married," interrupted the young man.

"But not always; it is the choice of the bride and the bridegroom. Our Mon, you know, is going to be married to the Hnu of the Sabwa. Do you think she can look to our comforts when she is married there?"

The young man looked dreadfully at the woman and broke in at last, "To whom, auntie, to the Hnu?"

"Yes, it is already settled that she should marry the Hnu."

"Settled! When was it settled?" His blood

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was up, his tone was high and his air almost insulting to the woman. "Ai Mon is ready to marry him?" he cried.

"No, there's the rub," replied the woman calmly. "She is rather unwilling to marry there, but her father persists, and I too have given my consent to the proposal."

"Not she then," growled the Shan a little relieved; but he felt as if a dagger had been stuck into his heart, and he could speak no more. He became pale as death and saw the world reeling round him. But the stern and rigid nature of the Shan prevailed at last. There was a rude wooden chest just behind him; he rested his head on it uttering in a deep tone—"a cup of tea, auntie, I am very tired."

The woman perceived the pallor in his face, but seemed not to notice it. His dejected tone convinced her of the necessity of immediate help and she hastened for a cup of tea. The young man seemed completely cast down.

Ai Mon, by this time, returned from the spring; she had filled the little *buddi* pots with water and placed them in a row in a corner of the house. But as she glanced on her lover, she uttered in an unconscious moan—"what is the matter with you, Shien, what makes you so pale?"

"You will hear of it, Mon," groaned the young man, his voice very laboured and strained. "I must ask you something", he added, "I must know it from you and you only."

Ai Mon hung down her head and was silent. She had guessed it all.

III.

The Refusal.

A few days after this, the Superintendent of the Sabwa visited the village. The rich and the respectable families of the village gathered under a big tree to hold a Durbar in honor of the great man; and Ai Mon, too, according to the custom of the country, went there with her parents to do homage to the Hnu.

A raised dais was constructed at the foot of the tree. It was covered with white silk and fringed with yellow flowers. Some fine but fantastic fringes of leaves were hung over the platform and on each side of it an *athoung*, resembling much the wings of the Calcutta stages, was erected with elaborate decorations. Here the Hnu was to sit under the shade of leaves and flowers, with the golden *athaoung* at his sides, silken draperies at the back and a small low table in front, covered with blue silk embroidered in gold. The silver spittoon and the golden betel-box also were not forgotten; they were unerringly placed on the left side of the "Rajapallin", where the "great man was to shine in his executive and judicial splendour."

At about eight o'clock in the morning, all the villagers, big and small, had assembled under the tree and the Hnu appeared in the Durbar in the midst of a deep reverent silence. His Excellency took his seat on the raised dais and the villagers knelt before him in respectful demeanour, in crescentic formation. The women magnificently occupied the right hand side of the assembly—their silken "lunghees", gorgeous "ainjies", and the embroidered "goungpoung" added tripple lustre to their glowing complexion; their valuable rings, the rubied necklaces and the screwed bangles shone brightly in the morning sun; and above all the jingjong of the golden ornaments blended with the low sweet whispers of the ladies made it a thing of joy to the senses.

Nga Shien, who belonged to a poor family, took his seat in one of the back rows and for reasons best known to him, he was as pale as a marble statue and his face was more stern and serious than that of Nestor.

After a short speech from the dais, the usual presents were made. Every one, poor or rich, contributed some thing to the Viceregal coffer and Ai Mon's father also, presenting the Mingyi with a small box of precious stones, took hold of the hand of his daughter and addressed the Mingyi—"I give here my lord, according to your Excellency's wishes, my daughter, the light of the Singoung Taung and hope that your Excellency will accept this poor present, though it is so trifling a thing in comparison with your high and widespread glory."

The man bowed reverently, while the Hnu said, "For this valuable offer you will see your fortune, Sir. I accept"—

But before his sentence was finished, Ai Mon stood up and said in a clear, and distinct voice. "My lord, kindly pardon me, if I interrupt you in the midst of your speech."

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She was all red and was stammering owing to excessive emotion. "My father makes me an offer to you as a minor wife to your lordship, and I might have gladly submitted to his option, being legitimately bound by his promises. But by the honored laws of the Shan States, the girls also are free to choose their husbands, even if they are not approved by their parents. By virtue of that law and having confidence in your sense of justice, I tell you, my lord, that my heart is engaged to another man and I therefore do not deserve to be dedicated to your worship."

With these words she saluted the Hnu and left the Durbar with a slow pace.

The Hnu was highly offended; but he did not speak a word about it. He allowed the girl to pass unmolested and gravely remarked like king Mindon—"let the pumpkin go away, I like no rival in my affection."

IV

The Negotiation.

The next morning the parents of Nga Shien dressed themselves trimly. The mother had risen early in the morning, performed her ablutions, and offered a "dali" to the house-hold Nats. A fowl was killed, its blood was poured into a cup, a tical of salt was added to it and this admirable preparation was obsequiously put before the Nat-al scaffold. Some fruits, such as pomegranates and cucumbers, were hung and four big bunches of red flowers were tied at the top of the four staffs of the scaffold.

Having thus worshipped the Nats she took a viss of salt and about the same quantity of tea tied in separate bundles and then started for Ai Mon's house in the company of her husband.

The parents of Ai Mon, since the visit of the Hnu, were very gloomy and dispirited. Ai Mon had left them from the Darbar morning and did not come back to the house. The father, fearing some unthought-of mischief from the Hnu, was full of cares and anxiety; the mother lost her natural liveliness and was constantly talking of the unhappy incident, and the child, too, not being properly cared for, was crying piteously in the cradle.

When Nga Shien's parents arrived at their house, the mother of Ai Mon received them cordially and giving a swing to the cradle, she honored them with cigars and betels. After the usual enquiries regarding their health and household affairs, the mother of Nga Shien harangued her in the following manner:—"Saya Ma, your daughter, beautiful Ai Mon, has been staying in our house since yesterday morning. My son Nga Shien has received her hospitably and she is safe and secure in our house. Yesterday night, we told her to come back to your house, but she refused and said that she loved my son and intended to live with him as his wife. Nga Shien, also, to speak the truth, loves her dearly and they seem to be so dear to one another that we have not the heart to disappoint them in any way. It remains, therefore, only to be sanctioned by you—her parents. Here is a small present from us (she held forward the bundles of tea and salt) and poor as we are, this much we can give. We hope you will kindly accept it."

"Don't want your presents, madam," a hoarse voice boomed out from the corner of the house. "We don't want them—your tea and your salt—take them away." It was the father of Ai Mon.

"You need not be angry, my dear sir," submitted the woman, "we have neither confined your daughter, nor persuaded her to stay in our house against her will. She had gone there of her own accord, and stays there, out of her own will. If you do not sanction her marriage with my son, we shall go back straight to our house and tell her of your decision. She may use her discretion then. We have almost no anxiety about it."

"But you are abetters—you enticed her from her parents. Your son and you were at the bottom."

"We at the bottom! Please, be careful what you say, Sir," growled the father of Nga Shien.

"Stop, stop," said the mother of Ai Mon, addressing her husband, and then looking straight at the mother of Nga Shien, she continued—"Yes, sister, that is exactly what I was thinking of. My daughter is no child now; she knows where she will be happy. I do not consider it wise to go against her will."

"Hnih, hnih"—grumbled her husband—"but we are no stocks and stones—hnih—that we must not—hnih—be consulted—she must marry—hnih—hnih—the Hnu."

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"Stop, stop, you simpleton," cried the lady of the house, for she had lost her temper. "Go and look after the cattle. Who goes to consult you about her marriage? Who goes—say—who goes—ha?

The father of Ai Mon walked out of the house in an angry mood and did not come back till he was compelled to enter the house by the backdoor, by a burning appetite for food.

V

The Ceremony.

It was settled at last, that Nga Shien and Ai Mon were to be joined in wed-lock. The Hpe Wan, the almanack of the Shans, was consulted and after serious calculation, a day was fixed for the public performance of their marriage ceremony. On that day, at a particular time, the position of the Neggas (Nagas) and joginies was propitious to it; the Nekatas (Sanskrit Nakshatras) and the Gahas *(Grahas)* cast a good influence on the pair; the names and the birthdays also offered no obstacles to the selection and the Lugyies too unanimously gave their opinion in favour of the very same day. Ai Mon, when she was sure that her parents had agreed to her union with Nga Shien, returned home and anxiously waited for the hand of her lover.

On the day fixed the members of both the parties rose early in the morning, bathed, combed their hair and put on new and gaudy garments. The women put scented Tanakha on their faces, tinged their lips with betel and placed boquets of pretty flowers amidst the voluptuous coils of their lustrous locks. The divine seat of the household Nat had been decorated with twigs, flowers and fruits and a few more of the latter were hung under the seat for the disposal of the deities.

At about 11 A. M., for such was the time calculated and fixed for the ceremony, the relatives of both the parties met in Ai Mon's house. The bride-groom, his parents, their relatives and attendants were welcomed with regal honors. A rich blanket was spread on one side of the house and they were seated there. On the other side the bride, her parents and other relations took their seats upon an ordinary blanket.

After a short and genial conversation the bride-groom rose from his seat, proceeded to the parents of Ai Mon and made a formal proposal for the hand of his sweetheart. "Worshipful Sir," said he, "I ask the help and lifelong companionship of your daughter, Ai Mon, in the troublesome duties of this world. I love her dearly and she too has kindly promised to be my wife. I hope you will kindly favour me with her hand."

Just then a relative brought forward two bundles of tea and salt, each containing some coins within it. The bride-groom touched them and they were presented to the parents of Ai Mon on his behalf. The father of Ai Mon, in the mean time, took the right hand of his daughter and having placed it in the out-stretched hand of his son-in-law said in a deep grave tone:—"Ai Mon, thou art no more mine; I give thee to Nga Shien whom thou hast chosen as thy husband and he will supply thee with thy food, clothes and other necessaries of life. Thou art his now. Be therefore true and faithful to him."

Ai Mon blushed and looked more beautiful than ever.

By this time, some of the ladies of the bride's party opened the bundles, took out the coins, and tied them back. These coins were due to the parents of the bride and they were handed over to them. A Lugyie then took up the two bundles on his head, and in a procession with the personages present there carried the bundles to a crossing of the public highways and placed them ceremoniously on some plantain leaves spread on the ground. The village concert party began to play on their instruments with swelling animation, the boys and girls commenced singing and dancing to the music, the relations of both the parties engaged in light and playful jokes and at short intervals they rent the sky with bursts of terrific laughter. Some customary ceremonies such as are exclusively observed by the fair sex, were duly performed and the Lugyie called the Earth, the Sun, the Moon, the Stars and the Sky to bear witness to the union.

The procession then returned home, all took their respective seats, some women of the bride's side, tied a cord of threads, round the left wrist of the bride and another round the right wrist of the bridegroom. They then fell to the feast—one and all, male and female.

* * * * *

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The marriage had thus been celebrated. In the evening Ai Mon, escorted by a long train of beautiful ladies entered the house of her husband. There were great rejoicings all around; the village *pwe* began to "boung boung" to the great amusement of the rustic congregation and bright rows of the finest ladies of the village were pouring in to pay their warmest congratulations to the newly-united pair. Everyone coming with the bride was cordially received, some four or five boxes of betels were offered, a dozen cups filled with delicious tea were passed from hand to hand, and different kinds of confectionary were distributed to the guests to their hearts' content. The mother of Nga Shien, an impersonation of agility, was serving from a large bamboo bowl a favorite sauce of the Shans—composed of boiled tea leaf, salt, chillies, fried peas, fried fish, etc., all mixed and churned in a quantity of the decoction of tamarinds. This preparation, specially from the house of Nga Shien, had a name in the village and was therefore spoken of on all hands in high terms of applause.

By 8 o'clock in the evening, the guests began dispersing and within half an hour they were all gone. The hostess then gathered and removed the plates, cups, and bowls used in the repast; and when everything was shipshape, she sat down placidly with a big *Salai* in her mouth to talk and ruminate on the events of the day.

Nga Shien then retired to bed. A small room partitioned out of his father's room by a thin *Chalai* was apportioned to him, a small candle was placed in the room, in one of the corners, and Ai Mon was led into the room by her mother-in-law and was shown the bed on which they were to sleep.

BIRESWAR GANGOOLY.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

IN reviewing Thomas Carlyle's History of the French Revolution, the Italian patriot Joseph Mazzini wrote:—

"A Bastile, a Constitution, and a *Guillotine*.

"Is this indeed the whole significance of the French Revolution? Does this gigantic event teach us no other lesson? Has the historian no better counsel for the youth of Europe than the threatening *versuchs* of Gœthe?

"No: it cannot be. Five-and-twenty millions of men do not rise up as one man, nor rouse one half of Europe at their call, for a mere word, an empty formula, a shadow. The Revolution,—that is to say, the tumult and fury of the Revolution,—perished; the form perished, as all forms perish when their task is accomplished, but the *idea* of the Revolution survived. That idea, freed from every temporary envelope or disguise, now reigns for ever, a fixed star in the intellectual firmament; it is numbered among the conquests of humanity.

"Every great idea is immortal; the French Revolution rekindled the sense of *right*, of liberty, and of equality in the human soul, never henceforth to be extinguished; it awakened France to the consciousness of the inviolability of her national life; and awakened in every people a perception of the powers of collective will, and a conviction of ultimate victory, of which none can deprive them."

Those Calcutta terrorists who have been captured and incarcerated and are awaiting their trial before tribunals presided over by foreigners have most of them courted death and heavy punishments by revealing the conspiracy they had concocted to subvert the Britsh rule in India. "Five-and-twenty millions of men do not rise up as one man, * * * for a mere shadow." If we are to believe the theory of the British officials and Anglo-Indian papers, the terrorists are not such a handful of men as have been captured; on the contrary their secret society numbers very many thousands of men who have been supplying them with the sinews of war. If the allegation of the Anglo-Indians be true, if the terrorists have thousands of supporters behind them, have those Indians who have constituted themselves into this secret society risen up "for a mere shadow?" Do not they know that by constituting themselves as members of an insurgent society, they make themselves liable to lose every thing in this world, as well as their lives? Anglo-Indian editors assert that terrorism by bomb-throwing is

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due to the bitter writings of the vernacular press and the bitter speeches of agitators. Granted. But what embittered their minds? Undoubtedly the treatment our people have received in speech, writing and action at the hands of official and non-official Anglo-Indians. But supposing the bitterness of mind of Indian editors and agitators was something uncaused, how could they lead some people to desperate acts, if the people had no grievances? You cannot kindle fire by simply blowing with the mouth. There must be a spark at least, and there must be fuel.

Does it not necessarily follow then that there must be something rotten in the Government of India which has goaded the terrorists to desperation? From the time of Macaulay down to Curzon, Bengalis have been taunted with cowardice; very "charitable" and even pious Christians have abused them to their hearts' content. It has been asserted over and over again with contempt that the Bengalis could only talk, but could not act. What wonder if some reckless and desperate boys among them took to foolish and unrighteous methods to falsify these libels on their national character? There must be something very extraordinary in the situation of India which has given courage and strength to the nerves of the "cowardly and talkative" Bengalis and has induced them to commit bomb-outrages.

Sir Henry Sumner Maine, in his well-known work on popular Government writes:—

"The most remarkable is the relatively small portion of the human race which will so much as tolerate a proposal or attempt to change its usages, laws, and institutions. * * * * There is in India a minority educated at the feet of English politicians and in books saturated with English political ideas, which has learned to repeat their language; but it is doubtful whether even these, if they had a voice in the matter, would allow a finger to be laid on the very subjects with which European legislation is beginning to concern itself, social and religious usage. There is not, however, the shadow of a doubt that the enormous mass of the Indian population hates and dreads change. * * * * It is quite evident that the greatest fact in Anglo-Indian history, the Mutiny of the mercenary sepoy army, is as much a mystery to the average man of the West as are certain colours to the colour-blind; * * The intense conservatism of much the largest part of mankind is, however, attested by quite as much evidence as is the pride of certain nations in railways, electric telegraphs, or democratic governments." Pp: 132—133.

Again:—

"The natural condition of mankind (if that word 'natural' is used) is not the progressive condition. It is a condition not of changeableness but of unchangeableness. The immobility of society is the rule, its mobility is the exception. The toleration of change and the belief in its advantages are still confined to the smallest portion of the human race, and even with that portion they are extremely modern." P 170.

If all human races are opposed to change, according to Western notions the East is proverbially unchanging, and the Bengalis are proverbially "cowards." How is it then that a desire for a change in the administration of India has sprung up in the proverbially unchanging and the "cowardly" race of India? Who will analyse the present critical situation of India?

Mr. Ruskin said of the Irish, that they are "an affectionate people, who cannot be governed by heartless persons on scientific principles." Is not the same true of Indians in general and Bengalis in particular, who are more affectionate than the Irish or any other Christian nation of the world and who are endowed with warm oriental sensibilities and susceptibilities? But the foreign rulers of India do not believe in exercising the virtue of sympathy towards their subjects. They believe with the German Iron Prince Bismarck that "feelings have nothing to do with politics." They believe that their connection with India is altogether a political one and for purposes of commercial exploitation or what Seymour Keay would call "spoliation of India." Thus is the failure of the British rule in India to be accounted for.

Of course, our present Secretary of State for India, the Right Hon'ble Viscount Morley of Blackburn—he who was known once upon a time as "honest John," will not do any thing to find out the cause of the failure of the rule of England in India or apply the real remedy. To him if the British rule in India is a failure, it is "a settled fact." For so he practically said as far back as 1885, when he opposed the late Lord Randolph Churchill's proposed Commission of Inquiry. Writing to the late Mr. Digby on the 1st October, 1885, Mr. John Morley explained his reasons for opposing the appointment of the Commission as follows:—

"My points are two, first, I object to a raking inquiry into 'the whole operation of the Indian Govern-

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ment'—the description that I was criticising—is being dangerously wide. We have much misery and wrong in Great Britain. Shall I, on that account, bring the whole operation of the British Government in this Island into question? Such a project would be both mischievous and futile. The reference ought to be narrowed to definite, specific and limited issues.

"Second, the Parliamentary Committee is no more likely to lead to practical results of any importance, than did the Indian Finance Commission of a few years ago. Indian reformers must have positive ideas of their own—not necessarily matured projects or drafts of bills—and then a Committee might usefully test them."

Perhaps, there is hardly any doubt in any thoughtful Indian's mind that it is the doings and utterances of the recently created Viscount Morley which are, in no small measure, responsible for the present situation. Imagine what effect his reference to the educated Indians as enemies of England must have had on the people of this country.

Mr. Morley in his letter to Mr. Digby, a quotation from which has already been made above, admits that the Parliament or Parliamentary Committees are quite useless and helpless in doing any good to India. This shows that no one is responsible for the good Government of India. Wrote Sir John Malcolm in the introductory chapter of his Political History of India:—

"It has been well observed by an able anonymous author, who has written a history of the early period of the East India Company, that unlimited power in the hands of a single person may be prevented from degenerating into acts of tyranny by the terrors of ignominy, or by personal fears. But a body of men vested with authority, is seldom swayed by restraint of either kind*; as they derive, individually, but little applause from their best measures, so the portion of infamy which may fall to each for the worst public actions is too small to affect personal character. Having, therefore, no generous inducement to follow virtue, the most sordid passions frequently lead them into vice. It is from this circumstance that the decisions of public bodies sometimes partake of that mortifying species of tyranny which is incapable of redress, and yet is beyond revenge."

In a footnote to the above, Sir John Malcolm added:—

"Those republics whose conduct would appear an exception to this rule have acted under the influence of motives which could not exist in the minds of men who had no national feeling for the country they ruled, and only viewed their possessions and power as sources of commercial advantage."

How truly applicable the above are to the Government of India under the control of the British Parliament. Since the transfer of the Government of India to the Crown.—now half a century ago, the condition of India has been getting from bad to worse every year. If Indian questions did not excite any interest in England when Macaulay wrote his essay on Clive, they do much less now. Year after year, Indian budgets are presented to empty benches of the Houses of Parliament.

There can be only one remedy for this misgovernment of India. It is to give her "Swaraj" or Home Rule. Unless that is done there is no hope for a contented, happy and prosperous India.

* As the British Empire is a monarchy only in name, being really governed by a body of men, this shows clearly that terrorism as a means of political enfranchisement is futile in the British dependency of India.

THE SAORIAS OF THE RAJMAHAL HILLS

GLANCING at the maps, the eye is attracted by the wide sweep of the Rajmahal Hills, which rise to an altitude of 2,000 ft. above the sea-level and which extend from the Himalayas to the Western Ghats taking the Vindhya Hills as the continuation of this range. South of the Saoria tract runs the Bansloi river and northwards the hills stand out boldly and stem the Ganges, driving its waters with tremendous force against the piers and bastions of the ancient city of Rajmahal.

This tract has an average rainfall of 50 inches and the temperature frequently reaches 115°F. In such a climate great muscular development is not to be expected, and, therefore, the Saoria is short of stature, light of build, wiry and capable of undergoing considerable fatigue. Pale complexions are not uncommon, but the characteristic colour is chocolate brown, sometimes merging into black. The women are well favoured, robust, often elegantly proportioned and pleasing in features. They move with a swing

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of the hips, a carriage far removed from the sweeping grace of the high-caste Hindu woman. In fact, the figures of the Saorias resemble closely those of the Negro. They are most probably of Dravidian origin.

The Saorias are divided into (1) *maler* meaning "hardy hillman" and (2) Saoria proper, which is of doubtful meaning, probably a contraction of "Savala-paharia," Savala Pahar being the Hindu name of the Rajmahal Hills.

The Saoria proper again has five divisions: these are territorial in nature. The inhabitants of these divisions marry without restriction. Great dissimilarity in language exists.

The Saoria claims to be of the same caste as the "Sahib."

The traditions and legends of the Saorias are meagre. The following legend is related by aged men after festivals to the youths of both sexes:—

"In the beginning lived Bhim Rajah and Bhim Rani; they had seven sons and seven daughters. The sons were great hunters—they hunted every day. The seven daughters were great cooks, and they used to cook for their brothers. Food was always ready for the hunters in their dwellings; but the cooks were never seen as they concealed themselves in the paddy stacks within the houses. The seven brothers desired to see the cooks, and accordingly took counsel together. Each brother beginning from the eldest watched to discover the cooks, but failed. But the youngest brother succeeded and appeared before them when the cooks after bringing food to each house were sitting in a line and were searching for lice in each others' head. He said to them:—you are my eldest sister-in-law and so on, until he came to the youngest, and said 'you are my wife'. He then took them to the houses of his brothers, and his own wife to his own house. Being very happy the brothers arranged a great feast. Beef, mutton, fish, fowls, pigs &c., were cooked in separate pots. They were sitting in a line with their wives, and the youngest brother was given the preference to take what best pleased him, as he had found the wives. He chose beef and *makai* rice, and left, taking the cooking pots with him and became a Saoria Paharia. The other brothers formed the other caste. Hence it is that Saorias, when cooking away from their homes, never leave their cooking pots behind them, but always carry them to their homes."

They have a firm belief in the transmigration of souls. Their moral code is believed to have been revealed to their first parents by the Creator. Their moral dicta are in no way inferior to those of the highly developed civilized people. The chief of all virtues with them is *Truth*. Whoever obeys God's commandments will behave well in all respects. He will neither injure, abuse, beat nor kill any one; nor rob, steal, waste, or quarrel; but he will praise God morning and evening and the women must do this too. They believe in evolution and devolution. 'Riches or other good gifts are often punished in this world,—the riches disappear or calamity befalls the offender.' Concealment of crime, as murder or adultery, is looked upon as a great offence. It becomes still more heinous if the object of concealment is to throw blame on another. God sees all that is done. Suicide is a crime and a sin, and the soul of him who commits suicide hovers as a ghost between heaven and earth and a like fate awaits the soul of the murderer. In the Saoria the trait of treachery is lacking. Craft, if there be any in the Saoria, is superficial.

Ethnologically tattooing is of profound interest. Tattooing among the hill-folk is crude and meaningless and it cannot be compared with the marvellous designs of Japan. Among the recognised masters of this art several colours are used, but the Paharias have one medium, black, and the instrument is the ordinary needle. The colour is made by mixing charcoal with 'mahua' juice. The Paharia maiden tattoos, and it is exclusively her privilege, which the men admire and to them appear to increase the radiance of her black eyes. A jungle flower, an arrow, a spear, the stars, are ever at hand to serve as models. The wife of a chief does not employ any special design to mark her position.

There is no fixed time for marriages. The girl should have reached the age of puberty and the youth should be at least 17 or 18 years old. Marriages do not take place in the month of Paus and during the dark fortnight of the moon, the moon being required to witness the ceremony. The youth's mother begins the negotiations. Her first enquiry is as to whether the girl has been bespoken, and as to whether her affections are already engaged. Sunday is an unlucky day, so are *pujahs* and agricultural operations. The girl's consent is necessary for marriage. If the girl takes a *mala* (necklace of glass beads) and a rupee, it is supposed that she gives her consent, and if not, not. If after the girl's consent, the youth desires to break off the marriage, the rupee is placed on the girl's head and a *lotaful* of

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water is poured on her head and then she is free to marry elsewhere. During the marriage the male relatives present knives, *tangis* (axes), arrows and money and the female relatives *malas* and money. Bows are not presented. Tobacco and refreshments are supplied to the relatives of the bridegroom by the relatives of the bride. The father of the bride says, 'Behold this girl I give to you, being free from disease and blame; take her and see that she is properly maintained. Take the girl; if she leaves her husband without cause, he will be entitled to get back the expenses of the marriage, and if he turns her out without cause, he will lose his marriage expenses.' He then hands the girl to the groom's father or, in his absence, to the groom's brother or to the groom himself. After this the groom taking hold of the girl's little finger of the right hand with his right hand, makes his way outside the house, when they are stopped by some one on behalf of the girl's relatives, and are not allowed to go until the groom has cast two annas in pice on the ground. The priest then comes with a fowl and says, 'O Sun-god and Moon, from this day may they be happy,' and a fowl's head is then severed and the blood is sprinkled over their heads.

The contracting parties may meet before the marriage, but in case of going beyond the proper limits, the young man is fined two pigs by the *panchayet*. In such cases the girl's father claims Rs. 20 or so for his *pan* and the erring pair are considered to be married. Drums are not beaten at marriages, songs are not sung, nor are there any dances.

A girl may not marry her brother or first cousin. The same rule prevails on the mother's side. A man may marry an elder sister and then her younger sister, but not *vice versa*. A man may marry five or six wives and they may be sisters provided the eldest be willing.

When a man becomes guilty of incest he is fined two pigs and two fowls by the *panch*. The girl and her parents keep the offspring of such a union and the child is admitted into caste. If a younger sister's husband and an eldest sister are guilty, the man is fined Rs. 20, and is outcasted; the woman has her head shaved and painted with saffron and lime, and she is taken all round the village and made a public spectacle. Then the offenders are also told, 'go and die in the jungle anywhere.'

In olden days it was customary for Saorias to rush down into the plains and capture wives and cattle.

Divorce is allowed in cases of illicit conduct on the part of the wife. In such a case the husband is entitled to get compensation from the lover, ranging from Rs. 9 upwards, according to circumstances. The husband breaks a straw and pours water over the wife's head. If the wife can prove that she was forcibly betrayed her husband keeps her after taking the fine and a promise from her as regards another wife. Arrangements for another wife are made by the erring woman herself, and she loses her privileges as head wife. A wife may not divorce her husband for adultery.

A divorcee may marry again, her children by the first marriage remaining with their father. The children of concubines of another caste are classed as Saorias and not after the mother.

The widow of an elder brother may marry a younger brother, but the younger brother's wife cannot marry an elder brother.

A widow's children remain with the first husband's family in case of remarriage. She retains no rights in her first husband's property. In case she marries a younger brother, she shares her first husband's property with her children. In case of a childless widow, the second husband being a brother of the deceased, succeeds to the property and through him his children inherit. In the case of issue from both the brothers the children only inherit the shares of their respective fathers.

If a man has two sons the property is divided in the proportion of 6 to 4. Unmarried brothers are, however, entitled to a separate share termed the *marriage portion*. If there be no sons, the daughters inherit equally. If there be sons and daughters, the daughters are entitled to one cow and a *thalia* (brass plate) each. In all cases of disputes the matter is referred to the *panchayet*.

A widow with children may not alienate property without the consent of the children and in the case of minors, of the husband's male relatives. Being childless she holds the property for her life.

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A step-son has no right in the step-father's property. Until the step-son is married, he is provided for by the step-father. In the case of a man dying without any relative, his property goes to the village headman, who gives a feast to the whole village.

The custom of adoption is well known. The father is given money. But in the case of a girl's adoption, no money is given. An adopted son is entitled to the whole of the property. A man may adopt a brother. The Bhuiyas intermarry with Saorias.

Physical defects on the part of the girl are not permitted after marriage to annul the contract. The *panch* will however allow an annulment on payment of Rs. 5, which are placed on the girl's head and water is sprinkled by her husband and he breaks a straw and the separation is complete.

If the girl finds defects in her husband, the *panch* annuls the marriage on payment of *pan* money.

There are no ceremonies of any kind connected with pregnancy. After child birth the *father* is not allowed to do any work for five days, he is considered unclean. The navel string of the baby is placed on an earthen plate full of ashes, and a miniature bow and arrow are stuck into the ashes and these are placed under a *Kusum* tree before dawn. The ceremony is performed by the father, who says, while doing so, 'I have a son, may he be a great hunter.' In the case of a girl the operation is varied by sticking a bamboo spoon for mixing rice, into the ashes, and when placing these under a tree, the father says, 'May she be a good housewife.' Returning home he consults his wife as to the name of the infant and the name selected, generally that of a relative, the father and mother blow into the ears of the child. In the case of a boy the father does not shave or cut his hair and both the parents are not permitted to visit any one, nor to touch the things of other people. In the case of a girl these taboos last for two months.

The dead are buried. The corpse is washed and oiled and then clothed in its best apparel, vermilion is put on the forehead and nose. Bows, arrows, and all personal property are placed in the grave. Cooked *makai* and fowl are placed at the four corners of the grave, saying,' This is for you, O son or wife ; may your ancestors eat this and keep you in safety with them.' Death does not make the relatives unclean. A feast is given to the bearers of the corpse and the relatives after five days. Before they partake of the feast, some broiled liver and *makai* rice are placed by the guests at the spot where the body was first laid down. The deceased is there called upon by name to accept the offerings made. After the lapse of a year invitations to another feast are sent to all relatives. These ceremonies apply to men, women and boys, but not to infants unable to speak. Such infants are buried outside the regular graveyard. Anyone dying of small-pox or cholera is not buried. In case of snake-bite or accident, the usual ceremony is observed. In case of death by tigers, &c., the same customs are followed if the body is found; if not the usual feast takes place after the lapse of a year.

Though a *Sal* twig, a bamboo or a clay lump or a stone may sometimes represent the minor deities, the Maler have no temples, nor are the gods represented by idols generally, and no special form of worship is fixed for them, nor is there any special day fixed for their worship. Laihu Gosain, the Creator, is the most powerful of all the gods. A man representing any of the gods by idols would be outcasted. A bachelor or a widower can offer no pujah to any of the gods.

Laihu Gosain (the Creator), Darmari Gosain (the Divinity of Birth) and Jarmatre Gosain (the Divinity of Truth) are invisible. The latter two are regarded as attributes of the first, Laihu Gosain. Ber Gosain and Bilp Gosain are seen in the heavens as the sun and the moon. They have power to benefit cultivation and also the public health. There are besides some godlings, e. g., Pan Duri Gosain (of highways and journeys) and some others representing different harvests and diseases, and they are worshipped in their respective seasons and on occasions under different varied rituals. There are also a lot of devils and evil spirits, from whom danger to women is greatly feared. Girls and women are often possessed by ghosts.

Superstition and its handmaid imagination mould the Saoria at will, and in the grave or the tree he beholds with terror the Jamposi (ghost) and invests the inexplicable power of the railway train with a capacity

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for compassing the direst evil. He ascribes an epidemic of small-pox or cholera to the advent of inimical spirits by railway. He exorcises them by constructing a rude model of a train, wheels it through the village and into the jungle, and desires the invisible passengers to journey onwards. Such is the Saoria of to-day and such has he been for countless generations.

Some of the *mantras*, *rituals* and songs pertaining to *pujah* are too indecent to describe, in which even women join. Goats, pigs and fowls are sacrificed during the pujahs. Pujahs are offered on the village path not only to the models of trains but also to umbrellas, elephants, leopards and tigers.

During the Durga Pujah the *Ner Lalleh* or snake dance is held. A cobra is caught and round it the dancers stand in a circle carrying long tasselled bamboo staves ringed with gleaming brass. The headman's head-dress is adorned with plumes and peacock feathers. His ankles and knees are encircled with tinkling bells and he makes merry to the sound of ringing drums. The dancing measure is very intricate and is accompanied by a weird and deep chant in unison. Forty or fifty men dressed in red, blue or crimson dance in a circle and finally the dancers imitate with marvellous precision, dancing all the while, the winding movement of a snake in motion. The excitement and the picturesqueness of this amazing spectacle are better imagined than described. The following is the song:—

MALTO.

Utari bandla, purabi bandla
Bandla purab sanjre samdre.
Gurudur gurukiare, sanpre
Bandare utari bandla
Purabi bandla bandla purab
Sanjre Samdre amer bimer
Goler kati eto darm karore
Sanp, sanp tori ailo, chutaki kelawoh.

A spell from east and north I wis,
A spell from the ocean's boom;
The master binds the dreaded hiss,
Nor fears he the bite that's doom.
A spell from east and north I ween
And the Death all helpless lies;
Nor ire nor sting, ah me! the scene
While our song doth swelling rise.
Oh, bring ye gifts and service true,
Lo, the master plays the snake
With snapping finger; bring his due
And offerings freely make.

The Saorias are great lovers of their homes. The Saoria prefers starvation on his beloved hills to plenty abroad, and renders loyal allegiance to his confused pantheon of godlings and demons.

Saoria houses are always erected north and south with bamboos and grass. The floor of the house is lower than the level of the village site. The dormitory system prevails among the Saorias. The marriageable girls have a house to themselves, and the youths another, which are called Maidens' dwelling house and Bachelor's dwelling house respectively.

Articles regarded with loathing by Aryans are to them clean and wholesome. An animal that has died of anthrax or rinderpest is eaten. Soarias do not eat cats, ponies, vultures, kites, crows, adjutants, dogs, jackals, wolves, and hyenas. The flesh of leopards and tigers is used medicinally. Bears are eaten. It is forbidden to kill dogs and cats, and *pujahs* are performed when a tiger or leopard is killed. He who kills a cat or a dog has to offer rice and a fowl's egg on the western path of the village to propitiate the ghost of the dogs and cats, &c.

They have an amazing capacity for alcohol and toddy liquor and this capacity is by no means confined to men only.

The exploits of the Saoria, with the bow and spear form the subject of many a ballad. The Mahratta and the great Mogul were baffled in their attempts to deprive them of their independence and the little wealth and comforts they have, but their resolute claims to independence have been brushed aside by the wily English. Forests have disappeared. To the Saoria it has in the majority of cases brought a temporary affluence, which is the portal to wretchedness. Land settlement, *sabai* grass industry and forest conservancy are indeed complex problems, and abject poverty is no misnomer among the Saorias of to-day. The Saorias are again thriftless to a degree, and garners but to squander at a festival or to become the fortunate possessor of a godling.

A wife calls her husband by the name of her child, *i.e.*, father of so and so. If there are no children, she will say "*A re*" *i.e.*, *O go* (Bengali) or *ehji* (Hindi). The husband also calls his wife by the name of the children, and in case of no children he

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says *O re*, the feminine of *Ai*. Other relatives are called by their names. The eldest brother is not addressed by name by the younger brothers. They call him *Bedo baya* (big brother).

I shall conclude by giving another sample of the Saoria song.

MALTO.

Tundi kiare pachin tuke
Tundi kiare pubia tuke
Qede bari tariki neken eta Chandi.

SONG.

The western wind has come and gone,
The eastern wind has come and gone,
Who cares for weary feet and woe
Tell, O Chandi, tell!

Eiugen ayath are andila,
Najugen abath are andilah,
Iko chudi Maharani allengeno.
Atundiya Chandi?

Our mothers saw not such a sight,
Our fathers saw not such a light,
Whence doth the white queen view
The radiance of the beacons bright
Tell, O Chandi, tell!

This song was composed to commemorate the Coronation bonfire of His Majesty the King-Emperor.*

CHARUCHANDRA BANDYOPADHYAY.

* This article is chiefly compiled from a very elaborate article by R. B. Bainbridge in *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. II, No. 4, pp. 43-84, Dated 25-5-07.

THE WHITE ARMY IN INDIA

THE discussion which took place in the House of Commons on the 19th March 1908 on the Army Estimates and especially that relating to the maintenance of the strength of the British army on the establishment of India—is very instructive. One of the honorable members did not hesitate to declare that—

"We had never yet worked up to the figure laid down after the Mutiny, that the British troops should be 80,000."

This was a pure invention from the inner consciousness of the honorable member. No such figure had ever been laid down after the Mutiny. A Royal Commission was appointed by the late Queen Victoria's Command, dated 15th July, 1858 to inquire into the organization of the Indian Army. They were commanded to report on twelve questions, of which the third ran as follows:—

"The proportion which European should bear to Native troops, in Infantry, Cavalry, and Artillery respectively."

The report on this question was:—

"Your Majesty's Commissioners are of opinion, that the amount of the Native force should not, under present circumstances, bear a greater proportion to the European, in Cavalry and Infantry, than two to one for Bengal, and three to one for Madras and Bombay respectively.

"The evidence before the Commissioners is unanimous, that the Artillery should be mainly a European force, and they agree in the opinion thus expressed, exceptions being made for such stations as are peculiarly detrimental to the European constitution.

"In connexion with this question, your Commissioners observe, that Military Police Corps have been formed, or are in course of formation, throughout India. They see in this force, in its numerical strength, and military organization, differing, as it does, in no essential respect from the regular Sepoy Army, the elements of future danger. They would, therefore, recommend that great caution be used, in not giving to this force a stricter military training, than may be required for the maintenance of discipline, lest a new Native Force be formed, which may hereafter become a source of embarassment to the Government."

It is necessary to reproduce here the opinions of some of the distinguished Anglo-Indian civil and military officers when this question was put to them.

PROPORTIONING NATIVES TO EUROPEANS IN THE ARMY IN INDIA.

"On the subject of proportioning natives to Europeans, it should be remembered of how many races the population of India is made up; that some are much more warlike and robust than others; and that the European check ought to vary with the Native power. Thus, in the Punjab and Upper India less than one European to two Sikhs or Pathans or Goorkhas would not be safe; whereas with the Hindostanees it might be one to three; and with the southern races one to four. * * before the Mutiny European soldiers were only one to nine."*

* Sir John Lawrence, Brigadier General Chamberlain, and Col. Edwardes' letter to Col. Durand, dated Murree, June 26, 1858. P. 8 of the supplement to the Report of the Royal Commission on the reorganization of the Indian Army.

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The same officers also wrote :—

"As a rule the *minimum* of Europeans should be 1 to 3 natives, and the *maximum* 1 to 2. * * The larger the proportion of police, the lower may be the ratio of Europeans. As a mere question of security, a large European force is essential; but to administer the country, a still larger number of native is indispensable. The country can neither be held nor worked by Europeans alone. If, at first sight, the ratio of natives in the present proposal be deemed too great for safety, it must be borne in mind that on the side of the Europeans are ranged 102 field pieces of artillery, against 22 on the side of the natives; or, if it be thought that less natives would suffice for the administration, the answer will be found in a careful inspection of the details and distribution. At every point the natives have been reduced to the lowest practicable number."*

Mr. (afterwards Sir Bartle) Frere, in his letter, dated November 6, 1858 to Col. Durand, wrote :—

"69. We have already in the country the European force which under any circumstances, must form the backbone of the army. It will hardly be questioned that a total absence of native troops would be a safer condition than the presence of large bodies of men disarmed or distrusted, and requiring to be watched, so that in many parts of the country a general disbandment of the remaining native army would actually add to our strength. * * * *

"76. We may lay it as a proved fact that no force of Europeans in the field, for a long campaign, is thoroughly efficient without an equal number of native auxiliaries to take duties for which Europeans are unsuited. A native army equal in numbers to the Europeans may then be taken as the minimum proportion necessary to efficiency within the regions of tropical heat.

"77. We may raise the proportion of the less costly replaced material as high as four natives to one European fighting man, and still, in the opinion of our ablest generals, the efficient fighting power of the aggregate body will be superior on their own ground to that of any army which can be brought against them. This, then, may be taken as a safe maximum proportion of natives to European fighting men, in our army for Indian Service." †

In reply to the question,

"What proportion should the European bear to the native troops in the Bombay Presidency? and state the ratios, both inclusive and exclusive of police corps."

Sir Bartle Frere wrote :—

"I think it a great mistake to attempt to fix any proportion between European and Native troops, except on combined considerations of efficiency and finance.

"You require an army to hold the country and your finances are limited. The great question is, what is the composition of the army which will give you the nearest approach to the force you require, at an expense within your financial means?

"There are five propositions which seem to me so self-evident that I will not, unbidden, offer argument in proof of them,—

"First that it is impossible to hold India with a purely European or foreign army.

"Second that it is equally impossible to hold it with an entirely native army.

"Third that there is nothing but our own mismanagement to prevent natives of India being as good soldiers and as loyal to us, their foreign masters, as they have ever been.

"Fourth that native soldiers are, man for man, far less costly than Europeans.

"Fifth that a mixed force of Natives and Europeans combined, is absolutely more efficient, taking all seasons and descriptions of military service together, than any purely European force which you could maintain at the same expense.

* * * *

"In some of our best campaigns, where there has been least reason to desire any alteration in the composition of the force, the proportion has been about one European to three native fighting men; and I have heard Sir Charles Napier argue that a force mixed in such proportions, and led by European officers, was superior in Asia to an equal number of any European troops, except French and English.

* * * *

"Three to one, then, is about the ratio which I should consider natives should bear to Europeans in order to give us the most efficient army which could be kept up for any given sum. * * *

"But the proportion would vary in the different arms. In the artillery, the back-bone of the army, the advantage of having Europeans is, from the paramount value and importance of the arm, the great utility of individual muscular power and many other reasons, comparatively greater and the drawbacks fewer, than in other arms; and, therefore, in the artillery Europeans should so far preponderate that there should always be at least sufficient to work every gun, save in very rare exceptional cases, where (as on the Sind frontier) it is altogether impossible to keep Europeans permanently stationed. In the cavalry the advantages of employing Europeans are at a minimum, and a very small proportion of Europeans will suffice; one of the principal reasons being that European dragoons can never in this country dispense with their grass cutters and other followers who are necessarily on foot, and thus Europeans, as cavalry, lose much of the superior celerity and independence and other natural advantages of cavalry as compared with infantry, and the advantage of employing the more costly European for such service is much lessened.

"I do not think the ratio should be affected by the number of men it may be found necessary to employ as police. * * * * ‡

In the years following the Mutiny, the strength of the European force in India was much less than at present. The following

* Ibid, p. 4.

† Ibid, p. 65.

‡ Ibid pp. 47, 48.

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table gives the number of Europeans and natives in the ten years from 1862-1872.

1862-63	European,	69,732	"Natives,"	137,932
1863-64	,,	67,712	,,	128,253
1864-65	,,	67,322	,,	120,201
1865-66	,,	62,857	,,	125,220
1866-67	,,	59,720	,,	125,864
1867-68	,,	55,237	,,	116,571
1868-69	,,	55,756	,,	118,807
1869-70	,,	56,772	,,	116,654
1870-71	,,	56,694	,,	115,264
1871-72	,,	58,437	,,	115,196

In 1879, the year of Lord Lytton's war with Afghanistan, the British troops numbered nearly 65,000 and the native about 135,000. But since the Panjdeh incident of 1885, the number has been continually increasing, and in this year the British troops number 79,000 in India, for whose maintenance the famine-and-plague-stricken Indians have to pay!

Why is this large force of white men kept in India at the expense of the impoverished dark "natives"? Perhaps the real reason is what was hinted at by Mr. J. M. Robertson in his speech in the House of Commons on the 19th. March last. He is reported to have said:—

"He failed to discover in the speech of the Secretary for War any reason for the maintenance of the fighting power of India at the highest point at which it had ever stood, save in one phrase—the experts said it was necessary. If no more intelligent reason than that could be given, men of common sense were forced to put the question whether we were being bound to maintain the Army of India at 79,000 men because of some secret agreement with Japan." (Hear, hear).

WHAT THE WORLD IS DOING AND WHAT WE MAY DO

Introductory

THE mission of this series is, as its name implies, to tell "what the world is doing". Its aim is not to indulge in glittering generalities, but by means of specific statements and tangible terms, to clearly point out "what we may do". The attempt will be made to achieve this object without "moralizing". The writer will endeavour to confine himself to telling the attainments of other peoples, leaving the reader to draw his own conclusions.

In the periodical literature published in India, very limited space is given to chronicling what other nations are doing; and these articles are designed to furnish the readers of the "Modern Review" with information regarding the progress of the world, in order to give an impetus to them to modernize themselves and their methods.

The field intended to cover is as extensive as the wide world; though no attempt will be made to give a mere news summary of the happenings in other countries, as to do so would be to produce prosaic reading. Nor is the effort to be made in a single month to canvas the progress attained in all branches of science, art, literature, etc.; as to accomplish this, many more times the space than can be set apart for this purpose would have to be allotted. A topic of uplift will be selected every month and the endeavour will be made to provide interesting variety on the one hand and instruction on the other. Realizing the backwardness of the methods employed in India in child culture and for the uplift of woman, items of human interest in the realms of women and children will be frequently furnished.

What the World is doing for Children

All of us know that each civilized nation is straining to gain military and naval supremacy. All of us know, also, that every enlightened country is trying its best to out-do the other nations of the globe on the battlefield of commercial production and distribution. But few of us realize that the wide-awakened world has commenced to attach more importance to child culture than to either of the above named ambitions. Military, naval, or commercial superiority, in the last analysis, hinges on the propagation and proper bringing up of a nation's children, and every country which aims at achieving glories in these and other fields of life, is concentrating its efforts at the proper point. The child is being, so

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to speak, put under the microscope and studied scientifically with a view to filling any lack or cutting off any surplus that would hinder it from growing into a highest-grade man or woman.

Germany has, to-day, 203 schools specially designed for backward pupils, in 116 principal cities. Berlin alone has 31 of these special schools, with a total enrollment of 13,100.

Not only are the Occidental countries keeping close watch on the bodies of the children, but they are seeing to it that pure food goes into them, and that they receive the proper amount of exercise. In Germany a new feature has just been introduced in a number of Berlin schools. It is called the "Milch-Automat," and supplies the scholars with sanitary milk. The purchaser drops a coin in the mechanical apparatus attached to the milk tank, and automatically is served with the amount of milk or cream desired. Moreover, he may have hot or cold milk, according to his taste. The dropping of the coin causes a waterproof paper cup to fall down in an opening. Then a lever is touched and the cup is filled with milk, of which only the very finest quality is provided. Each student, by this means, has his own cup from which to drink, and is saved the danger of contagion from drinking out of a cup that has touched many lips. Liquid fuel automatically heats the milk when hot milk is desired. All the tanks and tubes through which the milk runs are frequently thoroughly cleansed and flushed by a mechanical process which keeps the apparatus scientifically sanitary.

The milk is sold at a minimum price, and no effort is made to derive profit from it. The automats are placed about the school grounds in convenient places and are liberally patronized by the school children who use them during recess intermissions and at luncheon time. The results of the experiment have proved extremely pleasing to the educational authorities, and the milk receptacles are rapidly being introduced into other German cities.

A movement likewise is active in England at the present time to establish pasteurized milk depots throughout the United Kingdom. The initial impetus came from Nathan Straus of New York, the United States of America. He offered a pasteurizing plant to any city which would maintain it and supply free milk to poor mothers. Each plant will have a capacity for pasteurizing sufficient milk in a single day for 220 babies. One of these plants was introduced at Huddersford, and the infant death rate has been reduced 44 per cent. from the average death rate per 1,000 in 76 of the larger cities of England. The movement found an unexpected ally in Lady Aberdeen, wife of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. She has assured those who are associated with Mr. Straus in the work of saving babies from death that she is ready to co-operate in the work. The opening of milk depots by the association will be personally directed by Lady Aberdeen.

The people of England have shown their keen interest in child culture in another direction lately by enacting a law prescribing three medical inspections for school children; the first when they enter the schools, the second three years later and the third three years after that. Thus the bodies of the little ones will be carefully looked after, and any defect will be remedied in its incipiency, before it has taken a deep root.

Sweden pays a great deal of attention to exercise. The government sends out teachers of games to all the common schools, while every school child in Sweden is in honour bound to learn to swim. The school gymnastics are real agents for body-building, and they have produced grace, agility and poise far in advance of that possessed by the school children of almost any other country. A Swede does not stop when the body is built. He continues exercising with a view to keeping the physique in perfect condition, making the exercise suit his age and condition.

The same idea is coming to be largely in vogue in America, where public playgrounds are provided for the children, and they are taught and encouraged to exercise and play on every sort of gymnastic apparatus. The exercise in these playgrounds, being taken out-of-doors, partakes more of the nature of sports than real work, and hence is more enjoyable and less irksome to the children. The public playgrounds, besides providing healthful exercise for the little ones, have a distinct force for good by preventing crime. The group that might collect on the street corners or hide in clusters in alleys planning

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mischief, are given a fine chance for good, legitimate sport in an athletic field.

A new phase has been added to the kindergarten system by a Belgian lady, Mme. Pecher. She utilizes dolls in teaching children. These dolls are supposed to represent personages and situations in European history, arranged in order of time, beginning with the earliest dates. The plan, so far, has produced splendid results, and the children, by its means, are enabled to acquire historical knowledge without much difficulty.

A teacher in the schools of Toledo, Ohio, U. S. A., has invented a system of child training which is showing good results. The idea is to develop character by means of thought power. To begin with, a series of five-minute talks is given the children on the power of thought and the children are impressed with the idea that each one must do his own thinking. Then begins a series of lessons on the use and control of thought power. A word, expressing the central idea, is chosen, for each month, as: March, honour; April, honesty, truthfulness; January, courtesy and cheerfulness. Every month the word to be concentrated upon during the month is beautifully lettered on the blackboard, where it is constantly before the pupils, as well as on a large banner in the entrance hall. Many incidents have shown that the children understand the idea and put into practical use the moral lessons learned. The lessons in honor have proved especially effective, showing results in increased care of school property and good discipline in the school.

Abyssinnia is probably the latest country to provide compulsory education for its children. All male children over 12 years of age are compelled to go to school. The education is provided by the State and many schools are being built.

Of all Occidental countries, France probably is the most vitally interested in the question of taking care of its children and increasing the birth-rate. The French Republic is in a state bordering upon despair over the steady decrease in population. According to the latest official statistics, 1,314,773 French families are without children; 2,249,337 have but one child; 2,018,665 have two; 1,246,264 have three; 748,841 have four; 429,799 have five; 248,159 have six; 138,769 have seven; 71,841 have eight, and 33,917, have nine children. These figures show that for about two-thirds of the families of France, the average number of children does not exceed three; while for only about 1½ per cent. of them the average number is seven and for less than 1 per cent. of the families, eight children. The statistics are furnishing a significant study to those who are interested in the welfare of France. It has been noticed that the decrease in the number of children compared with the number of families is practically reduced to a matter of arithmetical progression, and the anxious French people are trying to figure just how long it will take the nation to die out, if the families continue to become smaller and smaller. The philanthropists and statesmen of the republic are uniting in their efforts to increase the birth-rate and take such care of the children of the country that the nation may not die for lack of progeny.

NOTES

Political assassination and Western sentiment.

We never suspected the existence of any secret society in India with aims and objects like those of the Fenians, Nihilists, Anarchists or Terrorists. Secret societies with political assassination as their object or method of work, are a product of Western civilization. The Russian exile Prince Peter Kropotkin is said to be a great advocate of such methods and societies.

But the soil of India is not favourable to the taking root or growing and thriving of such an institution. It is foreign to the

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genius of our race. The truth of our assertion is borne out by the miserable failure of the plot of the terrorists (they are not anarchists) of Calcutta. In Western countries political assassinations are not condemned by even thoughtful and respectable people as they ought to be. Their perpetrators are looked upon as heroes, and, if caught and executed, as martyrs. They are not branded as murderers. This is evident from what Matthew Arnold says in one of his poems from which we extract the following lines :—

"Murder!—but what *is* murder? When a wretch
For private gain or hatred takes a life,
We call it murder, crush him, brand his name.
But when, for some great public cause, an arm
Is, without love or hate, austerely raised
Against a power exempt from common checks,
Dangerous to all, to be thus annull'd—
Ranks any man with murder such an act?
With grievous deeds, perhaps; with murder, not."

Such approval of political murders cannot be found in Indian literature.

Nor is the justification of political assassination rare in English ephemeral literature. For instance, when in 1906 certain persons were assassinated in the villa of M. Stolypin, the Russian premier, the *Pioneer* wrote in its issue of the 29th August, 1906 :—

"The horror of such crimes is too great for words, and yet it has to be acknowledged, almost, that they are the only method of fighting left to a people who are at war with despotic rulers able to command great military forces against which it is impossible for the unarmed populace to make a stand. When the Czar dissolved the Duma he destroyed all hope of reform being gained without violence. Against bombs his armies are powerless, and for that reason he can not rule, as his forefathers did, by the sword. It becomes impossible for even the stoutest-hearted men to govern fairly or strongly when every moment of their lives is spent in terror of a revolting death, and they grow into craven shirkers, or sustain themselves by a frenzy of retaliation which increases the conflagration they are striving to check. Such conditions cannot last."*

Again, in the year 1900, the *Pioneer* published in one of its issues what it no doubt considered a very humorous poem, but what every right-thinking man will consider an almost open justification of or incitement to the political murder of "Babus" by Englishmen. We quote the last stanza :—

"And he travelled by train to that Babu Bhagwan,
And slew him with Handle-Broom wood,
And lessened the number of Babus by one.
Don't blame him. He did what he could."†

Thus it will be seen that even Anglo-Indian papers approve of or justify the conduct of political assassins or murderers when such crimes are committed by Europeans in India or in the Christian countries of the West; though they cannot be expected to take the same attitude when the scene is India, the assassins are coloured men and the victims are colorless. But we condemn such crimes, wherever or by whomsoever they may be commited. Righteousness uplifteth a nation and a good cause has never been advanced by crimes. The well-known Persian poet Shaikh Saadi has said.—

"*Rahi rast baroh agar cha dur ast.*"

"Always walk in the path of righteousness, even if the goal be distant."

This is also our advice to our countrymen.

The genesis of terrorism in Bengal.

The Calcutta bomb-makers have presented Viscount Morley with an unquestionably new fact, which he wanted for the reconsideration of the Bengal Partition question, though even such a fact will not, we are sure, unsettle his "settled fact." Our most radical Secretary of State must get the credit of having produced the bomb-thrower,—a unique performance. The ultimate cause of terrorism in Bengal must be sought in the utterly selfish, high-handed and tyrannical policy of the Government, and in the contemptuous and insulting manner in which most official and non-official Anglo-Indians have spoken of and treated Bengalis. They have ridden roughshod over the feelings of the Bengalis and turned a deaf ear to their strongest and most reasonable representations, supported by facts and figures. The Russianization of the administration in spirit and methods has led to the conversion of a small section of the people to the methods of Russian terrorism. It is simply a question of action and reaction, "stimulus" and "response." Persistently unrighteous administration has an inevitable tendency to make men seek desperate remedies. Finding no remedy in constitutional agitation, burning to wreak what they considered "national vengeance,"

* This passage is taken from the *Prabasi* for the month of *Jyaishtha*, in which it was first extracted.

† Quoted by Babu Nepal Chandra Ray in a letter which he addressed to the *Pioneer*, which the latter had neither the fairness nor the courage to print.

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impatient and eager to wipe off the cowardly libel that Bengalis are cowards, some desperate young men have had recourse to desperate and unrighteous methods. The result has been a mistake, horrible in its consequences. Instead of the man they wanted to kill, they have murdered two innocent women, whose death is deeply deplored.

Political Assassination by Bomb-throwing.

That is almost invariably a feature of assassination by bomb-throwing. More often than not, it is innocent persons who die, not those whom the bomb-throwers consider guilty. Even when the latter are killed, some innocent persons are killed along with them. So that the method is essentially reckless and wicked, and we may add, cowardly. For there is no heroism in killing an unarmed person, whom, moreover, the assailant has not the courage to face.

Political enfranchisement by Assassination.

It appears from the confession of one of the terrorists that they were clear-headed enough to understand that they could not make their country free by political murders; and they were right. Political liberty is gained as the result of a trial of strength, which may take either the form of a bloodless struggle including passive resistance and industrial competition, or that of an armed rebellion, which latter is out of the question in India. In either case, though the preparation may be made in secret, the fight must necessarily be open. The weak cannot win, the victory rests with the strong; and righteousness adds strength to a cause. But, leaving aside the question of righteousness, what element of strength is there in assassination? If you are strong, why not come out in the open and fight? If you are not strong, you will be crushed. If you are not strong, bomb-throwing is not the way to develop or acquire strength. The very fact that from start to finish terrorism must have recourse to secrecy and craft, shows its inherent weakness. It is imaginable that bomb-throwing may be practised on a very extensive scale, on the scale of a regular war. But though imaginable, it has never yet been found practicable even in European countries, where, unlike India, *ahimsa* (abstention from killing) is not considered a supreme virtue. Even if it were practicable, it would be none the less wicked, as involving the reckless sacrifice of innocent lives. Moreover, terrorism even on an extensive scale has not secured freedom to any country. Besides, terrorism may be put down by the use of still greater brutal violence; but when a nation takes its stand on righteousness, nothing can crush it,—all the forces of the universe are on its side.

In India from a remote antiquity even the rules of warfare have been based on righteousness and a keen sense of honour. The term *dharma yuddha* (righteous war) shows what we mean. Non-combatants, women and children are not to be killed, treachery is to be condemned, "striking below the belt" is to be considered dishonourable, standing crops are not be destroyed, &c.: so ran the rules. The rules of civilized warfare are similar in modern times. Of course, neither in ancient times nor in our days, have these rules been always followed. But nevertheless all our acts must be judged by an ideal standard, and judged by such a standard assassination cannot be given the same rank as *dharma yuddha* or righteous and honorable warfare. Thus, though a rebel is under certain circumstances entitled to our highest respect and admiration as a hero and a patriot, an assassin cannot, whatever Matthew Arnold may say, claim the same rank. The end *does not* justify the means.

The English cannot be frightened into making concessions or frightened away from India by the slaughter of a few men. They are strong enough to meet political murder by stern repression. But suppose they could be frightened into making concessions or frightened away. Would that make us a free and united nation, strong to defend our liberties against every foreign foe? Certainly not. Unity and strength come by altogether a different kind of struggle.

And, moreover, the agents of the British Government are not to blame so much as the system. By killing Mr. Kingsford or even higher officials, you cannot put an end to the despotic British rule. Men may come and men may go, but the despotic system goes on,—though not for ever.

But supposing Mr. Kingsford or other

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British officials were to blame, did they deserve death? What tribunal in the world would sentence them to death, if they were arraigned before it? A judicial sentence, or even private revenge, must bear some proportion to the actual or imagined guilt of the man to be punished.

Whatever people may think or say in hours of bitter resentment or when the feeling of revenge rankles in their breasts, our firm, abiding and reasoned conviction is that we cannot be free until and unless we really in thought, word and deed, love our countrymen and country-women, high and low, of all races, creeds and castes, more than we hate the tyrants among foreigners;—until and unless we are stronger, more powerful for good and more righteous than the foreign bureaucracy and exploiters;—until, in fact, we are able to replace them. We know that to some extent the foreign bureaucracy and exploiters can and will baffle our endeavours to be strong, powerful for good and righteous. But their power is limited. We *can* elevate ourselves, if we have the collective will to do, the soul to dare.

We must not be misunderstood to mean that we deserve to be treated as slaves. We know that in theory every nation ought to be free. What we mean is that our enslavement is a fact. This fact can be done away with only by bringing against it the *possible* fact of our superior strength and love and righteousness. How are you going to build up a nation except by showing to your people by your life that you love them, feel for them, are prepared to run risks and suffer for them, and, in reality, actually do more for them, than the foreign tax-gatherer and exploiter? Without mutual aid and co-operation no progress is possible; without union no strength is imaginable. And mutual aid, co-operation and union all depend upon sympathy and loving service.

The hard-hearted greed of the dominant races of the world must not mislead us into placing hatred above love as the ruling force in the world. Those races all love their own people more than they hate foreigners. Cultivate love then, not hatred. National strength is invariably the result of national righteousness. This truth is writ large in human history and is in accord with the moral intuitions of the soul. Bomb-throwing is not the way. Even victory in unrighteous war does not conduce to national greatness. The British defeated the Boers. But who now are the dominant party in South Africa, the British or the Boers?

"How to dare and die."

But the bomb-thrower may reply, as in fact their alleged leader Barindrakumar Ghosh has to all intents and purposes done, "your sermon is lost labour. We did not mean or expect to liberate our country by killing a few Englishmen. We wanted to show people how to dare and die."

We admit that they have shown great daring, strength of nerve and coolness, and have proved that they are not afraid of death; their truthfulness (with the exception of one) and their unbroken resolve not to betray their supporters and purvayors of arms and ammunition, as they had evidently given their word not to do so, are also exemplary. Great, too, is their devotion to the country's cause, as they understood it. They recognise, too, that God's curse is upon their work. Would that there were in our country careers open to our young men where they could in legitimate and honorable ways show how to dare and die! Would that all offices in the army and navy were open to indigenous worth! For military virtues still exist even in Bengal. Would that the Government could understand that when the avenues of honorable ambition are closed, the aspiring spirit is not crushed, but only led astray into wrong paths! Would that these young men were not misled into crime! Would that all our young men could serve the Motherland with equal devotion, daring, truthfulness, steadfast loyalty and skill, in the righteous path of the loving service of every son and daughter of India! What a great pity it is that such qualities of head and heart should not only not be available for the uplifting of India, but on the contrary should earn their possessors the condemnation of all right-thinking men.

The Problem and the Path.

Both Government and the people are in the presence of a most difficult problem. To Government we have nothing to say. For, the bureaucracy may not understand that the highest courage and statesmanship consist in recognising one's mistake and retracing one's steps from the path of selfish tyranny, and that any further Russianization

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of the administration is sure to be confronted with a fiercer Russian response on the part of at least a section of the people. To our countrymen our humble advice is that they should steadily follow the path of righteousness in the midst of all temptations, trials and provocations. Let them not give way to panic. Let them not weakly believe that the mistake, however criminal and terrible, of a few young men, can obstruct their progress, if they are true to their country's cause. Let them do all that will make the nation physically, intellectually and spiritually strong. Let them dare, but dare righteously, and die, if need be, in the country's cause. Let them not indulge in cowardly and insincere exaggeration in condemning the misguided young men under trial. It is not for us to judge. God will judge. It may be easy for arm-chair critics who are incapable of risking or sacrificing anything for humanity to inveigh in unmeasured terms against persons who have made a terrible mistake, but who, nevertheless, were prepared to lose all that men hold dear, for their race and country;—persons whose fall has been great, because, perhaps, equally great was their capacity for rising to the heights of being: but, for ourselves, we pause awe-struck in the presence of this mysterious tragedy of mingled crime and stern devotion.

Deplore as we do the death of the two European women, and strongly condemn the murderous deed, we scorn to associate ourselves, even in our condolence and condemnation, with those Anglo-Indian editors and others who have not even a word of regret to express when brutal Anglo-Indians kill inoffensive and defenceless Indians or assault helpless Indian women. Whatever feelings we express, we must do independently and in measured terms.

The Gita and Bomb-throwing.

The discovery that at the Manicktala "Bomb College" the *Gita* was studied and taught seems to have made that book an object of suspicion. It seems to be forgotten that there is nothing, no sacred book, which cannot be or has not been made a wrong use of. Has not the Bible been used to support the slow burning of innocent men, women, boys and girls at the stake as heretics or witches, and the horrible tortures of the Inquisition? Are these less diabolical and horrible than political assassination?

There is certainly justification or, at any rate, palliation of some kinds of manslaughter in the *Gita*. For instance, *Srikrishna*, in order to persuade *Arjuna* to fight, says:—

> "He who regardeth this (*i. e.* the soul) as a slayer and he who thinketh he is slain, both of them are ignorant. He slayeth not, nor is he slain. He is not born, nor doth he die, nor having been, ceaseth he any more to be; unborn, perpetual, eternal and ancient, he is not slain when the body is slaughtered."

But here *Srikrishna* was persuading *Arjuna* to engage in righteous war. Of course, we say nothing here regarding the soundness of the argument. We would only remind Christian critics that thanksgiving services are held in Christian churches even when a weak nation is crushed and robbed of its independence in unrighteous war.

The need for Protection—A case in point.

During the closing quarter of the last century, an unjustifiable tendency grew up in England to look upon all the teachings of the Economists of the Free Trade School as axiomatic truths holding good for all times and countries. The Free Traders of the Cobden School had foretold an era of expansion of English commerce, and the events that followed the adoption of Free Trade in England amply bore out these predictions. But the case of England was considerably different from those of other countries, and what was good and beneficial for her, might have been found to be otherwise for other nations if they had committed the folly of imitating her. This fallacy of absolutism, as Knies terms it, tainted all her dealings with her dependencies, and Free Trade was forced upon India much to her ruin, as the history of her economic activity abundantly shows. Amid all the turmoil of *doctrinaire* teaching, it was blissfully ignored that even Mill recommended some sort of protection for the nascent industries of a country struggling to turn out manufactures for which it is fitted, in the face of cosmopolitan competition. India has raw products, such as cotton, hides, oilseeds, &c., for many lucrative industries, at her own doors; and it can

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not be denied that labour and capital, the other two requisites of production, are not wanting. But she has much ado to prevent her rising industries from being throttled by the merciless competition of bounty-fed manufactures of alien countries, and the policy* of the Home Government dictated by an unblushing and sole regard for the interests of Lancashire. Leaders of Indian opinion are not sparing themselves in a demand for the protection of our rising industries, but without success. The tale which comes from Bombay of how an important branch of Indian industry has been elbowed out of its own legitimate field by the competition of an alien country should supply much food for reflection to the *doctrinaire* statesmen at the helm of Indian affairs. The Maneckjee Petit Cotton Mills of Bombay are monuments of a successful and capable enterprise fed by Indian capital and worked entirely under Indian management. Several years back, the proprietors added a hosiery department to the main cotton enterprise, and for several years contested the market successfully with English imports. Forty to fifty kinds of patterns were being turned out, and changes were introduced *pari passu* with the fluctuations of fashion and demand. This branch of the Mills alone was working at a steady profit of 30 to 35 rupees per cent. per year; and even the later cheap imports of Spain and Italy failed to make any impression on the demand for their outturns. Four years back the Japanese turned their attention to the Indian market, and began to dump it with cheap outturns of their own which can not certainly stand in a line with those of Bombay in point of durability. The Japanese, aided by the bounty their Government gave them, could contrive to undersell the Bombay outturns; and the profits of the Petit Mills fell year after year till they have been obliged finally to close their hosiery department. What have our rulers to say to this? Even Adam Smith, the arch-apostle of Free Trade, looks upon the imposition of tariff duties against the bounty-fed manufactures of those alien countries which are beating us down in our own market, as justifiable. The rising match industry of our country has its own tale of woe against the competition of Japan. And will not the Government listen before it is too late? Verily, India is being governed in her own interests!

May we remind our Swadeshi and boycotting friends, too, that Japan is not a friend of India, but a rival?

N. H. SETALVAD.

* Note the Excise Duty on cotton goods.

Picketting near liquor-shops.

We pointed out in our last number that in Poona the English Magistrate made picketting near liquor-shops an offence, probably because, it would, if allowed, result in loss of revenue. But there is another important reason. If picketting be admitted to be lawful in the case of liquor, where is the line to be drawn? How can you then make it illegal in the case of shops selling Manchester cloth, for instance? To be consistent, therefore, it is better to set at naught the dictates of morality and treat picketting as an offence under all circumstances.

The higher Hindu attitude towards caste.

Foreigners make a great mistake, when they think that only from the standpoint of another civilisation are Hindus able to see the evils of caste. That this is an error, all our history shows. It may be, of course, that the true significance of the presence of the Pariah in India lies in his witness to the comparative gentleness and humanity of our forefathers. Other Aryan peoples have exterminated the non-Aryan races whom they found to have settled before them in the countries they wished to inhabit. Where in Europe to-day are the congenitors of the Lapp? Where the other aboriginal races which inhabited Europe before the incursions of the Aryans? In India, however, Toda and Bhil and Sonthal dwell side by side with Brahmin and Rajput.

Yet this preservation of extra-Aryan elements in contiguity with the Aryan, has undoubtedly had its disadvantages. It has accustomed us to the sight of social inequality in an emphasised form, and acquiescence in social inequality always degrades a higher class much more than a lower. Nothing more be-means a man than the vanity of rank. Nothing is more vulgar than the glamour of one's own importance. But has India been without souls to feel this truth? Nay far deeper than this, has she had none to feel compassion for the

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lowly and oppressed, none to offer himself on their behalf, and give a whole life in their service, hour by hour?

Who could say this, that knew the history of Buddha? What about the great heart of Ramanuja, casting away salvation, that, from the height of the gateway of Conjeeveram, he might enfranchise the Pariah? What about Tukaram of Maharashtra, Guru Nanak in the Punjab, and Chaitanya in Bengal?

Truly we Indians need to-day to unify caste. Truly we must turn about, and apply ourselves to the education and elevation of the out caste and the low caste. But we take this message from our own teachers, and not from foreign critics. Nor are we prepared to admit that such critics have ever yet understood our institutions, or that their history has yet been written, in its true proportions.

The message of unity took the form, in earlier and exclusively theocratic ages, of the gospel of pity and aid. To-day it takes the form of the assertion of a common right. The passive wars of the future will enroll the shoemaker and the washerman, the water-carrier and the sweetmeat-seller, as soldiers, on one footing with Brahmin and knight. But it will not be the higher stooping to the lower, or the lower rising to the higher. It will be the coming together of brethren for the ransom of their Mother. This is nationality, the building of a nation, and in the eyes of the nation, there can never be caste. Caste is the concern of the individual, of the family, of the Samaj. But all the children of the country are equally her children, in the eyes of India. And Tantia Bhil is not less an Indian hero than Prithi Rai. In the great confraternity of the nation, whose birth our times see, the work that religious teachers yearned to accomplish, is done spontaneously, in a flash of impulse, by a few eager lads. The Volunteers at the *Ardhodaya Yoga* were carrying out the divine social nihilism of the seers and saints as truly as any order of monks they might have founded. But we must not forget that it is the work and teachings of the saints and prophets that come to blossom in such moments. Our struggles are not blind, nor doomed to defeat. Why? Because great souls have proclaimed, all down the ages, that the true aims of our society are this and this. In the achievement of Nationality, we reap in a moment the fruit of ages of thought and prayer. Buddha teaches us, Chaitanya, Nanak and Ramanuja teach us, in what sense caste is only a passing convention, to be destroyed in an instant, when we know ourselves as one.

National Vitality and the Mass.

How important it is to educate and otherwise raise our depressed classes will appear from the following observation of Mr. Gladstone:—

"It is interesting to observe, by the light of history, how the most durable vitality of a people resides in the mass, while the energies of mere class, or of any branch socially separate from the trunk, are liable to exhaustion if they are not refreshed by popular contact; as water taken from the sea grows foul, while the sea itself is ever fresh."

This plainly shows what we have urged frequently that caste should be abolished. As a first step its exclusive spirit, that which makes certain classes "holy" or superior and other classes "untouchable" or inferior, because of their birth, should be destroyed. That all classes may be practically treated as equal, the lever of education, general and industrial should be applied to raise their moral and material condition. The pioneer indigenous movement in this direction has been started, as far as we know, by Mr. V. R. Shinde of the Bombay *Prarthana Samaj*. His noble work, we are glad to note, is making good progress. Practical steps are being taken in Bengal also.

Bombay Philanthropy.

We record with pleasure two other recent instances of practical philanthropy in the Bombay Presidency. One is Mr. Malabari's "*Seva-Sadan*," which, as the name indicates, will teach Indian women nursing and other kinds of work done by Sisters of Mercy in the West. The other is the *Mahila Vidyalaya* founded by that unostentatious and genuine patriot and reformer, Prof. Karve, founder of the Poona Hindu Widows' Home. About this girls' school, a correspondent writes to a Bombay paper:—

"In a small house in Narayan Peth, Poona City, not far from Lakdi Phul, is to be found the tiny beginning, at least on this side of India, of what will one day prove the social regeneration of the country. Not content with the grand success of his first venture, the Widows' Home at Hingne Budrek, no sooner had that institution been safely established and suitably housed, than the plucky and indefatigable founder, Professor

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Karve, set to work upon his latest scheme, which is just now at the stage that I have mentioned. The experiment is of a double nature, dealing with two great and closely inter-related subjects, *viz.* female education, and the raising of the marriageable age of girls. As these propositions naturally come from the reformer, the second must evidently precede the first, because until girls are allowed to remain at school after the age at which marriage usually removes them, their education cannot progress beyond a very elementary standard. What Professor Karve therefore is now trying to do is to persuade the parents of girls to allow them to remain at his new school, the *Mahila Vidyalaya*, as he has called it, until they have reached the age of 20—a pretty thorough-going innovation—in return for which they are to be given a free education. And already no less than twelve high caste families have actually agreed to support the scheme, and have placed their girls in the Home, for Home it is, too, as well as school. I should mention that the Institution is conducted in every way on strictly orthodox principles and that, therefore, it has secured the confidence of the upper castes for whom principally it has been established. It seems to me of little use to expect much social reform amongst the lower and uneducated castes until the higher and influential castes generally have been brought to see the error of some of their ways. The Brahmans and other superior classes still exercise great influence over, and command considerable respect from, their social inferiors. To endeavour therefore that this influence shall be exerted in the cause of reform is surely a very obvious and very primary line of effort."

Female Education in Bengal.

The Pioneer, in a recent article on Female Education in Bengal, makes the following remark, in its usual elegant style :—

"It is true that political agitators leave female education out of their programme, but this may be traced to their usual disregard to the real requirements of the country."

By way of reply, we would quote the following guarded and cautious observations from the Report on the Progress of Education in Eastern Bengal and Assam during the years 1901-2—1906-7, Vol. I, paragraph 205, published by the Government of that Province :—

"There is, however, another aspect of the case which cannot be overlooked, and which will, indeed, intrude itself in the course of the following paragraphs. The total expenditure, direct and indirect, from public funds upon female education forms 37 per cent., and the direct expenditure 7·2 per cent., of the whole expenditure from these sources upon education. *It may be fairly asked whether the State has sufficiently emphasised its approval of such efforts as are being made, by the generous allocation of money to be used expressly and solely for their furtherance.** Training facilities and special inspecting agencies are totally lacking; the spread of education, of however low a standard, of however superficial a nature, may reasonably be expected (as the figures of the next paragraph suggest), to follow the clear-marking of funds for this purpose."

* The Italics are ours.

Herein lies the whole secret of our failure, as the phenomenal progress of Japan in education proves, by contrast, to demonstration.

The exclusion of Indians from foreign countries.

Indians have been sought to be excluded from various countries in Africa and America, notably from British territory, on various pretexts, *viz.*, that they are dirty, that the climate and labour conditions in those countries do not suit them, that they create insanitary surroundings, that they lower the standard of living, that they accept lower wages, &c. Since the bomb-throwing scare, other pretexts (not entirely new) have attained prominence. It is now asserted (and it may be a pure invention for aught we know) that Indians are engineering the terrorist movement from the American Pacific Coast, from Vancouber and from England! We have no doubt, a new *Manu Smriti* will soon be promulgated forbidding sea-voyage for all Indians, irrespective of caste, creed or race. Only the new code will not be as honest as old *Manu* was; it will appear in some philanthropic garb in harmony with Western hypocrisy.

The real reason for the Indian's exclusion from foreign countries was given by Lord Selborne in a speech which was delivered nearly two months ago at Klerksdorp. Said he :—

"I have seen people pleading, as the reason why larger immigration of British Indians must be prevented, that the British Indians all live such a very insanitary and dirty life that they are a danger to the community. That is not true. There are dirty Indians, just the same as there are dirty whites, but of the race as a whole it is not true. In the same way I have heard those who are the champions of the Indians say that it is only the lazy and drunken white men who are afraid of them. That is untrue. What is the real truth? The truth is you have the contact of two totally different civilisations, Eastern and Western. We Westerns naturally think ours is the best, and the Easterns think theirs is the best. It is quite unnecessary to make any comparison between them. It has been written in indelible characters, "East is East, and West is West." Now there are certain parts of the world where the two cannot meet in competition because of the climate, and I think that England and Holland are apparently places of that kind. Again, white men cannot really struggle in competition on the plains of India. But if you get a climate like ours—this extraordinary wonderful South African climate of ours—or corresponding climate, say, on the American continent.

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East and West can both live and thrive and meet in competition.

"The question is this, that, even assuming every white man and every Asiatic that come in competition are both of them of the highest moral character, and as man to man, each as good as he can be, the white man cannot compete with the Asiatic, for this simple reason, that the white man's civilisation is more expensive and complicated than that of the Eastern, and unless he adopts the Eastern civilisation he cannot compete with the Eastern. That is the whole question. He cannot adopt the Eastern system. We don't want him to adopt the Eastern, any more than the Eastern is prepared to adopt the Western, and therefore it is simply a conflict of two impossibles, and the white man of the highest type of his race, living according to the standard of his race, cannot compete on equal terms with the Asiatic of the highest type, and living according to the standard of his race, because the standard of the white man is essentially dearer than the standard of the other."

It is clear then that, other conditions being equal, the white man can not compete with the Oriental. But is it only or chiefly because the white man's standard is essentially dearer than that of the latter?

Mr. S. M. Mitra on Russian Superiority.

It was left to Mr. S. M. Mitra of all men to point out in the *Pall Mall Gazette* that in one respect Russian rule is better than British rule. He points out that the lately-published Transvaal Blue-books, Cd. 3,887 of January and Cd. 3,892 of February, show that for India and Indians the whole matter of their admission to the Transvaal is not yet terminated, and that the arrangement which has been agreed to, namely, that certain Indians are to be admitted on some system of "temporary permits"—in a word, of "passports," is of an extraordinary character. And the summary of official documents which he appends clearly supports him in the conclusion at which he arrives that the practical result of the correspondence that has taken place will be that only "British Indians of superior standing" will henceforth be admitted to the Transvaal, as visitors, under these "temporary permits." In other words, for certain residents of the British Empire passports will be required for admission to another part of that Empire. With perfect justice, Mr. Mitra exclaims:—

"Why, even Russia does not require this from her subjects. The Mahomedans of Bokhara and Khiva, portions of the Russian Empire, are not restricted in moving about within that Empire. Again, consider America. The negro, admittedly the lowest form of humanity, is allowed to move about the United States as freely as any white person; he is in the full sense a citizen. Any of the subjects of the Sultan may travel from Constantinople to Mecca without passport. Russia and Turkey, backward countries, require passports from foreigners only, not from their subjects; our Imperial Government have agreed to passports being required within the Empire. Is this the boasted Imperialism, Liberalism, Civilisation of England? The British workman can get a passport to Russia and Turkey, and stay there; the British-Indian can travel in despotic Russia or barbarous Turkey by asking the India Office for a passport, which he is granted; but if he wishes to visit the Transvaal, where his countrymen have shed their blood in hoisting the British flag, he is not sure of getting a passport thither. Liberalism and "passports within the Empire" sounds an absurd combination; in practice it is found that the Liberal Government have taken up that inconsistent position. Is it meant, in short, that the inferior Indian is not to be admitted to the Transvaal, even as a visitor, because he has a brown skin? What kind of citizenship of the British Empire does the inferior Indian then possess? Are there two kinds of citizenship, one of British India, the other of the British Empire? Where does Liberalism or Imperialism come in?"

The power of India's past.

It appears childish to measure the Indian problem by Russia or by Crete. In one way the Indian problem is simpler. In another way, the Indian people are better prepared for struggle. The bureaucracy in Russia are not physically distinguishable. This is an immense advantage to India. India again has been specialising for thousands of years for the realisation of ideas. Now a struggle which proceeds from an *idea* is an organic struggle. It is not like a chance outbreak of appetite or lust of violence. The Indian people are a people of heroic memories. Their past greatness is latent in every hour of their present.

They have been for the past 50 years like a people stunned under the pressure of foreign ideas. The new form that education took, made it appear useless to them, made them appear incapable of assimilating it. This was merely because it was unaccompanied by any great central impulses of a moral and spiritual character. These great central impulses are now present. They are Nationality! The Civic Ideal! The fullest possible life for Woman and the People! And round these, all sorts of modern knowledge falls into its true place in Indian, as in other life. Formerly only those who put foremost some idea of *conduct* were able to avail themselves of their new knowledge. The Brahmo, the Arya, for

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instance, had centres to work out from. Now all have a centre.

Now that they have such a centre, as they proceed to work out round it into fulness of life, their latent knowledge of their own greatness will wake into new consciousness. Water will always rise to the level it has once reached. A people with a great past can always recover it. To the new ideals of the passing age—the ideals of helping the helpless, of protecting the unprotected, of enfranchising the disinherited and oppressed, we must bring the religious passion of all the past of our forefathers. Hinduism has been no ordinary faith. A religion that brought men to hurl themselves down mountain sides and men and women to burn themselves alive, under no compulsion from without, is an immeasurable power, and will yet prove itself so, in the Remaking of *Swadesh*.

Emancipation of Woman in the West.

The struggle at present going on in England for the extension of political suffrage to women, is one which cannot fail to waken attention in other countries also, to the question of what constitutes "emancipation" for women.

In India, where even men have no suffrage, there is a tinge of bitterness in the hearing we give to the arguments of energetic Western women, urging that without it they can scarcely regard themselves as full-fledged human beings. 'One law for me, and another for you!' is very evidently John Bull's motto, with regard to those Parliamentary privileges which form his ideal of human freedom.

In this country, again, political and administrative power have so often been held with such conspicuous success by women, that we look with some amazement on Western reluctance to bestow on them the rights of citizenship. We suppose that the actual extension of voting-power which women's suffrage will involve in England, is hardly likely to work out into any progression for fine causes. Imperialism, we much fear, will receive an accession of vigour from the feminine vote. One of the great reasons for conferring the suffrage on women immediately, was, we should have thought, that the best interests of mankind and of human morality might be advanced thereby. We should have imagined that the sale of alcohol, which forms one of the great blots on English civilisation, might, by conferring political value on the wishes of women have been restrained and limited. This confidence, however, is set at naught by the fact that in the great internal reform connoted by the Licensing Bill, women, as a measure of political expediency, have deliberately ranged themselves behind publicans and brewers, as a fighting force. This defiance of the highest moral interests of the community on behalf of a selfish partisanship, this reckless subordination of the good of the State to the special desires of their own limited section, is a very grave portent, with regard to the future political dignity of Western women.

Militarism in English Schools.

We in India are unable to realise the attitude taken up in England of late, in the matter of militarism. Every boys' school now has its rifle practices and its lessons in scouting. One may at any time, in the suburbs of London, meet with a class of lads, from some neighbouring scholastic establishment, marching through the streets, shouldering their bayonets, and clad in simple uniform. Those who have the power have ordained that so many Englishmen, henceforth, shall count as an equal number of shots, and more than this, as a reliable body of disciplined troops, for purposes of offence and defence. The recent change of system, from Volunteers to Territorials, provides not only for more intensive military training of these forces, but also for their taking up the whole burden of home-defence, on any occasion when it may be thought necessary to draft off the whole of the regular army for foreign service. Cattle have horns. Horses have hoofs. Few animals are without some means of self-defence. The Englishman, therefore, must grow up with his gun. But what of those in India whom he calls "the enemy?"

Dr. Rodolphe Broda on Indian Art.

Dr. Rodolphe Broda, Editor of *The International*, has contributed to the January number of that journal (a new monthly, published simultaneously in English, French and German), an article on 'The Future of Art in East and West,' that betrays in every sentence gross ignorance of Oriental Art,

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and of about all the problems suggested by the title of his article.

He begins by saying that—

"The culture systems of the various nations of Asia are utterly distinct, and there is as great a gulf, for instance, between the two most important civilisations of the East, that of China and that of India, as there is between that of either of these and of the culture of Europe. This is no less true of the province of art than of any other sphere of cultural developement."

Dr. Broda appears to be in complete ignorance of the influence of Indian on Chinese Art and of the continual action and reaction between the two. He next tells us, and this time truly, that—

"The artist of India is inspired for the most part by a religious motive; he is purely an idealist, and a stranger to the conceptions and methods of realism,"

but appears to be quite unconscious that in so saying, he is paying tribute to the real greatness of Indian Art.

He mentions Mr. Tagore—

"Who is actively trying to eradicate Western influences from the work of India's young painters. To what extent it will be possible for him and his co-workers, here as elsewhere, to revive the methods of a bygone day, employing the resources of the modern principle of state-aid, the next few years will show."

The modern principle of state-aid! If there has been one thing more characteristic of British rule than any other, it has been the *withdrawal* of state patronage from the indigenous arts. Such statements reveal Dr. Broda's profound ignorance of the whole subject he attempts to deal with.

"The only great artist in India to-day (!) Mr. Raji (*sic*) Varma received his art education when European influences still dominated the schools. His technique is essentially Western, although his ideas are pre-eminently in harmony with the intellectual and religious spirit of ancient India."

The last statement is completely at variance with the facts. Ravi Varma has merely presented theatrical treatments of Indian legend, in a pretty sensational way, worthy of the Royal Academy itself. Almost any student of the art schools in Europe could have done the same thing better. Ravi Varma's work is altogether unimaginative, and quite valueless as a manifestation of Indian culture.

"The figure of Buddha...is always represented both in Siamese and Tibetan art in the national attitude of repose, squatting on his crossed legs, lost in introspective contemplation of the eternal verities. For centuries the goal of Buddhist art has been to attain to evermore perfect power of presentment of this characteristic spiritual attitude of the Buddha; in every other respect, such as the portrayal of saints and of the companions of the Master, the art of Tibet never rises above the barbaric level."

These statements show either a simple lack of acquaintance with Tibetan art, or an incapacity for appreciating art when seen. Of Chinese art we are told—

"Here are no transcendental motives; here is no idealism. The Art of China seeks its objects in everyday life. Even when depicting legendary scenes and figures the Chinaman remains the soberest of realists. Chinese Art has had little to bequeath to posterity (!), yet if it be the master's highest merit if the pupil excels him, it has a claim to the undying reverent remembrance of the world, for the Art of Japan, superior to every other on earth (!), is derived entirely from that of China."

In art, Japan is to China what Rome was to Greece; but Dr. Broda is apparently quite ignorant of mediæval Chinese and Japanese religious art. Has he, we wonder, ever turned over the pages of the 'Kokka' or read Okakura's 'Ideals of the East?'

Finally, of the eight illustrations of 'Oriental Art' given with the article, all are trivial and paltry; even the Tibetan Buddha is the most wretched example one could find; Sowan Chikusa's 'Devout and Sceptic' is positively vulgar; the 'Statue of an Indian Pundit' (*sic*) from Benares is a revolting example of all that Indian art is not.

A. K. C.

Vikramaditya and the Vetal, by Nundo Lall Bose.

Through the dimness of reproduction, this picture speaks. Vikramaditya marches on through the night, while the skeleton-figure on his back curls itself weirdly about him, laughing hollowly at the defeat it foresees for the King. How uncanny is the Vetal! How childlike and determined Vikramaditya! The sketch is full of humour. It belongs of course to the grotesque side of art, and while we love not the grotesque, in and for itself, there can be no doubt that Indian fearlessness in dealing with it, is one of its greatest signs of strength and power.

Nevertheless we would remind all students of art that their true function is the revelation of the beautiful, the true, and the good. It is not the fugitive moments of personal experience, but the eternal and the universal, that come best to the world through them. Laughter is the salt and seasoning of life, but to cause it requires only a minor

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degree of genius, vastly more common than the power to paint a Sita or a Yudhishthira.

The story of this picture is as follows:—

"Three men were born in the city of Ujjayini on the same day and at the same time: the first was Vikramaditya, born in the king's house: the second, an oilman's son, and the third, a yogi or anchorite who was wont to kill all he could to sacrifice to Kali. This yogi killed the oilman's son and, plotting the destruction of king Vikrama, had the body of the oilman's son hung from a tree in a cemetery and asked Vikrama to go to the cemetery on a dark night and fetch the body which was possessed by a Vetal (vampire,) so that he might perform a human sacrifice before Kali. The yogi's intention was to sit on the body of the dead oilman's son and sacrifice king Vikrama to the goddess. The Vampire, while being carried by Vikrama, tells him the 25 tales—"Vetal-Panchavimsati." After each tale, the Vetal slips away to the cemetery, and each time Vikrama has to again bring him down from the tree. During the telling of the 25th tale, the Vetal speaks of the real intention of the yogi and persuades Vikrama to kill him and thus gain the merit of human sacrifice to Kali, thereby becoming the king of the world."

Hindus and Mahomedans of East Bengal in 1839.

The Topography of Dacca by Dr. Taylor, written in 1839 at the instance of the Medical Board at Fort William in Calcutta, is a book which amply repays perusal. The amount of scholarship and the spirit of research displayed by the learned author does him credit, considering the times in which he lived and wrote. In those days Mahomedan influence was still strong in the city of Dacca, the line of genuine Nawabs, called the Naib Nazims of Dacca, had not yet become extinct, and the pomp and pageantry of the Mogul Court had not passed into a dream. One feels interested to learn the nature of the relations between the Hindus and the Mahomedans in those times. In chapter ix, page 257 of Dr. Taylor's book, we get a glimpse of them. He says:—

"Religious quarrels between the Hindus and Mahomedans are of rare occurrence. *These two classes live in perfect peace and concord*, and a majority of the individuals belonging to them have even overcome their prejudices so far as to smoke from the same *hookah*."

With the total downfall of Mogul power, and the reduction of both the communities to a position of equality in subjection, one would think that greater amity would prevail among them in these days. If in East Bengal the fact is otherwise, as the authorities allege, there must be some special reason which counteracts this natural tendency. It is certainly a matter worth thinking out, and to the thinking mind the reason will not be slow to reveal itself in all its hideous nakedness.

Hospitals during Mahomedan rule.

Speaking of hospitals, the learned doctor makes some interesting observations:—

"Tenant, Mill, and other writers have asserted that there was no such establishment as an Hospital for the poor, until the time the Company acquired the country. This, there can be no doubt, is a mistake. Asylums for the poor and sick were established in different parts of the country, as early as the reign of Sultan Ala Addeen Hussain Sha, about the close of the 15th century, and subsequently it was ordered by Jehangire, that "hospitals be erected in all the great cities throughout the empire, and the charges for attendance and medicines be defrayed from the Khalsa;" and also "in every city as well as in Jahgeer as in Khalsa lands, refectories were ordered to be established according to the size of the place, where materials were daily prepared for the support of the poor inhabitants and for the refreshment of travellers." "The Dacca Hospital and Alms House were no doubt established in obedience to the above orders, and in justice to the Mogul Government, it must be observed that, the sum of Rs. 8,390-8 which they thus spent in charity is considerably more (considering the greater cheapness of provisions in those times) than the sum bestowed by Government on the several charitable establishments of the city in the present day. Besides this public allowance, collections were made at the Hosseini Dalaun during the Mohurrum, and at the Jumma Mushjid on the occasion of the Ead for the relief of the poor . . ." (Chapter X, page 318.)

Jute growing and unhealthiness in Eastern Bengal.

Among the causes of the depopulation of rural Bengal, malaria, cholera and other epidemics arising from a defective and poisoned water-supply are admitted to be the chief. In the low-lying districts of East Bengal, the water of the *bils*, lakes, and canals presents a dull brick colour during the months of August, September and October; noxious and miasmal exhalations envelop the atmosphere, and the air is thick with the putrid smell emanating from stagnant pools. Yet this is the water upon which the village folk have to depend entirely for drinking and cooking purposes. What is the cause of its discoloration and the fetid odour? They are solely due to jute-steeping. According to Government health-officers and experts, jute-steeping does not affect the quality of the water though it imparts an offensive smell to it. It is curious that common experience should run so counter to expert opinion. But here is

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what Dr. Taylor, himself a medical man, says on the subject :—

"*The steeping of* sunn *and* pat *in ponds in the vicinity of villages, appears to be not infrequently a cause of fever*;* and it is only a few months ago, that I had an opportunity of seeing in the person of an European gentleman, who had been residing in a tent, pitched near pits of this kind, a case of insidious remittent fever, attended with hepatic congestion, which there can be no doubt arose from this cause. During the process of the maceration of hemp, the most disagreeable odours are emitted, and it may be mentioned, that on account of its supposed unhealthiness, the Neapolitan Government oblige all the growers of this article in the vicinity of Naples to steep the plant in a small lake, assigned for this purpose, at some distance from the city." (Chapter XI, pages 331-2.)

It will be remembered that this was written in 1839, when the cultivation of jute was all but unknown. Jute is now the principal article of commerce in the Eastern districts of Bengal, and upon it depends the prosperity of a large number of Anglo-Indians. Bengali medical men of high position and repute declare that the steeping of jute in *bils* and tanks is a fruitful source of unhealthiness in the rural areas of East Bengal, and Dr. Taylor, as we have seen, was of the same opinion. Is there any connection between the opinion, now commonly received among Anglo-Indians, as to the supposed innocuousness of jute-growing, and the flourishing trade in that article which is almost entirely in their hands?

Dr. Suhrawardy's Presidential Address.

Dr. Abdulla al-Mamun Suhrawardy's presidential address at the Fourth Muhammadan Educational Conference held at Purnea is remarkable for its breadth of view, toleration, and religious and patriotic fervour. Islam has been so often associated with religious bigotry, fanaticism and intolerance that it gives us great pleasure to call attention to the following passages from his address, passages remarkable, too, for their literary excellence :—

"Yet Islam, the very name of your religion, indicates self-abnegation, self-surrender and self-sacrifice, and that spirit pervades all the religious functions and institutions of Islam. You cannot be totally unacquainted with that interpretation of the meaning of Islam. But yours is a mistaken idea of self-sacrifice. At the call for Jihad a thousand Muslims would rush forth and gladly lay down their lives for the holy faith. But it is harder to live than to die for Islam. In order to grasp the full meaning of life, you have only to look back and contemplate the grand and commanding personality of that Great Son of Arabia who was at once an emperor, a conqueror, a warrior, a poet, a philosopher, a prophet and a seer. Life—life not death—is writ large on the dramatic history of the achievements of Muhammad, the son of Abdullah. It was not by the vulgar Jihad, the holy war, with whose name and fame you are all familiar, that he established his empire in the hearts and imaginations of the faithful. It was by the Jihad ul-Akbar—the greater Jihad—the sacrifice of the self at the altar of duty. Not only he but every great man who has left his impress on the pages of Time, every one who has robbed death of its darkness and annihilation of its terrors, every man who has asserted himself above all his fellows, has done so by a supreme act of self-effacement, self-abnegation and self-denial. Prince Siddhartha abandons his royal heritage and dedicates his long life to the service of Humanity. He loses the kingdom of Kapilavastu. But wait and measure his gain. Enthroned on the hearts of countless millions, he rules to-day over a wider, vaster and more enduring empire, adored and worshipped as the Lord and Gautama, the Enlightened, the Buddha. Six centuries roll by. We witness the enactment of an aweful tragedy in Jerusalem, the city of peace. But the Cross, which wrung from the unwilling lips of the son of Mary the bitter cry of anguish and despair—"My Lord, my Lord, why hast thou forsaken me"—is to-day the Cross of Hope at which thousands of hopeless hands are clinging. Six centuries roll by. Once more we behold another man at Mecca, 13 years of whose ministry have been one long crucifixion, a humble fugitive from the city of his birth seeking an asylum in distant Yathrib. But to-day the name of the son of Abdullah is second only to that of Allah. The lips of his innumerable followers utter his name with reverence and respect five times a day. The cry of the Muezzin, at dawn and at sunset, wafts it from the pillars of Hercules to the Great Wall of China. Eternal life in the Hereafter is a reward of death in the Here. The Crown of Thorns is the price of the Crown of Immortality."

"I for one am proud to declare that the blood of the Aryans flows in my veins with that of the Semitics. A greater and a wider heritage becomes mine when I feel that I owe allegiance not only to Moses, Christ and Muhammad, but also that Zarathustra, Srikrishna and Gautama claim my homage. The Gita as much as the Gospel of Islam, belongs not to this race and that, but to whole humanity."

Every man to whom his religion, his country, or any cause is dear should bear well in mind that "it is harder to live than to die for" it.

Dr. Suhrawardy's remarks on patriotism are also noteworthy.

"The Muslim is often reproached for lack of patriotism. Yet it was the Prophet of Islam who declared patriotism to be a part of religion. It is true our sympathies travel beyond the bounds of India, that our *pati* is the whole world of Islam. But the true pan-Islamist, who dreams to unite the various sects of Islam, also longs to draw the Hindus and Muslims closer to each other; nay yearns for the dawn of a deeper and

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wider brotherhood of humanity existing under the ægis of the Imperialism of a universal religion."

The higher type of Western Patriotism.

If the Oriental associates Western patriotism with the spoliation of other peoples' territory, there is ample justification in contemporary and past history for such a view. But all European patriots are not inoculated with this sort of patriotism. For instance, note what Mazzini says:—

"I hate the monopolist, usurping nation, that sees its own strength and greatness only in the weakness and poverty of others."

"That is a poor and stunted people, whose foreign policy is 'one of aggrandisement and selfishness, whether it seeks them basely or buys glory at other men's expense.' Countries that cherish liberty at home and outrage it abroad, 'are fated to expiate their error through long series of isolation and oppression and anarchy.'" *Mazzini* (as quoted by Bolton King, pp. 303-304).

Mazzini on love of Country.

How inspiring are Mazzini's ideas of love of country!

"Country is not a territory; territory is only its base; country is the idea that rises on that base, the thought of love that draws together all that territory."

"O my brothers, love your country. Country is our house, the house that god has given us, the house that God has given us, setting therein a populous family, to love us and be loved by us, to understand us and be understood by us better and more readily than others are."

"Where the citizen does not know that he must give lustre to his country, not borrow from it, that country may be strong but never happy."

"Let country be incarnated in each one of you; each one of you feel and make himself responsible for his brothers; each of you so act that in yourselves men may respect and love your country."

"The honor of a country depends much more on removing its faults than on boasting of its qualities."

REVIEW

English.

New Ideas in India. By the Rev. John Morison. Macmillan, 1907. 7s. 6d.

Like a majority of English writers on Indian affairs, the Rev. John Morison is both ungenerous and misinformed. This is an almost inevitable consequence of the ordinary Christian attitude of religious self-conceit, the belief that Christianity is not merely one, but the only true revelation of divinity. This belief prevents the author from perfectly sympathizing with, and so from perfectly undersatnding the religions of India and the work of Christian missions there; the missionary may strive after impartiality, but his prejudice is a constant bias which cannot be done away with, till he understands, as every Hindu understands, that different religions are not mutually contradictory, but much rather mutually complementary; and that there neither can exist nor ought to be desired a universal world religion, or sect, as I should prefer to say here, which should replace all others. If the Divinity be infinite, it is certain that no one creed or revelation can reveal to finite minds the whole of Him. But this depth of comprehension we can hardly look for in the missionary, who could scarcely be such or wish to proselytize, if he believed, as we believe that "However men approach Me, even so do I welcome them, for the path men take from every side is Mine." Let us therefore take the proselytizing attitude for granted and speak of other matters. And first, a lesser matter, to convict our author of insufficient knowledge of his subject. It is hard to think that any one can have much studied Sri Sankaracharya's teachings, who persists in calling him Sankarachargya! (at least six times, not, therefore, a misprint). The Rev. author has much to say of pantheism, theism and polytheism in India; of idealism apparently he has never heard, as the word is never mentioned. He regards Hindu society now as "a vast polytheistic mass with a very thin, an often invisible, pantheistic film on the top"; we should rather say that the one essential and inseparable feature of Hinduism was idealism, expressed as such in the pure Vedanta philosophy, and in the empirical terms of pantheism, polytheism, monotheism and realism as a concession to the empirical consciousness of the reality of matter. We commend to the author a study of Deussen's 'Philosophy of the Upanishads'—a work with which he is evidently unacquainted; he may then be able to acquire some comprehension of the meaning of the terminology he employs. The author is evidently not an Oriental scholar; and if he were, we should find ourselves at a loss to account for his spellings 'Indostan' 'jogi', etc, But these and similar failings are due to ignorance, and may be overlooked, though not, I think, excused in one who should have, if in any way fitted for his life's work, a special understanding of Indian religion. Far more serious is the moral attitude of missionaries, as revealed in action and in this and other books by missionary authors. It seems to be thought that all is fair in love and war; but it is otherwise, and the missionary consciousness of superior revelation and benevolent intention do not absolve him from the moral responsibility belonging to the relations between man and man. Two aspects of the moral obliquity referred

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to, I shall now speak of in greater detail ; (1) rejoicing at the breakdown of non-Christian standards of morality, and (2) misrepresentation of Indian religion and civilization.

Rejoicing at the breakdown of non-Christian standards of morality. The endeavour to achieve this result and rejoicing at its achievement are made possible by the regular Christian association of morality with dogma. The consequence is deadly serious.

"The drift from the old moorings is a constant theme of discourse" (p. 8.). Take the question of caste ; our author informs us with evident pleasure that college training and railway travelling have greatly weakened the idea of pollution by bodily contact with a person of lower caste ; that in Darjiling, "Brahman names upon the signs of the liquor shops were distinctly in the majority. The sacerdotal caste, new style, had appreciated the chances of big profits and shut their eyes to the regulations of caste, which have relegated drink-sellers to a very low place in the scale. Brahmans are even said to figure among the contractors who supply beef, flesh of the sacred animal, to the British army in India." And so then, as our author expressly remarks, money, convenience, comfort and desire of personal advancement are prevailing against the rules of caste, more potently than missionary teaching; yet the western religious teacher, incredible as it may seem, is glad to witness the breakdown of a pagan code of honour without reference to the motives producing it, or distinction between one part and another of it. He has no sympathy for a social organization which relegated drinksellers to a very low place in the social scale. Not long ago a lady missionary in India was dismissed from her work for being a vegetarian ; is it to be wondered at that many Hindus believe that eating meat and drinking wine are essential parts of Christianity ?

Observe our authors attitude (quite typical) more closely, "The prohibition of the marriage of widows has already been referred to as bound up with caste ideas of marriage and with social standing, and as the most deeply rooted part of the social inferiority of women. By some at least the injustice has been acknowledged since many years. At Calcutta, between 1840 and 1850, Babu Matilal Seal promised Rs. 10,000 to any Hindu, poor or rich, who would marry a widow of his own faith, but no one came forward." He does not see what a magnificent tribute to the Hindu character this is. Offer £. 10,000 (less than a really equivalent sum) to any English churchman who will marry a *divorcee* of his own faith and what would be the result ! This may be taken as a parallel case. It is *geis** for a churchman to marry a divorcee. Suppose that he does so. *We* may consider that it is not a sin ; but whether it is so for him depends upon himself ; if he believes it right we may respect him for bravely breaking through the tradition of his clan : but if he yields because the *divorcee* is a wealthy woman, or even because he loves her, still thinking union wrong, what then ? So it is with caste restrictions. Those of us who are 'advanced' *may* hold many or most of them to be injurious or unpractical ; all honour if we are brave enough to act up to our conviction. But if we are tempted to break through some *geis* of our caste which is in itself a noble rule of life, nay if we break through *any* rule from low and sordid, or even selfish and personal motives, what then ? It is all one to the missionary. Caste is of Hinduism, therefore break it down at all costs, in any way. Alas ! that he cannot see how degrading to individual and national character is such action, how a slackening of the bonds of honour for such reasons deadens the conscience and lowers the standard of morality ! And afterwards, will the Christian *commandment* bind those whom the Hindu *principle* has failed to hold ? The point of view is hopelessly immoral ; it is true that the *fetters* of caste must be broken, but it must be by good men and with noble motive, if the national righteousness is to survive the shock. One word more on our author's attitude towards caste. After quoting authorities to show that the most essential characteristic of caste is the refusal of intermarriage, he proceeds "Even Indian Christians are reluctant to marry below their own caste, and value a matrimonial alliance with a higher. *To that residuum of caste, when it becomes the residuum, one could not object*" (italics mine). The 'essential characteristic' of caste may be forgiven in a Christian—not in a Hindu ! It is a fair example of the special pleading characteristic of the whole position.

Let us turn to the second question of the *misrepresentation of Indian religion and civilization.* The Rev. John Morison does not provide such conspicuous examples of missionary misrepresentation, as are to be found in many other mission books ; that is to say, he makes few or no obviously and wholly false statements ; but he continually presents his facts in a false light, generally by dwelling on the evil side only, his lack of imagination and sympathy preventing him from seeing the good ; so that his references to many matters involve a serious *suppressio veri.* Referring to the banyan tree preserved by Akbar when building his fort at Allahabad, and still visited by worshippers, he does not see the greatness of the Musalman Emperor's tolerance, but only the 'blind conservatism of the Hindu. He complains as usual of the degraded position of Indian women, as compared with the equality of the sexes that prevails in Britain, 'at least in greater degree' ; but he does not remind us that while the married woman's property Act is a recent thing in England, Musalman women have always possessed the right to hold property independently of the husband. He says that in the matter of marriage the rights of man alone are regarded ; but some of us have observed that that is the opinion of some Englishmen and women concerning English Marriage Laws, and we are inclined to agree. "Do British readers realise that in an Indian novel of the middle and upper classes there can hardly be a bride older than twelve ; there can be no love story of the long wooing and waiting of the lovers" ? We do not think it so regrettable that sentimental novels are not available in quantity for the middle and upper classes ! Indian character is moulded on the heroes and heroines of the great epics. Yet these epics are ignored in the Mission schools and replaced by modern Western literature, often a curious jumble of books selected by an educational department with a predominant Anglicist basis. It is expected that Tennyson's 'Idylls of the King' and 'In Memoriam' will do what the noblest of the world's epics is supposed not to have done (p. 14).

* Geis (Irish) a prohibition or taboo ; corresponding in many respects to the Indian caste restrictions and sense of honour.

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Our author speaks of "Suttee or the burning of a widow upon the dead husband's pyre" as a barbarous custom. We agree that compulsion, whether physical or moral, is so, and we rejoice at the legal suppression of a great evil. (The agitation that led to the legal suppression of sati was started by a Hindu). But the constant suggestion that the past in this and other respects was wholly barbarous, and the present period the reverse as the result of western and particularly Christian influence we strongly deprecate. The author is an Englishman; has his pulse never been stirred by the triumphant love of Brynhild's death on Sigurd's funeral pyre? Or at the death of Deirdre, after the murder of the Sons of Usnach? Is there nought noble in a people whose women would not even in death be parted from their fellows; who have again and again accepted death by fire (like that Southern bride of a Rajput prince, Padmavati) rather than the prospect of dishonour? The day of sati is over; what was at first the spontaneous devotion of a loving woman, became a social code, binding *sometimes* even upon the quite unwilling; we cannot bear even the possibility of willing sacrifice; we are not cast in that heroic mould. But do not therefore judge all those who were, or deem that we are altogether nobler; see to it that our ideal be as high, not less high, though expressed in other ways.

A remarkable feature of the missionary attitude, is the opposition to the Indian recognition of the unseen, and belief in the inspiration of her own teachers. "Exactly like the Brahmans, the other (sic) new Mohammedan sect, in the modern rational spirit have refined away their faith to a theism or deism purged of the supernatural. Mahomed's inspiration and miracles are rejected". The Modern Christian can conceive of two types of being only—God, and man; yet there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in his philosophy. To-day the missionaries "are devoting their best energies to forcing round pegs into square holes, destroying in the process, poetry and mythology and folk-custom, as well as rare and beautiful virtues that they are too ignorant to appreciate. The same thing happened long ago, when emissaries from Rome trampled out Irish culture, lest it should make against the faith. It happened again in the past century, when the Scottish Highlands were rendered barren of their folk-tales by the efforts of the Kirk, now far too enlightened to countenance its own vandalism; but the wild growths can never be replanted!" (Sister Nivedita).

We are told that in the "new theism of educated Indians we may note that the conception of the deity as female is practically gone." We deem this, *if true*, an incalculable loss, as a limitation of the divine conception in us; if the protestant can realize only the fatherhood of God (for which we suspect St. Paul's ideas on woman to be responsible reinforced by those of Knox and Callvin), we think that his conception of divinity is more limited and less beautiful than the Indian or ancient Egyption.

One word more upon the 'sense of sin'; it is true that the educated Hindu prefers the term 'ignorance' to the theological term 'sin', anticipating thus the trend of Western Science; but that is not equivalent to saying that he has not a conscience; or that he does not strive for the ideal and recognize his failure. Did not the consciences of the Brahman drinksellers above referred to give them trouble? What are the hymns of many a Southern Saint but confessions of weakness, and prayer for help? We think that the sense of sin has been immensely over-insisted on by Christians, and that the pagan sense of honour is in many ways a nobler thing. We think the Indian idea of pollution—a sense of being out of touch with the infinite—more valuable than the sense of offence against a definite commandment, which in the Christian sense is 'sin.' To what length the Christian missionary is prepared to go in requiring a confession of sin and request for forgiveness, may be seen from the following quotation. "Or if further illustration of the incompatibility of the ideas of pantheism and sin, be needed, listen to the striking prayer of Sankarachargya (sic), the pantheistic (sci. idealist) Vedantist of the eighth century A. D., with whom is identified the pantheistic (sci. idealist) motto, 'One only, without a second.' It attracts our attention because Sankarachargya (sic) is professedly confessing sins.

"Thus runs the prayer: "O Lord, pardon my three sins: I have in contemplation clothed in form thee who art formfess; I have in praise described thee who art ineffable; and in visiting shrines I have ignored thine omnipresence." Beautiful expressions indeed... expressions fit to be recited in prayer by any man of any creed who feels that God is a Spirit and omnipresent! But in a Christian prayer such expressions would only form a preface to confession of one's own *moral* sin." The writer of these words is not content with this perfect prayer of one who is reverenced by Hindus as Christ is reverenced by Christians, but requires from him a confession of sin, as from a naughty child, and a prayer for forgiveness, a prayer to be let off. With this evidence of his position, we are content to close this criticism of the book before us.

A. K. C.

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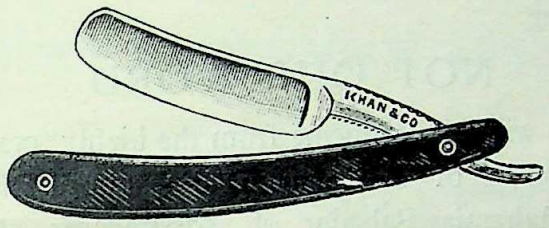

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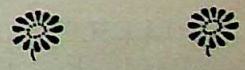

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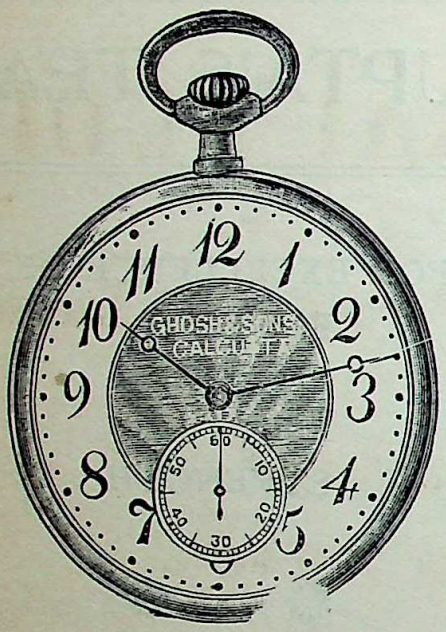

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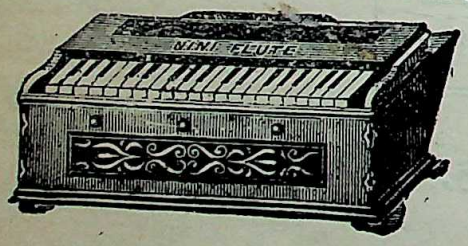

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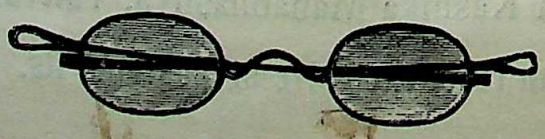

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OPINIONS OF THE PRESS

The Sanjibani—

(Translation) we are glad to find that the *Modern Review* for May has been ready even before the end of April. First there is an article full of new truths by Jagadis Chandra Basu, the scientist of worldwide fame. * * * The renowned English journalist Mr. Nevinson, when on a visit to the City College (Calcutta), seeing the *Modern Review* in its reading-room observed that it was the best Review in India, and even in England there were not more than two or three monthlies to rival it. *The Modern Review* has been maintaining its fitness for this high praise.

সঞ্জীবনী—

আমরা দেখিয়া সুখী হইলাম যে এপ্রিল মাস শেষ না হইতেই মে মাসের মডার্ণ রিভিউ প্রস্তুত হইয়াছে। প্রথমেই জগদ্বিখ্যাত বৈজ্ঞানিক জগদীশচন্দ্র বসু মহাশয়ের একটি নূতন তত্ত্বপূর্ণ প্রবন্ধ আছে। অন্যান্য উৎকৃষ্ট প্রবন্ধের কথা পরে লিখিব। বিখ্যাত ইংরাজ সংবাদপত্র-লেখক নেভিন্‌সন সাহেব সিটি কলেজ দেখিতে আসিয়া তথাকার পাঠাগারে মডার্ণ রিভিউ দেখিয়া বলিয়াছিলেন যে মডার্ণ রিভিউ ভারতের শ্রেষ্ঠ মাসিক পত্র, এবং বিলাতেও ইহার সমকক্ষ মাসিক পত্র দুই তিন খানি অপেক্ষা অধিক নাই। মডার্ণ রিভিউ এই উচ্চ প্রশংসার উপযুক্ততা রক্ষা করিয়া আসিতেছে।

The Indian Messenger :—

The Modern Review for May is unusually interesting.

The Indian Nation :—

Punctually on the 1st of May we received the *Modern Review* for May. In appearance and the variety and quality of contents this issue is up to the mark. The opening article is one by Dr. J. C. Bose on "Automatism in Plant and Animal." The second is a story by Mr. Rider Haggard. And then we have articles such as "Karma and Free-Will," "The Great War in Bengal, 1658-1660", and "If Russia ruled India." The Review is an honour to Indian journalism, and we only hope it will get the patronage it deserves and will live.

The Indian People :—

The May number of this review, which is published in Calcutta where the office has been removed, heightens the great reputation which this periodical has already established. The place of honour is given to a paper by Dr. J. C. Bose entitled "Automatism in plant and animal." It is an exposition in popular language of Dr. Bose's epoch-making discovery about response to stimulus in plant and animal. On a fly-leaf over the cover it is well remarked :—"We believe the "Modern Review" is the first Indian review to publish such an article by so eminent a scientist." It would be an honour to any periodical in the world to publish a contribution from the pen of Dr. J. C. Bose, who will rank as one of the greatest scientists of all time. Mr. Rider Haggard's serial is still running, though the instalments are rather brief. The articles are numerous and varied. The notes on current topics are particularly bright and full of keen insight.

The Hindoo Patriot :—

The "Modern Review", the excellent Monthly well-known to the public, has been published in Calcutta this month. The May number has appeared punctually and is a variety dish like its predecessors. The first article is Dr. J. C. Bose's "Automatism in Plant and Animal". Mr. Rider Haggard, the famous novelist, continues his story of "The Yellow God". An interesting article is "Indian Students in America" by Mr. Saint Nihal Sing, in which is described the sort of reception an Indian meets with in the New World. Dr. A. K. Coomaraswami deals with "Art of the East and of the West", and is hopeless of the prospects of art in the immediate future, that is, so long as materialism will hold the field. "The Khasis" is another interesting paper contributed by Mr. Charu Chandra Banerji, giving an account of that aboriginal hill tribe and its quaint customs, traditions, etc. It is worthy of note that the Khasis have developed a system of popular Government which does not permit the Siem or chief to do anything without the approval of his durbar or assembly of ministers. Mr. Dakshina Ranjan Ghose writes a useful article on "Some Industries of Eastern Bengal" which, like the other article on "The Ruin of Indian Manufactures" detailing the causes of the death of our industries, will amply repay perusal. There are other articles quite as readable as those we have mentioned, while the illustrations number 15.

The Madras Standard.

THE first place is given this month in the "Modern Review" to an excellent and closely argued article on "Automatism in Plant and Animal" by Dr. J. C. Bose. The article, considered from every standpoint possible, affords information of a really practical nature. Readers of this journal are treated to further chapters of Rider Haggard's new serial story entitled "The Yellow God." The present chapters close with the information that Vernon is on the seas, heading for the shores of Western Africa. In Saint Nihal Sing's article on "Indian Students in America" there is a wealth of entertaining, while informative, reading matter, well and liberally illustrated. Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy is an art-critic, and he discourses with much erudition upon the "Art of the East and of the West." The best thing for us is to run our eye over these beautifully printed pages. It is well to reflect deeply on Mr. Charuchandra Bandyopadhyay's paper on the "Khasis" and seriously bestow some thought on the Khasi mode of government. Mr. Dakshina Ranjan Ghosh contributes an interesting article on "Some Industries of Eastern Bengal and Assam" in which he tries to focus the attention of his countrymen upon the commercial

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aspects of some of the leading industries some of which are possessed of a name and fame all their own, since the days of yore. "MAEV" writes upon "The Four Winds of Erinn" by Ethna Carbery. Mr. S. Radhakrishnan's method of dealing with "Karma and Free Will" is not altogether unintelligible to the average reader, and his aim seems to be the blending together of the two doctrines. "The Ground Nut Industry on the West Coast" from the pen of Mr. C. D. Nayar will be read with interest. With the help of the statistics collected, the author of "The Pay of the Sepoy" recommends the doubling of the pay of the sepoy. In "The Ruin of Indian Manufactures" a pathetic tale is told of the decay of the Indian Manufactures, and a suggestion is made that, so long as the present basis of taxation is in force, the problem of reviving the manufactures does not seem to be possible of solution, in a manner unoppressive to the Indian manufacturer. A nice description is given of the battle of Khajwah—a battle that sealed the fate of Shuja, in "The Great War in Bengal, 1658-1660."

Bande Mataram.

PROFESSOR Ramananda Chatterjee's *Modern Reriew* for May is, as usual full of interesting and instructive matter, and maintains full well the high level of literary and intellectual excellence that has won for it a place among the best periodicals in the English language published in any part of the world. The place of honour is given, properly, to a small but no means scrappy article from Dr, Jagadish Chandra Bose which seems to sum up some of the latest researches of this eminent scientist. Though dealing with a highly technical subject, namely :—"Automatism in plant and animal life" Dr. Bose's lucidity of exposition and charm of style make it pleasant and highly interesting reading even to the uninitiated. Dr. Bose opens his article with the pregnant remark--

"One of the most characteristic signs of the presence of life is the power to give a reply of one kind or another to stimulus. Each one of us lives in the midst of an environment which is constantly impinging upon him in the from of stimuli or blows The ray of light, falling upon the retina, is really striking a blow, giving it a shock. This constitutes a stimulus. In this way, we may receive many shocks. We are struck by air-waves, for instance, and perceive sound. Or we may receive a physical blow small or great."

Dr. Bose tells us that—

"As long as we are alive, in one way or another we *respond* to these stimuli."

And this is a truth which has a much wider application than what Dr. Bose has cared to investigate or verify in the paper before us. But the suggestion is carried by Prof. Ramananda Chatterjee into the consideration of the present political situation in the country. "Our distinguished countryman Dr. J. C. Bose" says Prof. Chatterjee, "has shown that Response is pre-eminently the sign of life. We believe that we are not dead as a nation. Under the strokes of adversity and tyranny, shall we not respond ? "Responsiveness is life, and cessation of responsiveness, death". True, of late the shocks administered to us have been very powerful and many. But Dr Bose has shown that wherever there is life, a single stimulus evokes a single response, while a stronger stimulus induces multiple responses. So if we have life, if we want to prove that we have life, let there be multiple responses."

The Indian Daily Telegraph.

We have received the *Modern Review* for May, which preserves its repuation for punctuality, and at the same time provides most entertaining fare. The place of honour is given to a remarkable article by Dr, J. C Bose, the greatest living Indian scientist, on "Automatism in Plant and Animal," in which the author gives the results of certain experiments which conclusively prove the identical re-actions of rhythmic tissues in plant and animal. "Indian Students in America" by Saint Nihal Sing throws a sidelight on the obstacles met with by Indians while undergoing a course of studies in the States. In "Art of the East and of the West" Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy says that it will be impossible for great art to flourish, either here or in England, until the artist has begun to understand that art is not bounded by a belief in the external face of nature. There are a number of other papers of more than passing interest in this number, several of which deal with industrial questions, and the illustrations reach a high level of excellence.

United India & the Native States—

The Editor of the *Modern Review* has spared no pains to make the May number *modern* and informing. The different phases of human thought and activity are represented in the number before us. Dr. J. C. Bose, the eminent Scientist of an international fame, leads the number with a readable article on "Automatism in plant and animal," embodying in popular language some of his latest and most striking researches The English writer, H. Rider Haggard continues his serial "The Yellow God." Those who have any desire to send their sons to the New World for education or who wish to know how our kinsmen are faring there would do well to peruse Mr. Saint Nihal Sing's article on "Indian Students in America." The faces of the students whose portraits are given with the article beam with intelligence, hope and courage. Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy writes on "Art of the East and of the West." The article shows that the writer possesses a wide range of information on art and presents his views boldly. Mr. Charuchandra Bandyopadhyay contributes a very interesting and instructive ethnological paper on "The Khasis." Those who still believe that no other form of government than unmitigated despotism has ever prevailed in India will do well to ponder over the information given in this article on the Khasi form of government. "Some industries of Eastern Bengal and Assam" by Mr. Dakshina Ranjan Ghosh, is a very useful paper. Capitalists, enterprising business men, and the general public interested in industrial matters should read this paper, which shows what a mine of wealth our country possesses. In Mr. S. Radha Krishnan's essay on "Karma and Free Will," the writer makes an attempt to reconcile the two doctrines. How far he has been successful, we must ask the reader to judge for himself. Mr. C. D. Nayar conveys much useful information in his article on "The Groundnut Industry on the West Coast." The article on "The Pay of the Sepoy" makes out a strong case for the doubling of the Sepoy's income, by an array of facts and figures. In "The Ruin of Indian Manufactures" statements and tables are quoted from Parliamentary Blue-books calculated to open the eyes of the public to the heartless selfishness of those who brought about the ruin of Indian manufactures. Why rake up the old story, some one may ask ? This

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month's instalment of "The Great War in Bengal, 1658-1660," from Persian sources, gives a vivid description of the battle of Khajwah (with a plan), which sealed the fate of Shuja. "The Mother's Wail" is a pathetic sonnet by Lieut.-Col. K. R. Kirtikar. Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das's "Narrative of the incidents of my early life" is continued. "If Russia ruled India" discusses the question whether Russian rule would have been or would be such an unmitigated curse to India as Englishmen represent it to be. The writer's standpoint may be inferred from the following concluding words:—"We have not fallen in love with Russian rule, just as we have not fallen in love with British rule, in spite of its love-compelling sedition laws, and regulation lathies, bayonets and Maxim guns." "The Motherland" is an inspiring poem by the Rev. C. F. Andrews, M.A. of Delhi, which we have taken the liberty to extract elsewhere. In a brief note Dr. Indu Madhab Mallik, M.A., B.L., M.D., enumerates the causes of Great Britain's greatness. "B." gives a short "History of the Sugar Industry." There are the usual "Notes" and "Reviews," fourteen beautiful illustrations, besides plans of the different stages of the battle of Khajwah. The Magazine is worth at least double the price charged for it.

The Empire—

Pursuing his uncanny researches into the resemblances between plant and animal life, Dr. J. C. Bose (writing in the May number of the "Modern Review") has discovered that a plant has a heart just as a man has. The "desmodium gigrans" has two lateral leaflets which are in a state of constant vibration, moving up and down In order to find out whether the principle of this movement was the same as that of the animal heart, Dr. Bose treated the plant in exactly the same way that he would have treated an animal on whose heart he wished to make experiments. He starved it and depressed it, and then stimulated and revived it and found that it responded at every point exactly as an animal heart would have done. He thus claims to have establisned the fact that the rhythmic movement of the plant leaflets and of the animal heart are due to their response to stimuli. To the argument that the action of the human heart is automatic, he still replies that its automatic action is the result of stimulation, and that the stimulation in its case is that of stored up superfluous energy. But for that superfluous energy this perpetual stimulation could not go on. And in order to keep up the supply of this superfluous energy it is necessary that energy should perpetually be poured over the whole organism from without. That is to say, as Dr. Bose puts it,

"Every living organism, in order to maintain its life, must stand in constant free communion with all the forces of the universe about it."

"Is this in truth materialism?" asks Dr. Bose. "Or is it spirituality? May it not be that we dispute these terms because each of us is viewing a single fact from a different standpoint?" This is a profound observation, which it is especially desirable to keep in mind, as Dr. Bose leads us further and further out of our depth into the ocean of speculation and discovery.

The Indian Daily Teiegraps—

A feature of the *Modern Review* for April is the publication of a number of papers contributed to the recent United Provinces Industrial Conference. Mr. F. W. Sedgwick, M. A., Professor, Thomason Engineering College, Roorkee, in a paper on "Research and Industrial Development of India," while admitting that research must be actively pursued in Western countries where the struggle for industrial supremacy is keen, is of the opinion that in India a special effort should he made to promote invention, for which there is ample scope, and he shows how this can best be done. Mr. James Imms, Manager, Upper India Couper (Paper) Mills, Lucknow, in a contribution entitled "Outlook of the Paper Industry in India," claims that Indians have better facilities for learning the art of paper-making in an Indian mill than in mills in European countries, where the conditions are so different. He also gives a number of valuable hints for starting new paper-mills, and, at the same time, refers to the shortage of raw materials, which is affecting the progress of the industry. Munshi Prag Narayan Bhargava, Proprietor of the Lucknow Iron Works, in a paper on "The Metal Industry" dwells on the difficulty of obtaining a sufficient supply of labour, and suggests that means should be devised to protect private enterprise against unfair competition on the part of State Departments. Mr. K. P. Bose, Pleader, Meerut, advocates the combination of agriculture with the manufacturing industry and says that Malwa, in Central India, affords immense opportunities this direction. Mr. Syed Husain, of the Provincial Department of Land Records and Agriculture, writes on "The Dairy Industry of the United Provinces. Among other articles are "The Researches of Dr. J. C. Bose," by Dr. Indumadhab Mallik, M.A., B.L., M.D., and "Moustafa Kamel Pacha," a feature of which is a translation from the French, by Dr. A. M. Suhrawardy, of an appreciation of the late Egyptian Nationalist leader from the pen of Madame Julliette Adam.

The Phœnix—

The May number of the *Modern Review* contains an interesting article with the above heading. The writer is not specially enamoured of the idea of having the Russian, in the place of the English rule in India, He aptly remarks that "no foreign rule can be an unmitigated blessing to any country—but it largely depends on the rulers to make the lot of the ruled bearable." The chief object of the writer is to impress the readers with the fact that Russia and the Russians are not so bad as the Englishmen would have us believe. * * * We are, for better, for worse, indissolubly connected with England. The discussion therefore about this speculation is more or less of an academical character; and we would like to see an effective reply to this able article.

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